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**Population, Ethnicity, Clientelism and Political
Representation in the Federal Executive and Legislative
Arm of Government: A Comparative Analysis**

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Abstract

Purpose: Population, ethnicity, clientelism and political representation in the federal executive and legislative arms of government, a comparative analysis is a study of the evaluation of what the concepts are and the roles they play in the federal and legislative arms of government with the objective of using comparative analysis in assessing their impacts.

Methodology: The qualitative methodology with descriptive and historical research designs was used to collect secondary sources of data.

Findings: The findings showed that population, ethnicity, clientelism and political representation can either lead to stability or instability depending on how they are handled in the legislative and executive arms of government with the executive playing a more critical role. Political representation which is either elected or appointed if well handled in the optimum balancing of all vested interests will lead to stability in the executive and legislative systems of a federal government which will enable the society to make progress. This study found out that population, ethnicity, clientelism and political representation have tremendous positive or negative impacts on both federal executive and legislative arms of government as the population of a nation determines the size of its government and the level of infrastructural provisions; Geo-political and the king makers influences are also impactful.

Recommendation: It is recommended that there should be mass participation of the citizens in governance in their demand for true representation in governance and the use of the ballot to act as checks and balances to vote out non-performing leadership.

Keywords: *Representative government, Stability, Tribal groupings, Ethnic politics, Geo-politics Federalism, Democracy and Free and fair elections.*

Introduction

Population, ethnicity, clientelism and political representation in the federal executive and legislative arms of government; A comparative analysis is an examination of first, what population, ethnicity, clientelism and political representation are, and the roles they play in the federal and legislative arms of government. The comparative analysis would be used to compare the impact of these factors in both the legislative and executive arms of government. Population, ethnicity, clientelism and political representation can lead to stability and instability in the executive and legislative arms of government. The ability of a government to cater for its population goes a long way to bring about stability in that country and this ability is a function of the size of the population and quality of leadership.

According to Rosenau (1997), the rapid rate of population growth – coupled with a lack of developmental opportunities – is overcrowding the planet adding to the enormous pressures on diminishing non-renewable resources. This growth at the root of global poverty, local and international migration and environmental degradation are unprecedented in history; it is not a clinical problem but a developmental one. Ethnicity which is racial, national or tribal groupings or affiliations is a threat to the legislative and executive arms of government in developing countries. According to Huntington (1997), the clash of civilization and remaking order in today's world is the most important distinctions among people are not ideological, political or economic. They are cultural and people identify with cultural groups, tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations and civilizations.

This cultural affiliation that encourages ethnicity has led to the tribalistic approach of developing countries to politics. Issues at the executive level are viewed from the ethnic perspective and the debates, motions, resolutions and bills at the legislative are also formed by ethnic considerations. According to Nnoli (2007), competition transforms ethnic groups into ethnic politics. The different ethnic groups are in fierce competition in the developing world and this competition has led to instability as tribal politics drive issues and comprehensive development to the background. Basing on Nnoli (2007) highlight, it is obvious that issues are no longer looked at on merit at the executive and legislative arms of government but based on ethnic considerations.

According to Kettering (1989) the concept of clientelism refers to a complex chain of personal bonds between political patrons or bosses and their individual clients and followers. These bonds are founded on mutual material advantage. The patron furnishes excludable resources (money, jobs) to dependents and accomplices in return for their support and cooperation (votes and attendance at rallies). Under this system, there is no true democracy as the members of the executives and legislative are imposed by godfathers and they are loyal to these godfathers, not the masses. Based on what Kettering said, it is the same clientelism that made the executive and the top leaders of the National Assembly in Nigeria add a foreign electoral clause that was not in the original document passed by the National Assembly. This was possible because of the role of the presidency in installing the house leaders in the patron client's, dependent's and accomplices' relationships.

Political representations in the executive and legislative arms of government differ from the developing and developed countries and it also differs from the executives to the legislative. According to Remington (2004), he avers that for legislators to be able to play their role of representation, oversight, and legislation relations, there must be a mandate to do so from the

electorates. Remington (2004), further stated that there is need to exist a certain degree of cooperation between the branches (legislative and executive) in policy making (each side must be willing to bargain and compromise in order to get some policy benefits). This means that both the legislative and the executive are elected by the same electorates and this places the responsibility on them to mandatorily cooperate for the benefit of those they are representing and these political representations are two types namely elected and appointed representations.

The concepts of population, godfathers, geography, ethnicity, economic, and political factors play dominant roles in political representation as they tremendously affect the outcomes. According to Kunle (2020), whereas government is usually designed to be formalized hierarchical, and constitutionally based, its formalization and constitutionalization and adherence to rule of law depend largely on the political operators (usually the executive and legislative arms). The legislature formulates and the executive executes (implementing government policies after the legislature has passed them to law). In some cases where you find a combination of executive despots and docile legislative institutions in a polity, the government will be boring, unaccountable and therefore anathema to the people. This clearly shows that the society where the political actors in both the executive and legislative operate determines their pattern of operations and the dominant factors prevail in the garbage in and garbage out resulting outcomes.

Ethnicity: A Case Study of Nigeria

In Nigeria, there are three major ethnic groups, the Hausa's, Yoruba's and Igbo's; competition between ethnic groups led to ethnic politics. The rivalry and mutual suspicion led to the introduction of ethnic politics in Nigeria. The first republic political parties were formed along ethnic lines. The Action Group (AG) metamorphosed from Egba Oduduwa, a Yoruba- socio-cultural group, the same thing happened in the formation of the National Convention for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) formed by the Ibo's of South East and Northern People's Congress (NPC) formed by the Northerners particularly the Hausa-Fulani of the north.

According to Aluko (2003), he identified the legacy of colonialism and the monopoly of power by the major ethnic groups and their consequential marginalization of the minority as major factors promoting ethnic nationalization in Nigeria. Also, according to Uwaifo (2016), the colonization of what is now known as Nigeria had created a lot of developmental problems and leadership challenges in the administration of modern Nigerian state today. One particular event worthy of note in the history of the colonial Nigeria era was the forceful amalgamation of over three hundred and fifty different ethnic nationalities as one political unit which now constitutes the Nigerian Country. He added that it was done purely for administration and commercial purposes and that it laid the foundation of scheming, manipulations, fear, suspicion and dominion, and this is the origin of ethnicity and ethnic politics that led to tribal parties. Furthermore, Ekeh (1973) supported Uwaifo thus ethnicity has flourished because the Nigerian elite who inherited the colonial state have conceptualized development as transferring resources from the civil public to the primordial public.

It is against this background that he X-rayed in a laconic manner in pre-independence era and from independence till date.

It is the tribal politics and its antecedents that prevented the West and East from having the alliance to rule the country. The NCNC, preferred the NPC instead of the AG. The AG of Chief Awolowo saw the Ibos as wanting to lord it on the Yoruba's in the 1945 by-election to Lagos town council. The Nigeria Youth Movement proposed Akinsanya a Remo Ijebu, which the proper Ijebu opposed, Zik supported the proper Ijebu. Awolowo is from Remo Ijebu that shows the problem of ethnicity which the opposition always exploits. This was further explained by Okechukwu (2005) thus a by-election was held for Lagos seat in the Legislative council of Nigeria on 5th March 1941. It was required after the incumbent member Kofo Abayomi of the NYM resigned in order to move to the United Kingdom to take up a Rhodes scholarship in Ophthalmology. Although Ernest Ikoli of NYM was elected with 56% of the votes against Akinsanya, the controversy caused by the election led to the eventual demise of the party.

The Scenario that took place above was engineered by ethnic consideration of the tribal origins of Akinsanya and Ernest Ikoli. According to Olukoju (2004), in 1938 there was advocacy in the Yoruba land for the establishment of the cocoa pool to prevent speculation, which makes prices unstable, Zik did not support it, so also Awo did not support the establishment of the palm oil pool. Both Awo and Zik also did not support the establishment of a groundnut pool.

Olukoju (2004) further stated that some expatriate companies in 1937 under the leadership of Cadbury Brothers formed a buying agreement, a cartel to control the price paid to producers of cocoa and to cut out the middlemen. The Akinsanya led N.P.T.U, represented these middlemen and opposed the agreement through protests and meetings and threatened to either disrupt transport for the crops or to destroy it. The government's attempt to stop them through their opponents did not work and cocoa prices rose the next year.

This is an instance when the interest of all the ethnic groups is in one accord but it is not a regular occurrence. Toeing the ethnic line, the defeat of St. Gregory College by C.K.C. made Zik utter some uncomplimentary words like the Ibos are coming. Zik's paper carried sensational articles like Igbo doctor scores first class in medical school. The N.Y.M was in crisis when it was unable to fill the vacancy that arose when Kofo Abayomi's seat was declared vacant. The NPC consolidated in the North where it restricted itself. The same thing happened with the NCNC in the East while AG did the same in the West. The nature of this politics which is ethnic made it impossible for the three dominant tribal parties to have a national spread or a form national government which lead to a coalition.

Ethnicity is not only confined to politics, it is prevalent in the judiciary, civil service and the private sectors. Individuals view issues from the ethnic perceptive, they feel more comfortable with people from their ethnic groups, and they site development projects in their localities. People flood their establishments with people of their ethnic groups; they favour them more in whatever positions they find themselves. Support and lack of support are also given based on ethnic loyalties. There was actually no unity in diversities as according to Osadolor (1998), it was not the intention of the colonial masters to create a federation but an amalgamation for economic and administrative reasons. This means that they were forcefully merged to serve colonial interests and this amalgamation created an artificial unity hence there is ethnicity in all sectors of the nation Nigeria where the people interpret things according to ethnic perspective.

The Minority Question

The minority question is political as the growth of ethnic nationalism particularly Igbo and Yoruba strands of ethnic nationalism expanded to the discomfort of the minorities. The implication of this is that the minorities did not want to be left out. The smaller groups wanted to partake with the major ethnic groups which led to the minority question which arose because of ethnicity. According to Osaghae (1998), this is so as the questions of the minority in Nigeria politics is as old as history itself. The issue of minority has been part of political equations since the inception of Nigeria as a country.

The approach of the so-called self-government in 1953 led to ethnic consciousness as the majority is more likely to trample on them. The party competition/rivalry appears to be genuine. National Party made this attempt to be a genuine National Party through playing on the minority sentiments by claiming to be lovers of minorities which was a vote-catching political gimmick. In the 1953 London Conference, the discussion to separate Southern Cameroon from Nigeria made the minorities to dream of such status.

The major tribes and parties embrace the minorities to win support outside their stronghold. In 1955 the West created the mid-western region to show its genuine concern for its minority. The creation of regions in the east and north became a problem until the civil war when it was created to break the resistance of the east who wanted to break away, so ethnic minority sentiments were used to divide them. According to Bach (1989) the federal character principle was brought about to ensure fairness between the regions in the political, economic and social representations but the boomerang effect of federal character is that it emphasizes on ethnicity as people have more loyalty to the tribal groups than the nation. This is so as they get their positions not through national considerations but by tribal/ethnic considerations.

According to Usuanlele and Ibhawoh (2017) all these however began when Africans (who then had no say) and had their lands apportioned among the then world imperial powers at Berlin conference, 1884-1885. Furthermore, according to Usuanlele and Ibhawoh (2017:2) the British policy of indirect rule required homogeneity and establishment of tribal heroines and these resulted in the post-colonial bond and reconfiguration of ethno-religious and geo-political problems in the former colonies. This necessitates the continuous battle with the challenges of unity and cohesion among the former colonies, especially Nigeria.

After the scramble and partition, subsequent events and crisis started in the states with artificial boundaries. According to (Amusan, Saka & Omede, 2017; Deng, Deng, Deng & Jimenez, 2008) the composition of amalgamated Nigeria transcends beyond ethnicity and religion but also geography, history, culture, civilization and worldview, among others. They added that from the first day of its amalgamation, Nigeria has deliberately and otherwise been engaged in the search for the popular and feasible means of being together that the nation showed amidst the heterogeneities and colonial bondage. One of such has been the adoption of federalism in the mid 1950's, which is a means of resolving conflicts among citizens and levels of government, especially in heterogeneous states.

According to Levan and Ukata (2018) it is therefore not an easy journey for Nigeria through the nationhood years of amalgamation. However, despite the challenges, the construction of the Nigerian nation, resilience in the face of historical and geographical adversity, and its progress following the unexpected traumas of the post-independence era, are enduring testaments to its

people and of its promise. According to several authors, these boomerang effect of federal character earlier mentioned is explained as follows.

According to Aribisola (1988), no value can describe as being widely accepted without contradiction in Nigeria, value such as excellence, merit, equality and justice, continue to be questioned, while in other societies they are regarded as articles of Faith. Until we reach a consensus about National values to which we can appeal or refer without fear of contradiction, we will not be able to establish solid institutions and mechanisms to protect and promote our national interests. Also according to Ajayi (1988), the problem of national integration in Nigeria state is in the face all the time and no one can argue that we ignore them. But they are problems which require long term solutions and yet we deal with them on an adhoc basis without a consistent or coherent policy or ideology.

Accordingly, it is in line with the above adhoc basis that Obasanjo was president because of the need to consciously compensate the west for their injuries in June 12 elections annulment. Its subsequent agitations but the fundamental issues are yet to be addressed that made the Northerners to agitate leading to Buhari, a Northerner's presidency and the agitations for a Southern President in 2023. The 1988 positions of Ajayi and Aribisola are yet to be accepted by Nigerians as national values and the use of merits in choosing political representations.

Comparative Analysis of Ethnicity in the Federal Executive and Legislative Arms of Government

According to Iruonagbe and Matthew (2015) it is the heterogeneous nature of a society that leads to the adoption of a federal system of government and one of the federating reasons is unity in diversity. In a federal executive council, the constitution allows the president to appoint his cabinet from anywhere but he must apply the federal character of even spread. In the event that the president fail to appoint evenly because of the enormous powers he has, he is checkmated because of the reaction of the civil population of a marginalized area.

According to Ogunninam (2018), who supported the above position thus: the federal executive house in the 1979 constitution states that the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and to command national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies. (section 14(3) of 1999 constitution) pursuant to this, the appointment of ministers shall reflect the federal character of Nigeria... the president shall appoint at least one minister from each state who shall be an indigene of such state (section 147 (3) 1999 constitution) Appointment to the offices of the secretary to the Government, Head of Service, Ambassadors, Permanent Secretaries shall have regard to the federal character (Section 171(5) 1999 constitution). President Buhari was sworn-in in May 2015, in the citizens' view, all the appointments of the administration are lopsided as it favoured the North (the tribe of the President).

The above position of Ogunninam shows that the president can handle the issue of ethnicity efficiently if he is not the one fanning the embers of ethnicity for political survival reasons which can backfire. The president hires and fires and he can use this power to balance the interest of one ethnic group against the other.

In developed democracies, the challenges of ethnicity are not as widespread as it is in the developing and underdeveloped countries. This is so as they have the Northern Ireland question, Canadian Minorities and Afro-Indo American questions in the developed advanced democratic Nations with rule of law. It is not as prevalent when compared to that of the developing and underdeveloped countries. However, the problem of ethnicity has a more negative impact on the legislature as their members have equal mandates from electorates and their leaders derive their powers from the members and not the electorates which means that this power can be taken at will as demonstrated in the impeachments which the executives instigate certain times.

The members represent their constituencies to which they owe loyalty, therefore, their loyalty is not to the nations but to their constituency. In issues that affect their constituency, they are emotional, as they know the price of not defending their constituency's interest even when it clashes with the national interest. A case study today shows that the northerners support sharia while the south is opposed to it and also the issue of resource control is not only opposed by the North but also the West and East leaving the people of the Niger Delta alone. According to Uba (2022), the Speaker of the House of Representatives Na'abba in 2002 owes the continued retention of his position to the strong northern support of his fellow legislators from the north. The Igbo senators out of ambition had not been able to maintain their hold in the office of the Senate Presidency leading to Enwerem, Okadigbo and then Anyim. On the other hand, Senator David Mark a Northerner was able to stay in office and another Northerner Bukola Saraki who also stayed out his tenure was replaced by another Northerner called Ahmed Lawan who is currently having stable tenure.

According to Ogunninam (2018), it is difficult for the Senate or House of Representatives to handle any ethnic issue because of the diverging and opposing interests of their constituencies, unlike the president who has one constituency of the nation as can be seen from the explanation above. The choice of the president is also affected by ethnic interest as it is not purely democratic choice of the people. According to Oboh (2017), in the western world, the effect of ethnicity is not pronounced as it is in Africa. In Nigeria for example, the choice of who becomes the president of Nigeria is often decided by a group comprising the retired generals, traditional rulers and captains of Nigerian industries. It is the preferred candidate of this group that subsequently emerges the winner in every election. Therefore, one tends to wonder what is democratic about the Nigerian democracy where a few individuals can impose a candidate on a party, ignoring primaries where the most deserving candidate within the party are elected to contest the main elections. This is not the practice in the Nigerian democracy. It thus appears that Nigerian electorate has no choice for now of who becomes the president of the federal republic of Nigeria. So long as ethnicity and religion remain the major considerations in Nigeria politics.

Population

Demography which is the information in figures about the population of an area or country and how it varies over time has an impact on both the federal executive and legislative arms of government as the population of a place or nation determines the size of the legislature and if it is big, the legislature would be big which can affect the law-making process as the fewer the number, the easier it is to manage it. The size also determines the type and effectiveness of legislation that deals with development. When the population is high, there would be more pressure for democratic dividends which would lead to the legislature putting pressure on the executive to do something for their constituents. On the side of the executive, the size of the

population and the strength of the economy determine the size of the government. The size of the population also determines the type of programmes the government initiates. The executive spends more money when the population is high, as it must cater for the population in terms of its infrastructural needs, which makes the government to be concerned with population size and its distribution, which is more vital. In the developed world, it is a routine exercise and it helps them in planning but in the developing world; it is politics that made it impossible for a reliable census to be conducted by them. The executive conducts a census for planning and development purposes.

According to Warren (2021), Serra and Jerven (2021) and Yin (2007), the controversies following the release of the figures from Nigeria's 1963 population census as the basis for the allocation of seats in the federation parliament and for the distribution of resources became the bone of contention why the census was rejected. It is important that every country takes it for routine every 5 or 10 years but in Nigeria, the census is a big deal as politicians in Nigeria have come to see population figures as the determinant of the sharing of the national cake. The tentative census figures of 1962 are 47.5 million with the North 49.3% and the South 50.5%. The Northern majority claim was for the first time shown to be spurious, the North opposed it and verification was conducted which gave the North 53.5% as it claimed that the South inflated the figures. The North inflated its figures during the verification exercise. The South rejected it and another was conducted in 1963 which restored the verification result of 53.5% in the North and 46.5% to the South. In other words, politics has gained the upper hand in the census in Nigeria as not only a technical exercise but a political one as it decides what share that would be given in revenue allocation as population. Politics and revenue allocation are interwoven as the Dina commission of 1969-74 and Abayode technical committee of 1977 brought population as one of the yardsticks for revenue allocation which has made it impossible to have any reliable census until today.

Clientelism

According to Demarest (2021), in clientelism particularly the elite clientelism in Nigeria, is the political party that weakens the legislature's voter ties. Political parties in Africa and other developing countries are known to forge clientelist rather than programmatic ties to voters. Politics is an intra-elite phenomenon usually within the elite groups. The client becomes more powerful than the patron. The system is inherently centrifugal so that the ruler has power, he utilizes it (the goodies) to play one group against the other to remain in power, one fact that is interesting according to Mae Weller is that patrimonialism inhibits production-oriented capitalism that is industrial capitalism. There is a lack of continuity or trustworthiness objectives, rational predictive functioning of the legal and administrative agencies as no one would invest his money where he cannot predict what happens with near accuracy. There is also a tendency to accumulate wealth at the ruler's pleasure and discretion.

There is a tendency to give high reign to accumulations of wealth by self, by government officials, tax collectors, influence peddlers, the great merchants and financiers. It is not based on merit or skill but on the relationship to the ruler. This leads to widespread corruption. Clientelism also leads to prebendalism. According to Ayokunle and Akinpelu (2010), in spite of the universality of clientelism, it is often seen as a peculiar aspect of Third World politics, one which inevitably stifles development.

According to Wada and Okpanachi (2021), who also wrote on the issue of clientelism and prebendalism, they stated that political clientelism affects good governance in Nigeria... articulates local regional national relations. From the position of learned scholars, clientelism and prebendalism adversely affect national development as good governance is not guaranteed under patron and client relationships. It is only when there is rule of law, free and fair elections and true representative democracy that national development take place as clientelism is driven by the desire for parsimony and client-patron relationship of exchange of support from inducement. According to Hilgers (2011), other studies broadening the use of the term clientelism are driven by the desire for parsimony and have stripped the traditional definition of a series of characteristics to make it broadly applicable. Thus, Stokes (2002) labels clientelism as the proffering of material goods in return for electoral support, where the criterion of distribution that the patron uses is simply: did you (will you) support me? According to Singelmann (1981), clientelism should be seen as a continuum that may involve representation or relatively participatory exchange between patrons and clients. The position of a particular relationship on the continuum depends on the socio-political context in which it occurs. For example, landlord-peasant relationships in traditional societies or where state penetration of the countryside is limited sometimes include debt-bondage.

Comparative analysis

According to Erunke and Ndiribe (2013), the committee of the national assembly has been repeatedly identified as the engine room of the legislature, the pivot upon which the oversight, law-making and confirmatory processes rest upon. Given the prime roles of the committees, it is not surprising that jostling for key committees or juicy committees as they are known, have often been laced with intrigues. Relatedly, the committee would not be detached from the several successes and also, the odious spews that have emanated and besmirched the legislature. They went further to say that following the inauguration of the national assembly in June 2011 and the inauguration of separate leaderships for the senate and the House of Representatives, the presiding officers took months to constitute the committees of the two chambers. At that time both presiding officers claimed to have put round pegs in round holes.

Senate President David Mark and Speaker Aminu Tambuwal followed the path of political exigency trodden by their predecessors with the proliferation of the committees. While the Senate came up with 57 committees making every senator either a committee chairman or vice-chairman, the House churned out 91 committees ensuring that every other member is either a chairman or vice-chairman. From the previous position of the two scholars, it can be seen that the issue of clientelism operates at the legislature between the principal officers and their supporters. The ruling officials have their supporters in committee chairmen particularly the juicy committees; these positions members will lose them when they refuse to fall in line. Senator Enwerem lost out when the presidency withdrew its support. The same thing happened to Senator Okadigbo.

Also, attempts have been made in the past on the leadership of House of Representatives and more would have been made if the then Speaker of the House Na'abba had not complied. People flock to Aso-Rock to get their share of the national cake every day and those favoured get raw cash, appointments, contract etc. This account for the high number of praise singers particularly the ones that praise sings for any government in power. Such praise singers are parasites that depend on support or favours from power to survive as they get contracts through surrogates and

travel abroad. The Gbenga Aluko's of Okadigbo's tenure easily comes to mind. Currently, there exist Jonathan Zwingina of Anyim's regime. The same goes for Nabba, and his henchmen but the level of clientelism at the legislature is smaller when compared to the federal executive. In the federal executive, the president is the head and godfather. He dispenses favour and the federal executive council is his rubber stamp, he can hire and fire at his whims and caprices, he rewards people with the national resources for their loyalty and he supports the leadership of the national assemblies with his powers and withdraws it at will.

Political Representation

Political representation differs from nations to nations and there are two types of political representation namely: Elective and appointed. A political representation can therefore mean a democratic mandate or quota appointment. In Elective Political Representation, we have a single mandate of the whole nation as one constituency for the president and his ministers are appointed by him to reflect the federal character and they are therefore the political representatives of their people in the cabinet although their mandate is from the president. They still represent the interest of their people. Their loyalty is to the president that appointed them to the office and they also still maintain some form of loyalty to their people as they can agitate for their replacement and if the agitation is too much the president would have no choice but to replace them.

However, this is not the case with the Legislature as they have multiple mandates and nobody can sack them unless they are recalled by their people which is complex. In the legislature, the legislators champion the interests of their constituencies hence we have opposing and diverging interests in the legislature. Political representation as earlier mentioned exists in two forms, elective and appointment. The legislatures have only elective political representation as all their members are elected by their respective constituencies. The executive differs from the legislative as it is only the president that is elected by the whole nations as a single constituency and his ministers are appointed by him. The legislature has multiple members' constituency.

According to Falade (2014) who cited Appadorai (2004), political participation particularly in the electoral process is a fundamental requirement of representative democracy. This is the reason why scholars argued that where, on account of an atmosphere of fear and cohesion, people do not feel free to discuss or vote, democracy cannot be said to exist, even though the other political rights are enjoyed by the people. He also further cited Sovereignty (2010), that identified some of the requirement of democratic rule as: At least two party system should give room for freedom of choice, periodic election that is based on universal adult suffrage, free and fair election to allow the political party that have the support of the majority to control the machinery of government and civil liberties such as freedom of association, religion, speech, and freedom from arbitrary arrest. He concluded by saying that representative democracy rest on the assumption that the citizen possess and demonstrates some civic capacities namely intelligence, self-control and conscience.

Arising from the above, we can see that elective representation was introduced gradually and in stages. It was first introduced into town councils where the colonial government experienced the least problem. In May 1919, elective representation was granted to the Lagos Town Council. This was allowed, perhaps, in exchange for the power to impose township rates, which was introduced in the Township Ordinance of May 29, 1919. The first election in Nigeria was held in the Lagos Town Council on March 29, 1920. The following people were elected: Mr. A. Folarin

(Lawyer), Dr. A. Savage and Mr. G. D. Agbebi (Engineer). The Clifford Constitution of 1922 extended elective representation to the Legislative Council, which was made up of 27 colonial officers as official members, 15 unofficial members, nominated by colonial officers and four elected Africans. This meant that out of forty-six (46) members, the officials were in the majority. The four elected representatives were J. E. Egerton Shyngle, E. O. Moore, Prince Kwamina Ata-Amonu (all of them lawyers) and Dr. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones.

The qualification for election included sex, nationality, age, residence and income. A prospective legislator must be a male of twenty-one years and above. He must be either a British subject or a native of the Protectorate of Nigeria and must have been resident for twelve months in the constituency before registration. The registration requirement for legislative elections was different from that of local government elections. Finally, the prospective legislator must have a total annual income of not less than one hundred British Pounds during the calendar year preceding the date of the election. According to Tamuno (1966), general elections were held in Nigeria on 21 October, 1938. The Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) won three out of the four elected seats in the legislative council defeating the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), which had won every election. This party was destroyed by ethnicity when there was a succession battle.

Summary

Population, ethnicity, clientelism and political representation have a tremendous impact on both the federal executive and legislative arms of government as the population of a nation determines the size of its legislature whether it is compact or unwieldy. Also, the size determines the level of intervention of the executive in infrastructural provisions which is political. This makes it imperative for the executives to conduct an accurate census. The per capita income of any nation is measured in terms of GDP/Population. Clientelism also exists in both the executive and legislative as there exist kingmakers that decide what happens at both levels, particularly in developing countries where political positions are not gotten on merit but on the basis of sycophancy and primordial loyalties.

The patron-client relationships lead to political corruption. Also, ethnicity is endemic in both arms of Government as the stiff competition and rivalry among them have led to ethnic politics where the major and minority tribes see themselves as rivals who have been taken to the Federal Executive Council and the Legislature. The impact is felt more in the legislature because of the absence of a father and a powerful figure like the Executive President; they see themselves more loyal to their constituencies than to the nation. The Legislators are more exposed to pressure from their constituencies which make them champion of parochial and selfish interests. According to Chile (2013), if a person live in Nigeria and is concerned about Nigeria's future, that person will agree with that Nigeria has countless problems impeding her growth and development as a country. Among these problems, tribalism is one which seems to be the highest case after corruption, it blights every sphere of Nigerian economy and it is one whose success or failure in curbing, would either constructively define, strategically position, or would continuously be used to plummet the political landscape of Nigeria.

Conclusion

Conclusively, true representation must be demanded by the governed, as the saying goes “it is one who lives in the house who knows where the roof leaks and the urgency to repair.” There is a need for the populace to demand good governance by way of peaceful protest against bad leadership. There must be a clamour for international attention to make the rulers have a rethink on their style of leadership and the populace must be strengthened to vote out of power bad political leaders in a free and fair election. The will of the governed must prevail if the governed don’t sell their right. At all times government must be made accountable to the people, whose resources they were voted into power to manage and not the other way round. Emphasis must be placed on merits, honesty and productivity as part of the National values that must be keyed in by all Nigerian citizens. Tribalism and ethnicity must be de-emphasized.

Recommendations

1. For clientelism which leads to prebendalism politics to stop in Nigeria, there must be a proper separation of powers within the three arms of government; the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. The major aim for the separation of power was to deter any arm of government from possessing arbitrary powers as they are expected to serve as a watchdog on the other.
2. There is a need for institutional reforms, the institutions themselves are very weak thus, making the operators of the institutions to compromise and favour those that they like and prosecute who they hate or those who protest against bad governance.
3. The overbearing powers of the executive must be reduced or weakened by giving equal powers to the other arms of government, by making the judiciary and the legislature to operate independently.
4. The governed must demand constitutional reforms and the restructuring of the nations’ political system to fit that of the western world, since Nigeria copied democracy from the United State of America, Nigeria must then reflect it entirely, the reports of the political bureau, constitutional conferences, constitutional assembly, and legislative motions should be fully implemented.
5. A tendency to give high reign to primitive accumulations of wealth by self, by government officials, tax collectors, influence peddlers, the great merchants and financiers must be discouraged by the legislature and the judiciary. The legislature and the executive must be willing to bring the defaulters to book. Bodies like Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) etc. should be well funded and the judiciary, police, state security services, military intelligence should be strengthened. The government should generate and sustain the political will to fight corruption in all its ramifications.
6. Detribalized Nigerian politicians are needed at the executive and legislative arms of government. The honest Nigerians should not see politics as a dirty game but a civic responsibility for them to participate in voting and be voted for.
7. To strengthen national unity, there is an urgent need to abolish the state of origin and if possible religion on any kind of official document to avoid discrimination of any Nigerian.

8. We must mandatorily begin to identify ourselves as Nigerians first, before identifying our ethnic groups to immediately limit and to later totally eliminate tribal politics and its negative consequences.
9. There should be national reorientation and sensitization of the Nigerian citizens to have new national moral values that places unity, honesty, merit and morality in the front burner and this should be domesticated at the local, state and national levels.
10. Federal character, quota system and other forms of discrimination either for or against should be abolished in favour of merit in all official and unofficial activities in Nigeria.

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