

THE ROLES OF PARLIAMENTARY STAFF ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA (PASAN) IN DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

Olowu Olagunju FOLORUNSO,

Ph.D., Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Abuja
olagunju.olowu@uniabuja.edu.ng

&

Eluma Williams NGBEDE,

Department of Social Studies, Federal College of Education, Odugbo, Benue State-Nigeria
willyeluma@gmail.com

Abstract

The role of parliamentary aids in the legislative arm of government cannot be underestimated. Despite their quintessential roles of consolidating democracy, parliamentary aids are still not being recognised as a major complimentary force behind the success of the legislators. In order to agitate for better welfare of members and provide enabling environment to perform their constitutional mandate well, they come together as a union. It is against this backdrop that the study examined the role of parliamentary Aids association of Nigeria and democratic consolidation. The study anchored its theoretical on structural functionalism and adopted qualitative method of research design as research methodology. The study findings showed that Legislative aides had contributed immensely to the growth of National Assembly, the development and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Finding revealed that they have painstakingly contributed to policy, plan, and programmes of government by bringing their expertise to bear even at the detriment of not being heard. The study recommends among others that, the need for attitudinal change from reactive to proactiveness the union should not just be reacting to situations as they arise, they need to apprehend situations before they arise and that given the nonpartisan nature of the position, all employees including the legislative assistant should be prohibited from engaging in political activities.

Keywords: *Parliamentary, Legislature, Legislative Aids, National Assembly, Democratic Consolidation.*

DOI: 10.31039/bjir.v2i9.87

1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy was conceptualised by Abraham Lincoln as government of the people by the people and for the people because of the popular participation that characterised democratic governance. Among the three arms of government, executive, judiciary and legislature, legislature reflects the popularity of democracy as the legislators are citizens representatives and the only avenue which constituents and the people have their interest articulated.

The role of the legislators is enormous, cumbersome and painstaking anywhere in the world. They are charged with responsibility of law making, representation, budgeting and appropriation, oversights as well as constituent services. The enormity of responsibilities explains and justifies the number of recessions legislator embarked on within a calendar year.

It is not only natural that the legislators get supports but it is also essentially necessary that they work with aids who assist in various legislative duties and assignments as may deem fit by the assembly commissions.

Globally, the roles of the parliamentary aid or assistance are very crucial to survival of the legislature as well as the democracy itself. Over the years, the influence of staff in the legislature has been growing and this has led to their being labelled in the US congress as “*Unelected Representatives*” (Malbin, 1980), the “*power Lovers*” (McPherson, 1975), “*Ghosts on Capitol Hill*” (Widen, 1975), “*the hidden power elite*” (Alphen, 1973), “*hidden government in Washington*”, “*invisible men who run congress*” (Evans, 1963). No legislature can deliver on its mandate except it has the requisite staff that provides adequate support to the legislative actors. According to Senator Hubert of the United States Congress” without the staff, the work cannot be done (Ishaka & Maiye, 2024).

In Nigeria with 36 state assemblies and a bi-cameral legislature at the centre, it is glaring that the legislative or parliamentary aids have gigantic roles to play and professional service to render to ensure that legislative duties did not slack.

Parliamentary staff is as old as Nigeria democracy but the military incursions into Nigerian politics stagnated the growth of the parliamentary aids’ union. But the return to civil rule in 1999 marked a water shield in the growth and development of parliamentary aid in Nigeria as the union have grown in a more organised way under the auspices of the Parliamentary Staff Association of Nigeria (PASAN).

2. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

The paper clarifies few relevant concepts as follows:

Legislature

The legislature stands out as the most distinguishing institution in a democratic society. While the executive and judicial arms may exist even in authoritarian societies albeit in a grossly abused manner, an independent legislature elected by and responsive to the people remains indispensable in every democratic society. As (Nwabueze, 2015) has noted, the Legislatures the distinctive mark of a country's sovereignty, the index of its status as a state and the source of much of the power exercised by the executive in the administration of government. The sovereign power of the state is therefore identified in the organ that has power to make laws by Legislation, and to issue "commands" in the form of Legislation binding on the community (Sagay, 2010).

Legislature is referred as Parliament in Britain, National Assembly in Nigeria, Congress in the United States (Abonyi, 2006). The legislature occupies a key position in the democratic process of government, with the purpose of articulating the collective will of the people through representative government (Okoosi-Simbine, 2010).

The responsibilities of the legislators are enormous and requires the assistance of sound and indefatigable aides to ensure successful discharge of legislative functions.

Legislative aids

The legislature is a major organ whose effective discharge of its roles determine to a large extent and ensures good governance to the benefits of citizenry (Ijefuamhen, 2022).

Hamala, Dan-Azumi & Omotola (2016) described legislative aids as those who complement the abilities of legislators and their involvement is determined by institutional needs.

In other words, legislative aids are support staff of the national the legislators who are non-partisan but are recognised by their professional expertise to enhance inform inputs into policy, laws, plan and programmes in the legislative arm.

National Assembly

The Parliament in Nigeria right from inception had robust and historic developments which dates back to the Colonial and Post-Colonial Independence. However, emphasis would be accorded to the huge Legislative Chronicle of the Fourth Republic Parliament till date.

With the return of democratic rule in 1999, Nigeria has had six consecutive legislatures spanning a period of 24 years. The country operates a Bi-cameral legislature; made up of two Independent Chambers; the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate, referred to as the Red Chamber, comprise of 109 Senators representing three Senatorial Districts of each of the 36 States of the Federation. Membership of the Chamber is based on equal representation. It is led by the Senate President and his Deputy (President of the Senate and Deputy President of the Senate) as well as eight Principal Officers namely Senate Leader and his Deputy, Minority Leader and his Deputy, Chief Whip and his Deputy as well as Minority Whip and his Deputy.

While the House of Representatives also known as the Green Chamber is made up of 360 Federal Representatives. Each Member represents one Federal Constituency of Nigeria. The number of Constituencies per State varies since population strength is the criterial used to determine the number of each State's Federal Constituencies.

The Green Chamber is led by the Speaker and assisted by the Deputy Speaker along with eight Principal Officers that include Majority Leader, Deputy Majority Leader, Minority Leader, Deputy Minority Leader, Chief Whip, Deputy Chief Whip, Minority Whip and Deputy Minority Whip.

The National Assembly is constitutionally vested with several functions. Prominent among them are lawmaking, representation, oversight and a host of others. Most activities of the National Assembly are done through the Committees. The Committees are populated by Distinguished Senators and Honorable Members of both Chambers based on professionalism and vast experiences in life. These experiences prepare them to be able to scrutinize Bills, Motions, and other Legislative proposals. The Legislators also intervene in the conduct of public institutions and officials.

Accordingly, the apex Parliament operates the Committee system. Both chambers of the nation's highest law-making body appoint members into its Special and Standing Committees. The committees have the role of studying and researching Bills, Motions and other Legislative proposals referred to it and report its findings to the Whole Chamber (<https://nass.gov.ng/about/item/1548>).

Democratic Consolidation

Some scholars view it as regime maintenance which regards key political institutions as the only legitimate framework for political contestation and adherence to the democratic rules of the game. Democratic consolidation can only manifest under enhanced economic development, advanced and developed political culture, stable party system and improved and independent electoral process (Ebegbulem, 2017).

According to Linz (1985), democracy is consolidated when “none of the major political actors, parties or organized interests, forces or institutions consider that there is any alternative to the democratic process to gain power and no political institutions or groups has a claim to veto the action of democratically elected decision makers.”

In Diamond’s (1999) cited in Kwasau (2013) conceptualization, democratic consolidation is “the process of achieving broad and deep legitimation such that all significant political actors believe that popular rule is better for the society than any other realistic alternative they can imagine”.

The concept of democratic consolidation has been conceptualised to mean the maintenance, the lack of option to democratic process and legitimatisation process of political institutions as well as conduct of political actors. Therefore, democratic consolidation refers to the regulation and improvement on the political processes, institutions and actors to ensure survival and advancement of democracy.

In this wise, the output of major political institution such as the legislature in formulating policies, plans and programmes, in appropriations matter as well as oversight function to better the lots of democracy and ensures that the dividends get to all and sundry is an all-encompassing role.

Historical Overview of Unionism

Britain is credited to be the origin of trade unionism and the Industrial Revolution that started in Britain about 1760 provided the conditions for the growth of trade unions. Although before that time, there existed craft unions, such as those of the hatters, tailors and printers, and shoemakers (cordwainers). These crafts established local trade unions or clubs in various towns, but they were generally small and scattered. It was the growth of factories through the use of water power, and later steam power that trade unionism, as we know it today, began.

Factory employment began to grow and cottage industries began to dwindle. Villagers had to move into towns which were sprouting up around a factory or group of factories in search of employment (Sunmonu, 2016). These groups of workers, men and women, as succinctly put by Victor Feather in his book, "The Essence of Trade Unionism", "slaved night and day for a meagre livelihood. Children became wage earners at five years of age, and were carried to work by their parents to toil twelve hours' shift, day or night.

In thousands of cases, homeless and orphaned children worked, ate and slept on the factory premises, if they died at work, as many did, their bodies were thrown into lime pit kept open for that purpose. The same happened in the newly- opened coal mines, and in the steel works. This was the situation that led to the growth of trade clubs, which were small and local and confined to one trade occupation. It was difficult for members to meet, but they used to meet in each others houses, ale houses or on hillsides out of town. Their discussion cantered on, wages, hours of work, conditions of work, benefits, etc.

Gradually, these "trade clubs" began to link up with their counterpart organisations in the other areas leading to the formation of loose federations. This culminated in the formation of a national federation by the hatters in 1771. First, the employers, and later successive governments became apprehensive of this trend as the federations developed and became stronger.

In 1799, the British Parliament passed the Combination laws banning trade unions, and making it illegal for any group of workmen to combine together for any purpose relating to employment. In order to give the Act of 1799 an appearance of fairness, according to Victor Feather, "there was a similar ban on employers, but it was easy enough for two or three employers to meet socially without causing any comment, and there reach a "gentleman's

agreement" about wage rates and then impose these rates without fear of resistance from their workmen, as organisation was unlawful"(Sunmonu, 2016).

In spite of the law, workers protested and resisted. Many of them were prosecuted and given stiff prison terms. Long hours of work, rising prices, low wages, bad housing, degrading living and working conditions, demotion of skilled craftsmen to unskilled workers, etc. led to strikes, lockouts, resentment and violence. Widespread strikes took place in textile industry in 1808, and in the mines in 1810. The Combination Law were consequently repealed in 1824, after 25 years of its enactment. In 1825, another Act was passed in parliament which gave legal recognition to the right to combine for collective bargaining and the right to strike, and the right to pay union dues (check-off dues). The year 1825 marked the beginning of the legal history of trade unions in Britain.

Trade Unionism in Nigeria

In Nigeria, trade unionism began in 1912 through the formation of trade union by some workers of the Colonial Civil Service. *The colour discrimination in the Colonial Civil Service, low wages and poor conditions of service were the main-reasons for the formation of the Civil Servants Association*, the predecessor of the present Nigeria Civil Service Union. In those early colonial days, no Nigerian, however qualified could rise to a Senior Service position in the colonial administration. Even those who qualified in medicine with their white counterparts in the same universities could rise only to the post of Assistant Medical Officer. It was thanks to the struggle of the pioneer Nigerian trade unionists of those days that the improvement of the conditions of service, took place.

It will be seen from the two examples of the origin of trade unionism in Britain and Nigeria, that trade union were born out of *struggle of the workers to improve their conditions of service, stop exploitation, and to be treated with respect and dignity*. In conformity with the saying that *"nothing ventured, nothing gained"*, No pain, no gain. Trade unions cannot expect "manna to fall from heaven" unless they mobilize their members to struggle for the improvement of their conditions of employment.

Another important lesson that we can learn is that *"unity is strength"*. Individual workers, no matter how strong or intelligent, acting alone cannot successfully win against the employers. Coupled with unity is *"solidarity"*, which is the actual essence of trade unionism. It is solidarity

that makes, to ‘*injury to one worker, "injury to all workers"*. If unity and solidarity are removed from trade unionism, there will be nothing left of it. (Sunmonu, 2016).

Trade Union Structure and Organisation

The structure of any trade union is determined by the history of its formation, its membership and coverage nature, i.e. whether it is craft, industrial, professional or general union. For example, the National Association of Nigeria Nurses and Midwives and Nigeria Union of Journalists are professional Unions. Only those qualified in Nursing and Midwifery and journalism can belong to the two Industrial unions. Unions like Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of Nigeria, are general unions, while unions such as National Union of Textile Garment and Tailoring Workers industries are industry- based unions for workers of textile and clothing (Sunmonu, 1996).

Types and Classification of Union

Meaning of trade union differs by and its classifications by scholars are not the same given various interpretations of trade union. But it has become traditional to classify unions into types, according to the constituency from which they recruit in the following ways:

- a. Craft (exclusive to skilled workers),
- b. Occupational (all workers in an occupation regardless of industry),
- c. Industrial (all workers in an industry regardless of occupation),
- d. General (amalgamation of occupational and industrial organizations),
- e. Enterprise (all workers in a single company or plant).

Trade union(s) may be composed of individual workers of professionals and past workers. In every policy and economy, there are defined organizations as bodies that operate in the context of a nation-state. These aggregate of organizations composed the organized bodies of workers either private or public. These are legally employed to work and boost the economy of the nation-state. However, since the legal recognition of trade unionism (1825), the well-known historical view is that trade union “is a continuous association of wage earners with the main aim of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment” (Charlywood, 2004).

Benefits of Trade Union

Aiyede (2004) stated the reasons as well as benefits of being a member of trade unions which are:

- a. Union provides a worker better opportunities through which he can better achieve his objectives with the support of his colleagues instead of acting alone.
- b. Trade union protects the economic interest of the workers and ensures a measurable wage rates and wage plan for them.
- c. Trade unions help the workers to get certain amenities in addition to higher wages.
- d. In certain cases, trade union also provides cash assistance at the time of sickness or some other emergencies Trade unions organize negotiations between workers and management and are instrumental for settlement of disputes.
- e. Trade unions are beneficial to employers as they organize the workers under one banner and encourage them to follow peaceful means for getting their demands. Trade union imparts self-confidence to the workers as they feel that they are important and integral part of the organization.
- f. Trade union provides platform for promotion and training and also helps the workers to go to higher positions.
- g. Trade union ensures stable employment for the workers and opposes management motive to replace the workers with automated machines.
- h. A trade union assists workers with the opportunity to participate in the management and oppose any decisions which adversely affect them.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The structural functionalism theory was developed from the work of a social anthropologist Radcliff-Brown (1881-1955), and systematically formulated by the American sociologist, Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) (Oaikhena, and Osemeke, 2016). Structural functionalism seeks out the 'structural' aspects of the social system under consideration (the civil service), and then studies the processes which function to maintain social structures. In this context, structure primarily refers to normative patterns of behaviour (regularized patterns of action in accordance with norms), while function explains how such patterns operate as systems.

A "system" refers to an organized whole with interdependent parts, regular patterns of interaction, known boundaries, structures, and functions performed by structures. What this

means is that a political system refers to security organizations which help maintain domestic order in a society (Oaikhena, and Osemeke, 2016).

Structural-functionalism in this study sees society and the civil service as built upon order, interrelation, and balance amongst the various parts as a means of maintaining the smooth functioning of the whole in order to achieve good and purposeful governance. It further viewed shared norms and values as the basis of society, focuses on social order based on tacit agreements between groups, organizations, institutions, and views social change as occurring in a slow and orderly fashion. Structural functionalism has been generally agreed on to be an offshoot of the general systems theories (Oaikhena, and Osemeke, 2016).

It is simply a means of explaining what political structures perform, what basic functions in the political system and under what conditions in any given system. This approach therefore assumes that a political system is composed of several structures with specific objective functions to perform, a process for its attainment and the effect of its performance. According to Cammack (1998:14), in order for a political system to run smoothly and enjoy a healthy autonomy or boundary maintenance between polity and society, there must be a way to avoid any rush of unprocessed claims or demands without direction or control by the political system.

Almond ideas adequately reflect the interest of the masses when he stated that the functions of rulemaking, rule application and rule adjudication. Relating to the above is the function of political maintenance and sustainability. While the national assembly, the legislators with the support of legislative aids perform their duties by making laws, it is also important to note that the national assembly as important structure of the political system perform the function of rulemaking, political sustenance and adaptive functions.

4. METHODOLOGY

The study adopts qualitative research design a non-numerical design. The paper data were sourced through secondary source i.e. textbooks, journals, seminar papers, national assembly publications and PASAN constitution etc. are sources of data to the study. Data were analysed through content analysis where different sub-headings were used to make sense of the data collected.

5. PARLIAMENTARY WORKERS UNIONISM IN NIGERIA

The Parliamentary Staff Association of Nigeria (PASAN) emerged as a trade union for staff of legislative bodies in Nigeria, representing both the National Assembly and the State Houses of Assembly. While a specific founding date is not widely documented, its formation is linked to the evolution of Nigeria's labour movement and the country's legislative history.

PASAN's origins are best understood within the broader development of Nigeria's organized labour and political history:

PASAN association's emergence aligns with the federal government's 1976 directive to reorganize trade unions along industrial lines. This effort aimed to streamline union administration and led to the inauguration of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) in 1978. PASAN was established as a specialized union during this period to represent workers within the parliamentary system.

PASAN association became particularly prominent following Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999 (the Fourth Republic). The re-establishment of a bicameral National Assembly and state-level legislative houses provided the operational structure that required a dedicated union to represent the interests of the newly reinstated parliamentary staff.

A key issue that shaped PASAN's history is the fight for financial autonomy for legislative bodies. This effort gained momentum in the 2020s specifically in 2006, with PASAN threatening strikes and other industrial actions to pressure governors to implement agreements regarding the independence of state legislatures.

Membership of PASAN

PASAN's membership includes various categories of staff who support Nigeria's legislative processes:

- i. National Assembly staff
- ii. National Assembly Service Commission employees
- iii. State Houses of Assembly staff
- iv. State Houses of Assembly Service Commission employees
- v. Employees of the Public Complaints Commission

- vi. Staff of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS).

The Roles of PASAN as a Union

Protecting workers' welfare: PASAN advocates for the rights, fair wages, and general welfare of all parliamentary staff in Nigeria. It serves as a union to represent the interests of its members in negotiations and disputes.

Advocating for legislative autonomy: One of its most significant duties is to demand and campaign for financial and administrative autonomy for the legislature at both federal and state levels. This is to ensure that the legislative branch can function independently without undue influence from the executive branch.

Capacity Building: The association actively promotes the professional development of its members by organizing and supporting training programs. These programs enhance staff skills in legislative procedures, oversight, communication, and other key areas.

Ensuring legislative efficiency: By representing legislative staff, PASAN plays a role in ensuring the smooth and efficient operation of the National and State Houses of Assembly. The association supports efforts to strengthen the legislative process and governance.

Resolving disputes: When necessary, PASAN engages in industrial action, such as strikes, to protest against issues affecting its members, including the non-implementation of financial autonomy. It has in the past threatened to shut down assemblies to push for its demands.

Legislative Aids and Democratic Consolidation

The role of legislative aids in democratic consolidation cannot be underestimated. As Neuhold (2014) and Wizen (2011) discern from their studies on the role parliamentary administrators in different policy areas: the final decisions are always taken by elected rather than unelected officials. Legislative staff cannot affect legislation directly, because contrary to elected representatives, they do not have the right to vote but their contribution cannot be denied.

legislative aides embody some of the most fundamental questions on democracy and the relationship between the executive and legislature. Legislative aides play important role especially considering the limited resources that parliamentarians have to process legislation

compared to ministers. Also, the parliamentary administration provides members of parliament information, which is independent from the government and lobbies. In this way, parliamentary aides are an important source of parliament's autonomy. This is especially important for members of the opposition and the minority, who are less prone to trust information provided by the executive administration, which is controlled by the governing coalition or majority party (Ishaka and Maiye, 2024).

Responsibility of resource distribution is another key role. What is also important is how staff resources are distributed within parliament among different actors. For example, the organisation of parliamentary administration in the National Assembly privileges the majority and office holders such as committee chairs, party leaders and whips.

Legislative Aids role in policy issues cannot be overemphasised as they contribute to drafting, support committees in amassing information, bring their expertise to bear while the final decisions as well as the credit are always taken by elected rather than unelected officials.

Milestones and Achievement of PASAN

Over the years, PASAN has been involved in several actions to protect and improve its members' welfare and advocate for the independence of the legislative arm of government, in doing so they embarked on:

Industrial actions: In October 2023, the association shut down the National and state assemblies over the non-implementation of financial autonomy for state legislatures.

Implementation of agreements: In March 2024, PASAN's South-West chapter threatened to resume a suspended strike, claiming some governors failed to implement financial autonomy agreements made in late 2023. At the time, only Benue State was recognized for beginning to implement the new law.

Retirement benefits and pay: The association has also raised concerns over the pension and gratuity of its members and has advocated for salary reviews and the payment of arrears.

6. CONCLUSION

The paper x-rayed the role of Parliamentary Aids in democratic consolidation and submitted that legislative aids play critical and quintessential roles in democratic consolidation but while

performing its functions, the need to fraternise as a union becomes absolutely necessary. Legislative aides have contributed immensely for the growth of national assembly, the development of democracy and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. They have painstakingly contributed to policy, plan, and programmes of government by bringing their expertise to bear even at the detriment of not being heard. Since the return of democracy in 1999, PASAN has formed a formidable union that continued to agitate for the interest of its members and supported the legislators through their expertise.

Recommendations

- i. The motivation of a worker that makes him/her to join a trade union, is above all, the protection and defence of his/her rights and the overall improvement of welfare of members because in business, no customer is so treated because he/she has a choice. PASAN too as a union should treat its members with courtesy, prompt services and dedication.
- j. The need for attitudinal change from reactive to proactive by PASAN union. In other words, union should not just be reacting to situations as they arise, they need to apprehend situations before they arise through continuous dialogue and advocacy.
- k. PASAN members oversees the operation and administration of a legislator as such, legislative aides are nonpartisan and do not attempt to influence members of the legislature, other State employees, or members of the general public regarding policy matters or pending legislation.
- l. Given the nonpartisan nature of the position, all employees including the legislative assistant should be prohibited from engaging in political activities.

References

- Agency Report March 23, 2021 Legislative activities grounded in Lagos, Oyo, Ogun
<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/450729-legislative-activities-grounded-in-lagos-oyo-ogun.html?tztc=1>
- Aiyede, E.R. (2002). Decentralizing public sector collective bargaining and the contradictions of federal practice in Nigeria. *African Study Monographs*, 23(1): 11 - 29. Aiyede, R. (2004).

“United we stand”: Labour unions and human rights NGOs in the democratization process in Nigeria”. *Development in Practice*, 14(1): 224 – 234

Alpern, M.D (1973), “*The Hidden Power Elite.*” *News Week*. Vol.2. No. 1. An Invisible Net Work of Hill Power (1977), *Washington Post*. PPE. 1,59 and 10.

Charlywood, A. (2004). “The new generation of trade union leaders and prospect for unions revitalization”. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 42 (2): 379 - 397.

Ebegbulem, J.C. (2017) *The Imperative of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria Through Credible Elections*. *African Journal of Politics and Administrative Studies*, 10 (1).

Evans, R. (1963), “*The Invisible Men who run Congress.*” *Saturday Evening Post*, PP. 13-17.

George, O.J; Owoyemi,O.and Onokalu, U. (2018). *Trade unions and unionism in Nigeria: A historical perspective*. Research in World Economy. Sciedu Press

Hamalai, L., Dan-Azumi, J., & Omotola, S (Eds) (2016). *Resource Competence and Legislative Performance in the National Assembly Abuja, Nigeria*. Institute for Legislative and Democratic studies Publication.

Hill, W.L, (2007). *Strategic Management: An Integrated Approach*. Sydney: John Wiley and Sons

Ijefuamhen, P.O. (2022) *Law Making Process in Nigeria’s National Assembly: The role of legislative Aids, 2015-2019*. Institute for Legislative and Democratic studies Publication.

Ishaka, D. & Maiye, B.S. (2024) “The Role of Parliamentary Staff and Legislative Aides in the Bill Process of the National Assembly”. *Port Harcourt Journal of History and Diplomatic Studies*.

Johnson, H (1970), “*Congressional Staff: The Third Branch of Congress.*” *Washington Post*: 1A and 19A.

Kwasau, M. A. (2013). *The Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic*. *European Scientific Journal*, 9 (8).

Linz, J. (1985). *Democracy, Presidential or Parliamentary: Does it make a difference?* World Peace Foundation.

Macpherson, M. (1975), *"The Power Lovers."* Washington Post: 10-13; 18.

Nnamdi, L.(2022) The Role of Legislative Aides in Attaining the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Nigeria. Publication of National Institute for Legislative and democratic studies.

Opara, O. U. Austin-Egole, I. S. & Awar, V. (2023) Trade Unions in Nigeria, chapter in book.

Sagay, I. (2010). "Status and Role of the Legislature in a Democracy" A public lecture delivered to mark the 47th Birthday of Michael Opeyemi Bamidele, Esq. on the 27th of July, 2010.

Sunmonu, H.A. (1996) "Trade Unionism in Nigeria: Challenges for the 21st Century" by Secretary- General Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) Accra, Ghana. *"A Keynote Address Delivered at the Conference on Trade Unionism in Nigeria: Challenges for the 21st Century"*, Held at the Training and Conference Centre, Centre, Nigeria, 23-24, September, 1996. Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Lagos. Nigeria.

Wyden, A. J. (1975), *"Ghost on Capitol Hill."*News Week: 33.