

**PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND LEGISLATORS  
TURNOVER IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC**

**BY**

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**JANUARY, 2020**

## **APPROVAL PAGE**

This is to certify that this Dissertation titled ‘Public Perception of the National Assembly and Legislators Turnover in the Fourth Republic’ has been read and approved as meeting the regulations governing the award of the degree of Masters in Legislative Studies (MLS) of Postgraduate Studies, National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin Postgraduate Programmes and accepted for its contribution to knowledge and literary appreciation.

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## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled ‘Public Perception of the National Assembly and Legislators Turnover in the Fourth Republic’ presented by **Oghale Maris Imouokhome (PG/NLS/1714018)** has met the partial requirements for the award of a Master’s Degree in Legislative Studies (MLS) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin, Edo State.

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## **DECLARATION PAGE**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my own research efforts, undertaken under the supervision of Dr. Asimiyu G. Abiola.

It is an original work and no part of it has ever been presented for the award of a degree anywhere.

All sources of information used have been dully acknowledged on the reference page.

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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to God Almighty who gave me the needed strength to go through this programme.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My profound gratitude goes to the Almighty God for His grace and endless mercies in my life.

I use this opportunity to express my appreciation to my esteemed and enviable supervisor Dr. A.G.Abiola, for his immense contribution, patience, understanding and constructive criticism. I truly appreciate you.

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the perception/image problem of the National Assembly and the high turnover rate of legislators which has been a worrisome issue for the legislature in the Fourth Republic. (1999-2019). Turnover is the rate at which a legislator is re-elected or not returned back into the National Assembly. The specific objectives of the study are; to find out the public's perception (opinion) of the National Assembly, factors accounting for the public's view of the National Assembly, the effects of such views on legislator's turnover and the causes of high turnover rate of legislators. This study is significant at this point in time considering the fact that the National Assembly still grapples to launder its image before the public in spite of its efforts over the years. The attrition rate recorded in the 2019 general elections that saw the National Assembly lose most of its finest and competent legislators has also become a worrisome trend. Despite the fact that a lot of studies have been conducted on the subject matter, the problem still persists hence the need for the study.

The sources of data required for the research were both primary and secondary data. Questionnaire was used in Objective one and two to find out the public's perception of the National Assembly and factors responsible for the views they have about the National Assembly. Secondary data (available documents from the National Assembly, text books, journals and internet sources) was used in achieving objective three and four to see the trend in turnover from 1999-2019 and also explore issues on legitimacy of elections, evolution of the National Assembly, public perception, theoretical framework of the study and causes of high turnover rate respectively. The analyses of data gathered was basically descriptive using the simple percentage, statistical tables and graphs.

For objective one, the study found out that the public has a negative perception of the National Assembly and the factors accounting for the negative perception(objective two) as identified by the study were; alleged high rate of corruption, conflictual executive-legislative relationship and misappropriation of constituency funds. For the third objective, the study also found out that negative public perception of the National Assembly has no effect on the rate of turnover, rather factors like godfatherism, quality of challengers at elections, imposition of candidates amongst others were identified as the causes of high turnover rate in the fourth republic.

To address the issue of negative perception, it was recommended that the National Assembly should be opened to the public by granting uninterrupted access to the media so citizens are carried along and kept abreast about the happenings in the National Assembly. Secondly, to curb the issue of alleged corruption and misappropriation of constituency funds, the National Assembly should be transparent in the conduct of its core mandate especially as it concerns oversight activities by ensuring that monies budgeted are utilized for the purpose they were appropriated for and the legislature should ensure a cordial working relationship with the executive to avoid friction. Thirdly, since the study showed perception had no effect on turnover, the study recommends strengthening our electoral laws to give credibility to the electoral process. Finally, to address high rate of turnover, internal party democracy in political parties should be taken seriously as a way to addressing issues of imposition of candidates, godfatherism, zoning, power of incumbency, judicial decisions etc. that account for high turnover rate.



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Legislatures are established across democracies as important institutions and ingredient of representative democracy and good governance. Therefore, the main functions of legislative houses are to debate policy related issues and then process legislations that provide legal framework for good governance, development and the rule of law. Through the exercise of their three fundamental functions of law-making, representation and oversight functions, parliaments ensure transparency and accountability which fundamentally characterize modern day practice, to determine the trust of the citizenry. It has been argued that parliament is a law-making and policy influencing body in every democracy (Okoosi-Simbine, 2010; Bogdanor, 1991). Okoosi-Simbine (2010) and Bogdanor, (1991) argued that legislators are the real custodians of state sovereignty. According to Awotokun (1998) this is because 'the will of the people' rest more with them than any other democratic institutions. Arising from the enormous legislative responsibilities conferred on the legislature by the constitution and other legal documents, parliaments strive to run a well-coordinated administrative process in order to achieve their mandate.

In Nigeria, the National Assembly has striven well in performing the functions of a transformative legislature especially in the Fourth Republic. Section 4(2) under Part II of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, confers on the National Assembly “power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the federation”. In the first ever Global Parliamentary Report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) which focuses on the relationship between parliaments and citizens, the UNDP Administrator argues that the legitimacy and effectiveness of any legislature depends on public opinion and support. Around the world, the legislature is generally the least rated of all arms of government and National institutions (Posner & Park, 2007; Edet & Amadu, 2014). Survey figures compiled by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and subsequently reproduced in the IPU’s publication on parliament and democracy in the 21st century revealed that, across the world, parliaments were less trusted than other institutions of government. Even

the United States of America's Congress is no exception to this trend of public perception. According to Gallup polling report of May 2017, 74 percent of Americans disapprove of the job of their congress and that has basically been the average disapproval rating over the years. The implication is that three quarters of Americans do believe that US Congress is a self-serving institution.

Term limits are not imposed on parliamentarians anywhere in the world. Since the inception of the Fourth Republic and from available documents in the National Assembly, legislator turnover rate has been very high. The result of this state of affairs on Nigeria's National Assembly is the erosion of institutional memory. Indeed, there are implications. The Nigerian lawmaker is disadvantaged when meeting his colleagues from other countries; and the reason is not far-fetched.

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria requires the legislators to gain the requisite experience to effectively discharge their mandate. Thus, there is decision not to limit the number of times a well performing Senator or Honourable member can be re-elected (Onuigbo & Eme, 2015). Despite this, the electorates have the constitutional right to elect or re-elect a legislator. The incessant high turnover of National Assembly members provides a new challenge to democracy. One would wonder the level of constructive contributions that would be expected from inexperienced legislators or first-time legislators during legislative debates.

By African standard, Nigeria has the highest turnover rate of 70percent as compared to South Africa with 47, Ghana 56, Kenya 64, Uganda 50.5 and 51percent for Benin Republic, respectively Hamalai (2014).

According to the Leadership Newspaper (May 19, 2019) and review of available documents in the National Assembly, only thirty (30) out of one hundred and nine (109) serving senators won their re-election bid. Fifty(50) of the senators had lost their return tickets during the primaries in December, while twenty nine ( 29) others lost out during the secondary elections in March 2019. This means a total number of seventy nine (79) senators did not make it to the 9th Senate which is about the highest attrition rates recorded in the senate since 1999.

The trend from 1999 to date shows that in each election, at least 75 senators lost their bid to return. In 2003 and 2007, only 35 senators got re-elected. In 2011, the attrition rate got worse as only 27

senators were returned representing less than 20 percent of the Senate (Hamalai, 2014). In 2015, only 35 senators were re-elected. In the House of Representatives, 108 out of 360 lawmakers were re-elected in 2003, while 110 and 103 lawmakers were re-elected in 2007 and 2011 respectively, only 131 made it back to the House in 2015. However, the 2019 elections recorded a more remarkable return rate in the House of Representatives as 151 members were re-elected even though the Senates return rate was still low at 30.

This situation of things runs counter to what obtains in the United States where Nigeria borrowed her bicameral legislature from. The United States has the highest retention rate across the world with close to 100 percent probability that a senator or member of the House of Representatives would be re-nominated by his party to re-contest elections (Onuigbo & Eme, 2015). According to Onuigbo & Eme, (2015), there is a 90 percent probability that each Senator or Member would be re-elected. They further added that re-election rate in US House of Representatives averaged over 90 percent since 1964 while the retention rate for Senate averaged 85 percent in the last five decades.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The Legislature is saddled with the responsibility of law making, oversight and representation of constituents. In spite of the important role played by the Legislature in our democracy, its approval rating in the public space is nothing to be desired. It has over the years been in the news (electronic, print and social media) for the wrong reasons ranging from the secrecy in how much a law maker earns, alleged grand corruption, budget padding, and embezzlement of constituency funds to delay in the passage of the annual budget which have a direct impact on the lives of the citizens. These and many more may have contributed in one way or another to the way the general public perceive the National Assembly.

The image problem of the National Assembly has and will always be an issue of concern if deliberate efforts are not put in place to address it. Despite efforts by successive sessions of the National Assembly particularly the eight Assembly to launder its image, the problem still persists. Considering the importance of public opinion in our democracy, especially with regards to

providing feedbacks to government on areas they need to work on for the purposes of development and good governance, it is therefore necessary to find a lasting solution to the problem and help improve perception.

Turnover on the other hand is another worrisome trend in the Legislature. There's no gain saying that legislators all over the world require experience to effectively discharge their core mandate of lawmaking, representation and oversight, which explains why they do not have limits to the number of times they can be elected and re-elected into the legislature. In other words, they do not have terms of office once they are elected unlike the executive who can only be in office for a term or two. The legislator can be elected as many times as possible which is consistent with what happens in advanced democracies. However in developing democracies like Nigeria, this is not usually the case.

The implication of all these is that the country loses huge resources not only in monetary terms but also in terms of manpower, clout and experience as well as the erosion of institutional memory. The need for Legislators to have requisite experience to effectively discharge their core duties of law making, representation and oversight cannot be overemphasized which is why there is no limit to the number of times a well performing member of the National Assembly can be re-elected. However, the electorates have the constitutional right to re-elect or not to re-elect a legislator.

This study therefore investigates Public perception of the National Assembly and to establish whether there is a link between the Public perception and the high turnover rate of legislators in the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. What is the public's perception of the National Assembly in the fourth republic?
- ii. What are the factors responsible for the perception the public hold about the National Assembly?
- iii. What is the effect of public perception on turnover rate in the National Assembly?
- iv. What are the factors responsible for high rate of turnover in the National Assembly?
- v. What are the solutions to Public perception( if negative) and high turnover of legislators in the National Assembly?



## **1.4 Research Objectives**

The broad objective of the study was to examine the public's perception of the legislature, the challenge of legislator's turnover in the National Assembly and also to establish if there's a link between the public's opinion of the legislature (perception) and turnover rate.

The following are the specific objectives of the research:

- i. To examine public perception of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic.
- ii. To identify factors accounting for the perception the public holds about the National Assembly
- iii. To examine the effects of public perception on legislators turnover in the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic.
- iv. To identify and examine the factors responsible for high rate of turnover in the National Assembly.
- v. Proffer solutions towards improving perception and reducing high turnover of legislators in National Assembly.

## **1.5 Scope of the Study**

The scope of this study is the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic (1999-2019). This restriction was informed by the limited time and resources available to the researcher to carry out this study. It enhanced clarity and a better understanding of the objectives and findings of the study.

## **1.6 Justification of the Study**

The understanding of public perception of the National Assembly and reasons for high rate of legislator's turnover would go a long way to helping our lawmakers know how the public truly feels about them and also know the areas they need to focus on to enhance development through the process of lawmaking, oversight and representation. This study is significant at this point in time considering the attrition rate in the 2019 elections where only 30 senators made it into the Ninth Senate out of 109 and 151 Members out of 360. Also, by establishing whether there is a link

or not between public perception and legislators' turnover in the National Assembly as well as the solutions it recommends, this study fills an important gap in literature on the subject of study.

### **1.7 Definition of Concepts**

**Public:** According to Cambridge Dictionary, the word Public is used to refer to people in general, rather than being limited to a particular group of people. However, for the purpose of this study it to refer to the general mass of Nigerian citizens who are aware of the existence and essence of the National Assembly. This category of people include; civil servants, individuals in private sectors and Civil Society Organizations.

**Perception:** the Oxford dictionary describes perception as the way something is regarded, understood or interpreted. In this study it is used to depict the views or opinion Nigerians hold about the National Assembly particularly in the way and manner they carry out their tripartite function of law making, oversight and representation.

**Legislators:** the Oxford dictionary describes a legislator as a person who makes laws and also a member of a legislative body. In this study, a legislator refers to elected law-makers representing the various senatorial districts and federal constituencies in the National Assembly.

**Turnover:** Described by the Oxford dictionary as the rate at which an employee leaves a workforce or are replaced. This entails the frequency at which serving Senators and Honorable Members are being replaced by newly elected ones in an election since 2003.

**Public Perception:** this entails the dominant view of a situation, something, somebody or institutions. It is therefore, the dominant view or opinion about the National Assembly.

**Legislators Turnover:** replacement of law-makers through elections courts or recall.

**NASS:** this is an acronym for the National Assembly.

### **1.8 Organization of Chapter**

Chapter One contains the introduction, research objectives, research questions, scope, significance of the study and definition of concepts. Chapter Two provides a detailed review of literatures relevant to the study and theoretical framework. Chapter Three focuses on the outline of the research and the research methodology. Chapter Four focuses on the presentation of data, analysis and discussion of results while Chapter Five contains the summary of the study, conclusion and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter brought to fore, existing literatures as it concerns turnover, the Legislature and the Nigerian National Assembly, public perception of the National Assembly, the theoretical framework adopted for the study and the link between the framework and the study.

### 2.1 Turn-Over

Legislators turnover is generally viewed as the number of times elected representatives of the people are returned or not returned in elections or a changed majority in parliamentary elections. In terms of electoral competitiveness, turnover represents the standard for measuring any given democratic election as it serves as a core pointer (Lindberg 2004). Nevertheless, there exist other pointers of competitiveness which include winning party's share of legislative seats and second party's share of legislative seats as well as winner's share of the votes. In line with what Lindberg posits, a fraction of the total valid votes cast is what represents winner's share of the votes. Though the precise position of this variable in determining the level of competition has remained a subject of debate, the main argument however, still borders around the closeness in terms of the outcome among competing parties, which is a reflection of the level of electoral competition. As Lindberg (2004) posits, being the manifest outcome of institutionalized uncertainty, alternations of power occurring in peaceful manner remains a sign of the distributive authority of the people inherent in the expression "rule by the people" as advocated by Abraham Lincoln. Schedler (2002 quoted in Ornert and Hewitt, 2006) has also argued that in a situation where alternation has occurred, there is likely to be more democracy and a greater likelihood that new elites are coming up.

Matland and Studlar (2004), broadly define turnover as 'the percentage of membership that changes from one election to the other'. In a bid to render a more precise calculation of turnover rates, (Manow 2007) offered a more clear-cut definition. He defined turnover as the segment of those parliamentarians who do not return to the succeeding parliament or are not re-elected. This, invariably leads to both a broad and narrow definitions of the term; turnover. Legislative turnover is either defined broadly as comprising all who have been members of parliament but are no longer members of parliament (turnover rate $\frac{1}{4}$  return rate), or it is defined more narrowly as comprising all who have been elected to parliament but failed to be re-elected to parliament (turnover rate $\frac{1}{4}$

re-election rate) (Manow, 2007). Using Germany instances, ( Manow 2007) opined that while the first proposed definition covers all those who were not elected but became members of parliament during the term (in Germany the so-called Nachrucker, which means substitutes that replace Members of Parliament that vacate parliament during the term for any reason whatsoever), the second definition, on the other hand, excludes them. The difference is non-trivial. For example, during the 12th term of the Bundestag which spanned from 1990–94, 10 Members of Parliament passed away while twenty seven (27) abdicated office by resignation hence, the vacancies were filled from party lists without necessarily conducting any form of bye-elections for their replacement. Although this situation is suitable to the German environment, the Nigeria’s political environment is not suitable since it operates the First-Past-the-Post system as opposed to a combination of both Proportional Representation and First-Past-the-Post systems which operate in Germany. Both arguments have candid counting rules which are: the return rate can be arrived at by counting the number of MPs sitting in parliament on the last day of the erstwhile parliament and the first day of the succeeding parliament, using the total number of seats in the erstwhile parliament as the determinant of turnover rate. The reports of re-election rate entails the percentage of sitting legislators who were elected at one general election and are subsequently re-elected at the next general election (simply put, legislators who were members of parliament on the first day of the previous and on the first day of the next parliament).

For the purpose of this study, the definition of legislators’ turnover means the number of lawmakers who could not win re-elections in order to maintain their seat at the National Assembly.. Most of the best legislators who helped conspicuously in giving vibrancy to the 8th Senate lost their return bid for various reasons apart from national interest.

## **2.2 Legitimacy of Elections and Turnover**

Turnover has also been linked with the legitimacy of an election which is another key democratic quality of elections. The legitimacy of an election can be determined by the extent to which political stakeholders, particularly political parties and candidates, accept the outcome of elections in a peaceful and open manner. The recently conducted senatorial elections that eventually ended up in a re-run in Kogi State held on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 2019, between Senators Dino Melaye of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and Smart Adeyemi of the All Progressive Congress (APC)

shows a situation where one party out rightly rejects the outcome of the result because according to him elections were not conducted in a peaceful and open manner. This goes to buttress the point that legitimacy is a key quality of democratic election as it determines the acceptability of the electoral process. It also translates to reduced litigation in the courts of Law because if the general acceptance rate of election of results by political parties and candidates are high, litigation would be low.

Rakner and Svasand (2003) lend credence to this when they argued that the legitimacy of the electoral process is determined by electorate's and candidates' perceptions that the process was conducted in a way that does not, in any way, ensure a certain outcome. In order to enhance the democratic legitimacy of any election(s), there should be certainty about the process, but uncertainty about the results. (Przeworski, 1991) This, according to Lindberg, is in itself, an intrinsic democratic quality. The end result of the electoral process shouldn't be known even before the process itself begins. In some instances in Nigeria, once a state is tagged an All Progressive Congress (APC ) state, it automatically means that every election in that state will go the way of the APC and vice versa when it is a People Democratic Party (PDP) state. This therefore throws a question as to how electoral legitimacy can be measured. To answer the question of how electoral legitimacy can be measured, the following indicators are identified by Lindberg: the acceptance of an election results by the loser, peacefulness in the conduct of the elections at the various stages (before, during and after election) and breakdown of the processes and results. In the aspect of losers accepting the results, Lindberg further posits that there may be situations, where losers may raise alarm just for the purpose of gaining political advantage, especially in transitional settings, from the international community. This can also be said to be a strategy to undermine the political rule of their opponents.

We've seen instances in Nigeria where even before the commencement of the electoral process, opposition political parties come up with so many allegations against the ruling party. Some of which include; plans by the ruling party to rig elections, the use of security agents to intimidate voters in strongholds of opposition and vote buying. It is important to note that some of these allegations most of the time are hardly substantiated or proven beyond reasonable doubt. It therefore means that challenging the official results of an election is not enough indication that there are substantial allegations of irregularities in the process.

The empirical backing for the above rationalization is in the ongoing propaganda in Africa whereby opposition parties and candidates alike accord legitimacy to elections only when they are declared winners and vice versa. Like in Nigeria, when opposition parties win an election, they say it's victory for Democracy but when it's the other way round they say democracy is been endangered . In spite of how sound and appealing the logic is, the argument yet, fails to indicate how to ascertain genuine rejection of results by oppositions when elections were seriously flawed, thereby, creating a situation for complete reliance on the reports of local and international observers as proof of the genuineness or otherwise of opposition's protests and rejection of results (Adebayo and Omotola, 2007). In the just concluded elections in Kogi State, a lot of Civil Society Organizations such as YIAGA AFRICA called for outright cancellation of the elections given the violence and vote buying that characterized the election because in its opinion, the outcome of the election cannot be a true reflection of the wish of the people of Kogi State. The Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room also called for the cancellation of the same result (Daily Trust Nov. 2019). This gives credence to what Adebayo and Omotola (2007) said when they posited that reliance on reports from local and international observers is one sure way of proving the genuineness or otherwise of opposition protest or rejection of results.

Another way of measuring legitimacy of elections is by the peacefulness of the elections, which is determined in terms of whether or not violence occurred at any of the stages of the elections, which according to him, is a symptom of failed institutionalization. (Lindbergh 2004). Also another issue is that of abortion of the electoral cycle, which is the issue of breakdown. This can occur either through the outright breakout of civil wars or through military seizure of power. Otherwise, so long as the electoral cycle continues, the elections, despite all odds, do have some form of legitimacy. This, to Lindberg, is the ultimate indicator of legitimacy (Lindberg, 2004). Building on the foundational works of Bratton (1998; 1999), Lindberg proceeded to testing the validity of these theoretical propositions. In their conclusion, Bratton and Van de Walle (1998) and others stated that there were reasons for demo-optimism in Africa on the basis of marked improvement in the democratic qualities of its successive elections.

In conclusion, I would say that in spite of the fact that there may be cogent reasons for demo-optimism in Africa on the basis of marked improvement and also for the simple fact that democracy is better than military regime, a lot still needs to be done to enhance our electoral process. Bringing

it home, it's of utmost importance to enhance legitimacy of elections in particular so as to reduce the percentage of litigations in our courts. This invariably means putting an efficient electoral Act in place that would ensure that elections are most credible. If and when this is done, both candidates and political parties would readily accept the outcome of elections.

### **2.3 Public Perception**

Perception refers to how individuals make sense of their social world. It also relates to how we make impressions of and make inferences about other people. According to Severin (2001), different people react to same message or situation in very different ways, and this is all related to how people process or digest specific piece of information. But again, exposure to selective content on media, sometimes, plays a very important role in making up perceptions towards a certain issue or issues. Selective exposure “is a method for reducing dissonance by seeking information that is consonant with current beliefs and actions” (Turner and West 2007).

There's no gain saying that the media play a very important role in shaping the minds of the people. It sometimes determines what we think, how we reason based on the information we are being fed with. For instance, a lot of Nigerians may not have a one on one interaction with their Legislator, they may not be fully abreast of the things he or she does in their constituency and so the only information they have about their representative is what they get from the media whether good or bad. This unfortunately is what informs their decision at the ballot. The media is such a powerful tool for disseminating information as there are various forms ranging from electronic to print media. It doesn't really matter whether one is educated or not, the media has a way of reaching everyone including those at the grass roots or the down trodden. This also means that electricity or not, information can still travel far via transistor radios. All of these goes to show that one cannot talk about perception without the media. Media ultimately shapes what we believe to a very large extent and by extension it shapes the belief of the masses about their representatives.

In describing the role of media in guiding public perception, Chan (2007), stated that guidance of public perception is more indirect, flexible and a subtle way of dealing with public opinion. In furtherance, Chan (2007) expounded that media's role in guiding public opinion is somewhat related to the concept of propaganda by shifting the focus on “what people think” to “what people



think about". This encapsulates the essential role which media plays in trying to shape public opinion on situations and issues. It also shapes the way the public think and act based on the perceptions they have and in many cases what media gives them direction to perceive and act on. The function of media in providing information affects Societies though it could vary from individual to individual as well as other factors such as levels of education and awareness of happenings. It can be related with the need for orientation which is a cognitive action of an individual about certain topic or issue. Through its surveillance function, Media could be strong enough and can have a very strong impact through contemporary news media. Amongst the functions of Media includes socialization function which is aimed at transferring specific culture among people of the society.

Given the role of the media which is to provide hand information about national and international happenings, it also influences public opinion and perceptions very easily. This is so because in this epoch of industrial revolution, the public generally relied on media for immediate and actual information of the economy, the surroundings and the governance process. It is convenient to say therefore, that the public can easily be influenced from the content of media and it becomes very easy to mold and influence the opinion of the general public in a dimension and direction where media wants to.

In present time, media remains a tool by which one could produce the climate of harmony or which one could use to control the minds of people. But sometimes media can produce conflict between different societal groups or arms of government and the result would be in the shape of instability within the society or vice versa. This can relate to media construction of social reality and how successful media has been in constructing some important aspects of reality out of nowhere, or sometimes from the facts and happenings that go unnoticed in society. Therefore, it remains a very important role of media to construct certain aspects on one issue or more, thereafter, present in front of the public for the public to make certain perceptions according to whatever media constructed. There exists different roles of media and they include the following; providing entertainment, education, information, not forgetting the role of gate keeping which is to keep a check and balance on the pieces of information that should go public and those that should not.

McCombs and Maxwell (2002) posit that, “The power of the news media is to set a nation’s agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence”. This is apparent that news media is immeasurably powerful in guiding public opinion towards specific direction or it could be like this to change the perception of people in some specific ways to ensure that people start thinking or perceiving in a way media wants them to. The biasness of media coverage as studied by Vallon, Rose & Lepper (1985) was based on two sides; by taking and analyzing the equal sample of both pro-national and anti-national players. A major responsibility of media is in carving out certain perceptions that could be either in favor or against a policy direction, institution of government, programme, etc. In Nigeria for example, certain stations are tagged opposition station because people perceive them to be anti-government always opposed to government policies and programs. On the other hand the ones that are tagged pro-government do not see anything wrong with government policies, they are always in support of the government and never saying anything bad about the government. A person who is always watching a 'pro-government' television or radio station would invariably perceive the government in a positive light and vice versa.

In describing perception, Lahlry (1991), maintains that, "perception deals with the process through which we interpret sensory data". On the other hand, media, to Silverblatt (2004) “is a social institution that provides a support system for individuals as they struggle to become members of a larger social network”. Again this is related to the fact that whether the media always played the same role on what people perceived in their minds regarding legislative issues or not. Depending on the route taken by the media, the society is affected either positively or negatively. In the same vein, the legislature, which is a very salient organ of government as well as pillar of state, most times suffer media barrage which in turn stimulates public condemnation and hatred. The media ultimately, determines people's perception of the legislature.

#### **2.4 The Nigerian National Assembly**

According to Lafenwa, (2002), "Legislature is generally referred to as an official body, whose emergence is a product of an election, with the power to make, change, and repeal laws as well as powers to represent the constituent units and control government through oversight." The legislature, according to the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Science (1991) is a political

institution(s) whose members are formally equal to one another, whose authority derives from a claim that the members are representative of the political community, and whose decisions are collectively made according to complex procedures.

The Legislature is a law making assembly of elected members in a formally equal relationship to one another. Modern legislatures can be said to have originated from advisory councils constituted to give advice to rulers in ancient times. Legislature implies representation, which takes into account, the presence of significant segment in the society, which interests need to be considered in the process of decisions making and consequently, the feeling of belongingness for the different segments being represented as well as the sense of solidarity of the represented groups for the system. Thus, representation implies belongingness and system legitimacy

Loewenberg (1995) opines that the legislature is an “assembly of elected representatives from geographically defined constituencies, with lawmaking functions in the governmental process”. In the same vein, Jewell (1997) identified two features that distinguish legislatures from other branches of government. He opines that legislatures have formal authority to pass laws, which are implemented and interpreted by the executive and judicial branches and their members normally are elected to represent various elements in the population. It is instructive to understand that legislatures vary in terms of composition, structure and role, from one democracy to the other.

Strictly speaking, legislatures are divided into two types. They are the bicameral and the unicameral types. The unicameral legislature has only one chamber or house while the bicameral variation has two. All communist regimes, including China, many Latin American countries, Norway, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Israel, Lebanon, and New Zealand has unicameral legislature (Bone, 1972).

Legislatures vary in pattern of organizational procedures; they also differ from place to place in terms of membership number, size and tenure of office. With respect to its organization, some legislatures maintain bicameral system while others have unicameral system. Nigeria, Switzerland, Canada, Germany, Australia and the United States are among the nation states that operate bicameral system.

Legislature is a central component and indispensable principle of democratic governance across the globe. This is because the legislature is the primary mechanism of popular sovereignty that provides for representation in governance of the diverse interests in a multi-cultural and sub-national society. Thus, in most modern societies, the legislature plays significant role in governance and political development. Its functions are basically threefold, namely law-making, oversight functions and representation. The law making aspect of the functions of the legislature is its primary responsibility. The oversight function of the legislature gives it the responsibility to oversee the work and functioning of the executive and other agencies of government. The legislative process is an institutional process for checks and balances in a political system to ensure agency efficiency as determined by the extent of compliance with established procedures and responsiveness to constituency interest.

The third main function of the legislature is that of representation. As Oni (2013) states “legislators represent their constituencies in the government and serve the government to the constituency”. Therefore, an essential characteristic of legislators is the intrinsic link they maintain with the citizens they represent, a characteristic which most closely expresses the sentiment of government by the people” (Bailey 1989)

It is imperative to make distinction of legislative representation under the parliamentary and the presidential system. The legislative behaviour under the parliamentary system is not exactly reflected under the presidential system; rather, all the members under the presidential system are elected on their different party platforms. And once elected; party loyalty in the legislature reduces almost to lowest ebb and legislators seem free to decide which way to vote and are not as readily subservient to supreme party directives. The president must in fact lobby not only members of other parties but also his own party men, to muster enough support for any executive proposal requiring legislative ratification. Thus, the independent spirit of the legislator is largely guaranteed to the extent that his seat is safe for a period of four years; whereas under the parliamentary system, an adverse vote against the government party on a major policy issue would invariably lead to the collapse of that government (Ojo, 1997) when this happens, there is usually no guarantee that the legislator would be re-elected in the subsequent election.

The bicameral structures are made up of the Upper House and the Lower House. Some countries designate their Upper House as the Senate and the Lower House as the House of Representative. Typical examples of this are the United States of America and Nigeria. In England, the House of Lords and the House of Commons are the designations for the Upper House and Lower House respectively. This structural variation notwithstanding, legislatures tend to exhibit some basic common characteristics. Generally speaking, their members are formally equal to one another in status. For another, the authority of members depends on their claim to representation of the rest of the community. Furthermore, as Loewenberg (1971) opines, quality of status also determines that members of parliament work collectively, either in meetings of the entire membership or of committees of members. These characteristics portray the legislature as what it is by its nature and design, a functional institution. In order for a legislature to remain practically functional and contribute to national development, Ogunna (1983) opined that it must, among other things be:

Truly representative in character, knowledgeable and mature in judgment, selfless, responsive, responsible, competent and effective in the discharge of its functions, discreet in the judicious exercise of its powers, and high in its integrity.

The human society is an organic phenomenon. As such, it is never static. The pressures of its geophysical and the natural interaction of its parts render the human society always dynamic. It is the task of the legislature to make laws and policies to guide the societal dynamism into the smooth channels of growth and development for the good of all. Any policy that is not supported by the legislature is not sustainable. It follows that the state or level of national development of the country is strongly determined by capability of the legislature. In other words, all the powers that the legislature possesses is for national development. To this end, it can pass necessary relevant laws and employ the force of the community in the execution of such laws in engendering national development.

The modern legislature serves as an agent of reform in the state. In a state where some members of parliament are ideologically inclined the desire to implement their reform agenda will greatly influence their behaviors in the assembly. As representative house, the assembly serves as forum for discussion of ideas and policies and it provides a formal platform for deliberations among significant political forces in the life of a political system (Fashagba, 2012). Conversely, the

transformative legislature actively translates ideas into laws with little or no external interference. The transformative legislature enjoys a huge measure of institutional autonomy to act on legislative bills or policy proposals emanating either within the assembly itself or from the executive arm of the government. They frame and transform bills and proposals into laws, irrespective of the source. All these contribute to the national development.

The National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is a bicameral legislature established under section 4 of the Nigerian Constitution. It consists of a Senate with 109 members and a 360-member House of Representatives. The body, modelled after the Congress of the United States, to guarantee equal representation with 3 Senators to each of the 36 states irrespective of size (landmass and population) in the Senate and one Senator representing the FCT, Abuja and proportional representation based on the population of the state in the House. The National Assembly, like many other organs of the Nigerian government, is based in Abuja, in the FCT, Abuja. All members of the National Assembly are elected directly every four years.

Although, as the consequence of being a former British colony, Nigeria started out with a parliamentary system of government at independence in 1960, it switched to a presidential system modeled after that of the United States in 1979. This was done primarily to achieve a more enhanced separation of powers, and checks and balances, among the three branches of government. To that end, in addition to its legislative mandate, the current Constitution accords the National Assembly extensive oversight powers. These include control over the spending of federal funds, the authority to provide advice and consent for appointments to key executive positions, the power to approve all treaties negotiated by the executive, and the power to impeach the President and his deputy.

Both the elected and administrative staff and officers of the National Assembly are instrumental to the functioning of the nation's national parliament. Key members of the National Assembly leadership aside the Senate President and Deputy, Speaker and Deputy, include the Majority Leader, the Minority Leader, the Chief Whip, and the Minority Whip and their deputies. Among the administrative officers of the National Assembly are the Clerk to the National Assembly (CNA) and Deputy Clerk to the National Assembly, Clerk of Senate, Clerk of House of Representatives and the Sergeant-at-Arms. There are also other administrative staff in the National

Assembly Management arm. This consists of seven directorates under the leaders of secretaries who are equivalent to permanent secretaries at the ministries.

Also crucial to the proper functioning of the body are the various committees. While the Nigerian Constitution requires each house of the National Assembly to form two committees—a joint committee on finance and a public accounts committee—it permits each body to constitute as many standing committees as it deems fit. The National Assembly may establish various forms of committees such as special committees, standing committees, ad-hoc committees, and committees of the whole.

The legislative process in Nigeria involves both houses of the National Assembly and the President. Basically, once a bill (executive, private, or private member's bill) is introduced in the National Assembly, it goes through a rigorous process before it is enacted into law, which includes three readings of the bill (first, second and third readings), scrutiny by the relevant committee (at committee stage) where amendments may be made, concurrence from the other chamber before presidential assent.

## **2.5 Evolution of the Nigerian Legislature**

The evolution of the Nigerian legislature dates back to the Lagos Legislative Council of 1862, established under the British colonial government. Nigeria, just like most African states, is a product of colonial creation and, as in most other African countries that have gone through this experience, its annexation was a gradual process. For Nigeria, it began with the ceding of Lagos, through coercion, to the British Crown by King Dosunmu in 1861. Ehindero (1991). A year after, Lagos was declared a Crown Colony and which led to the establishment of a Legislative Council to “advise and assist” the governor of the Colony who served concurrently as the head of both the executive and legislative bodies of the Colony. Ojo (1997). The members of the Council, who were appointed to their positions, did not possess lawmaking power. Edet (2014). Of the ten members of the Council at the time, only two were Nigerians.

The administration of British colonies in the region continued to institutionalize and by 1914, the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria was established by bringing together the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (which by then included the Protectorate of Lagos) and the Protectorate of

Northern Nigeria. For administrative purposes, the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria was divided into three regions: Lagos, the Northern Provinces, and the Southern Provinces. While Lagos's Legislative Council was left intact, the colonial administrators established a new legislative body, the Nigerian Council, for the rest of the Protectorate of Nigeria. Only six of the thirty-six members of the Council were Nigerian and the body had no legislative function.

Notable changes were introduced to the legislative structure through the 1922 Clifford's Constitution. The Constitution abolished the Lagos Legislative Council and established a national legislative body with forty-six members, four of whom were elected. It gave the body lawmaking power; however, its jurisdiction was limited to Lagos and the Southern Provinces. The Constitution also allowed members of the body to introduce Bills as long as they were not related to financial.

The 1946 Richard's Constitution introduced further reforms to the legislature. A key reform under this Constitution created the foundation for the country's federal system by establishing three regional legislative bodies: the Northern Regional Council (headquartered in Kaduna), the Western House of Assembly (seated in Ibadan), and the Eastern House of Assembly (with Enugu as its headquarters). However, Nigeria still remained a unitary state because, among other things, the regional assemblies were restricted to advising the central government on all proposed bills except finance bills.

This arrangement was altered with the enactment of the 1951 Constitution, which gave jurisdiction to the regional legislatures the powers of lawmaking on various regional issues outlined in the Constitution. In addition, the Constitution enhanced the representative nature of both the central and regional legislatures by increasing the seats of the bodies that needed to be filled through an election. However, the 1951 Constitution did not provide a list of areas of legislative jurisdiction for the central government, which implies that legislative powers of the central government "extended to and overlapped those of the regional governments." Ewelukwa (1993). The federal arrangement was further enhanced through the 1954 Constitution, which, among other things, clearly defined the legislative competencies of the federal and regional legislatures.

More reforms were made in the preceding years. For instance, the Nigerian Senate was established in 1959 and the Nigerian federal legislature, which until then had been a unicameral body, became



bicameral. Most of the members of the newly-constituted, forty-eight member body were appointed to their seats. The number of states, which stood at four in 1963, increased to thirty-six by 1991 till date.

Nigeria adopted a parliamentary system of government at independence in 1960, modeling that of its former colonizer, the United Kingdom. The Governor-General, who represented the Queen and the Head of State, appointed the Prime Minister as the Head of Government, and his cabinet was drawn from among members of the legislature. In 1963, Nigeria broke ties with the British Monarchy and created the position of the President as the Head of State. In 1979, Nigeria abolished the parliamentary system of government in favor of a presidential, in a bid to achieve a clear-cut separation of powers between the legislative and executive branches. Although Nigeria was a dictatorship from 1983 through 1998, the presidential system of government was reinstated in 1999 (when Nigeria returned to a democratic system of government) and efforts are being made by the arms of government to ensure its consolidation.

## **2.6 Theoretical Framework**

The Elite Theory forms the major assumptions for this study. Parry (1969) states that the elites are the small minority who appear to significantly play influential role in socio-political affairs of every society. They are known for their influence within the society by virtue of their positions and wealth. In political science, the theory is basically a “class” analysis approach to understanding a given political phenomenon. The origin of this theory can be traced to the writings of Wilfredo Pareto (1935 and 1968), Gaetano Mosca (1939 and 1968) and Robert Mitchels (1968, 2001). The major assumptions of this theory include that (i) the elites are distinguished from the non-elite groups within a social order by virtue of the influence they wield sequel to their talents (wealth, military power, economic power, etc.) and (ii) there are divisions within the elite creating a governing and a non-governing elite groups. Furthermore, Mosca Gaetano (1939) noted that the distinguishing characteristic of the elite is the “aptitude to command and to exercise political control”. The conceptual schemes postulated by elite theorists comprise the following generalization:

In every society, there is, and must always be, a minority which rules over the rest of the society. This notion is quite compatible with Robert Mitchel's observation in his "political party" when he stated that the elites have common social and biological origin, and that the elites rule even when they don't govern. Mosca Pareto also says that in all human societies, be it capitalist or socialist, simple or complex, there is ruling elite which rules all other members of the society. The classical elite theorists hold the view that elites derive almost invariably the original power from coercive sources through the monopoly of military factor. The minority, either "political class" or governing elite compose of all those that occupy political power or those that influence government decisions. This minority undergoes changes in its membership and composition. These changes may ordinarily be by recruitment of new members of the society into the elite fold. Sometimes, the change is by incorporation of new social groups and accordingly a complete replacement of ousted elite by counter elite through revolution. The last form of change comes about when elite refuses to respond to the first two changes. Elite theorists also talked about what they called the "circulation of elites". This can be explained as a situation where by one set of elites (political executives) is replaced by another possessing similar traits. This is what Gaetano Mosca was describing when he generalized that "history is a graveyard of aristocracies". This statement shows the inevitability of change within the elite fold. This change can take different forms: (1) change within the different categories of the governing elites itself (e.g. from the non-governing elite) or between the elite and the rest of the population and while such changes go on, they affect merely the form but not the structure of rule which remains at all times minority dominated (oligarchy).

American politics as a representation of every country's polity is best understood through the generalization that nearly all political power is held by a relatively small and wealthy group of people sharing similar values and interests and mostly coming from relatively similar privileged backgrounds. That is to say that most of the top leaders in all or nearly all key sectors of every state are seen as recruited from this same social group. Therefore, elite theorists emphasize the degree to which interlocking corporate and foundation directorates, old school ties and frequent social interactions tend to link together and facilitate coordination between the top leaders in business, government, civic organizations, educational and cultural establishments and the mass media across countries of the world be it democratic or despotic, capitalist or socialist, unitary or federal, presidential or parliamentary states. This "powerful elite" can effectively dictate the main

goals (if not always the practical means and details) for all r important government policies and decisions (as well as dominate the activities of the major mass media and educational/cultural organizations in the society) by virtue of their control over the economic resources of the major businesses and financial organizations in the country. Their power is seen as based most fundamentally on their personal economic resources and especially on their positions within the top management of the big corporations, and does not really depend upon their ability to garner mass support through efforts to "represent" the interests of broader social groups. Proponents of the elite theory differ somewhat among themselves on such questions as how open the power elite is to "new blood". The exact degree of agreement or disagreement that usually prevails within its ranks, and the degree of genuine concern (or lack thereof) for the broader public welfare that enters into their choices of public policy goals. However, these theorists share the general notion that it is these few number of people who really run the country and determine the basic directions of public policy and governance process. Therefore, the manipulated and powerless masses of ordinary voters choosing among candidates at elections do not determine the direction of governance and public policy (Burton and John, 1998).

Elite theory in political sociology was advanced in direct response to Marxism. The early elite theorists were conservatives who were opposed not only to socialism, but also to liberal democracy as expressed by any movement which attempted to give the masses of the population a greater influence on political affairs.", They argued that elites were necessary and inevitable and that any revolution which pretended to abolish elites would end up by simply replacing one set of elites with another. Elite theorists use two basic lines of argument to advance their defense of the theory against any revolution. First, they argued that certain aspects of human nature make the elites irreplaceable. Second, they argue that elites are necessary for any social organization to function effectively. There is also a sociological argument that elites are necessary for a large social organization to function. To a degree this has even been accepted by Marxists. Tucker (1972) accepted the necessity of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" after the Communists had taken power in order to suppress those who would attempt to restore their privileged position in the old society. Vladimir I. Lenin, who led the first communist movement to actually win state power did so on the basis of the theory that only an elitist party of professional revolutionaries, with strict discipline

and control by a small central committee, could be efficient enough to win power from the capitalists.

Karl Marx (1982), however, argued that once socialism had been established in conditions of affluence, coercion would no longer be necessary and everyone could share in the administration of common affairs (Tucker, 1972). But how this would be achieved was never spelt-out, however, the history of the Soviet Union after the Communist Party took power certainly provided ammunition for the argument that a revolution which intended to abolish elites would simply replace one elite with another. This is predicated on the explanation that it results from the avowedly elitist organizational structure which the party needed in order to takeover power.

Elitist tendencies can also be found, however, even in political parties which are deeply committed to democratic ideals and which operate in a society that allows opposition political parties to function freely. Robert Mitchel did an extensive study on oligarchical tendencies in political parties as a representation of the entire political hemisphere, basing most of his analysis on the history of the German Social Democratic Party, a working class party strongly committed to democratic ideas. He felt that by showing the prevalence of oligarchical rule in an avowedly democratic organization he was making a critical test of elitist theory. Mitchel's thought that there were three basic causes of oligarchical tendencies including:

- a. Organizational necessities;
- b. Characteristics of the leaders; and
- c. Characteristics of the masses.

A sensitive and influential democratic institution such as the legislature, requires highly trained and experienced leaders. An institution that engages in conflict with other groups needs to be able to make quick decisions and to command the organization's resources in carrying out those decisions. These organizational demands encourage the development of a professionalized and stable leadership group. These leaders find their job situation quite rewarding, both in salary and in working conditions. This is especially true in labor organizations since the gap in living standards, working conditions, and prestige is great between the leaders and the rank and file.

Leaders are likely to perceive an improvement in their own living condition as representative of a general improvement in the society, and consequently to become more conservative. In the German Socialist Party, prominent leaders were usually elected members of parliament, where they relied on the support of many voters who were not party members. This enabled them to be relatively independent of the party organization and members; they had more to offer the party than the party had to offer them. The masses tend to be relatively apathetic as long as the organization is producing reasonable benefits for them. Often, they have deferential attitudes toward the leadership; but even if they were unhappy with their leaders, it would be too much trouble to do anything about it.

These processes create what Mitchel called the "iron law of oligarchy," a tendency for small ruling elites to emerge and persist in complex organizations. This same point was made by Max Weber in his highly influential theory of bureaucratization. Weber felt that bureaucratic administrations could not be abolished by any kind of socialist or anarchist revolution since if they did so the society would cease to operate. He saw the possibilities for change, however, largely through the mechanism of a charismatic leader. A charismatic leader emerges during periods of crisis or social breakdown when things are not working right and people look for a solution which is outside the normal routine of social life. They seek a leader with outstanding personal qualities in whom they can place their trust. While Weber was an intense German nationalist during World War I, he was also a liberal and did not live long enough to see Adolph Hitler become the terrible incarnation of his concept of the charismatic leader. Robert Mitchel did live long enough to leave the socialist movement and seek salvation from Benito Mussolini. Pareto, also, was sympathetic to the fascist movement, and his works were used as part of the theoretical underpinnings of fascism.

Elite theory emphasizes on strength and leadership, which have natural affinity with fascism just as social class theory has an affinity with socialism and pluralist theory with liberal democracy. Not all elite theorists, however, moved into totalitarianism; one of the most prominent, Gaetano Mosca, was able to reconcile his theory of elites with a belief in a limited form of liberal democracy. The critical differences between political systems, in Mosca's view, depend largely on the organization of two strata within the elite - those at the very top and a larger group of people who are not part of the ruling clique at the moment but nevertheless have considerable power and resources. Less capable families drop out of the top group, and more capable members of the

second group rise to the top. This sort of movement, which Pareto called the "circulation of the elites" is healthy up to a point. If all could compete equally for the position at the top, however, the struggle for power would use too much social energy for too little social benefit. Indeed, it may be necessary for families to be in an elite position for several generations for them to develop the virtues needed for leadership in their children. This line of argument has been applied to more modern events by Karl Mannheim. Mannheim argued that one of the reasons for the growth of fascism in Europe was the weakness of the elites. There was an increase in the number of elite groups due to the increasing complexity of society. This means that the elites became less exclusive and no one was really able to influence events in the societies. The elites were not sufficiently insulated from the masses and were not able to cultivate cultural and intellectual differences. The anti-intellectualism of the masses became popular in elite circles, the quality of intellectual and artistic work declined, while intellectuals became so numerous that their social prestige declined. After fleeing Germany, Mannheim was impressed by the British social system which maintained stable elite through its aristocratic traditions, while still recruiting a new set of the elite class.

Democracy without restriction has the tendency of leading to dictatorship, and a dictatorship which rules over a relatively literate and sophisticated population must be an authoritarian one since it cannot rely on the passivity and ignorance of the large majority of the population. England was Mosca's ideal model, and it is easy to see how someone who feared the success of a totalitarian movement based on support from frustrated, uneducated masses might feel that a stable, aristocratic elite on the English model could best provide some stability to the society. Elite theory developed as part as a reaction to Marxism. It rejected the Marxian idea that a classless society having an egalitarian structure could be realized after a class struggle in every society. It perceived Marxism as an ideology rather than an objective analysis of social systems that has the possibility of being realized. According to Elite theory man can never be liberated from the subjugation of an elite structure. The term Elite refers to those who excel. The classical elite theorists identify the governing elite in terms of superior personal qualities of those who exercise power.

However, the later versions of elite theory de-emphasis on the personal qualities of the powerful and more on the institutional framework of the society. They argued that the hierarchical organization of social institutions allows a minority to monopolize power. Another criticism of the elite theories against the Marxian view of distribution of power is that the ruling class is too large

and a powerful group to be able to effectively yield power. In their view, power is always exercised by a small cohesive group of the elite. Elite theory argues that all societies are divided into two main groups a ruling minority and the non-ruling majority. This situation is inevitable. If the proletarian revolution occurs it will merely result in the replacement of one ruling elite by another. Classical elite theory was propounded by Pareto and Mosca. From the foregoing analysis, elite theory holds the following assumptions:

- i. Few individuals possess power, while a vast majority do not;
- ii. Non-elite movement into elite strata is slow and only those who accept elite “consensus” enter into the governing circle;
- iii. Power is a function of economic status (wealth and related social possession);
- iiii. Few are atypical of society as a result of distinct upper Social Economic Status and interlocking social networks in schools, family, corporate & charitable boards, and party affiliation;
- v. Elites share a common consensus on the basic goals and values such as “managed capitalism”
- vi. Public policy reflects the preferences and choices of the elite class.
- vii. Policy changes are incremental while major reformatory changes are rare;
- viii. Elites have more influence on the masses more than the mass direct elite through their control of news media, political parties, entertainment media and political agenda;
- ix. Elite Theory discourages competition among homogenous elite and promotes “top down” democratic values, discourages violent changes.
- x. The elite own political structures which return the god sons to office, bribes the judiciary or electoral umpires to decide cases in their favour. They equally provide financial resources to the non-governing elites to grease their political machine. They control the decision making of their parties and communities respectively.

## **2.7 The link between the study and the Elite Theory**

This theory is suitable for this study as the government is controlled by the elites who consciously or sub-consciously pursue their group and personal interests as opposed to the interest of the public. Elite recruitment system has been fraught with nepotism instead of meritocracy, god-fatherism instead of public contract or will (majority rule). Party primaries are usually fraught with political horse-trading and in most cases green-horns emerge with the influence of the party big-wigs who in turn demand so much from them. The issue of perception is also as a result of class struggle between the elites and the masses. The masses who the elites recruitment system seem to exclude see every arm of government as self-serving and only in government to enrich themselves, their friends, family and cronies. This significantly affects public trust and promotes political apathy in the political system since the masses have the believe that they cannot influence any major policy decision to their favour, as this can only be at the mercy of the ruling or governing elite.

## **2.8 The gap to be filled in literature**

The forging analysis showed that there are several scholarly works on the legislature, public perception of the National Assembly and legislator's turnover. However, there was little or nothing about the effect of public perception on legislators' turnover. Thus, there was an existing gap in literature with regards to the link between the two variables (public perception and legislators' turnover). This study therefore, was a modest attempt to close this perceived gap in literature. It sought to find out whether legislators turnover was dependent on the views the public holds about the National Assembly or not.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter focused on the procedure adopted by the researcher in conducting this study. It defines how data and information was gotten to address the research questions raised. The major components of a research methodology according to Popoola (2011) include research design, the population of the study, sampling procedure, sample size, research instruments, validity and reliability of research instrument and method of data analysis. The adequacy and suitability of the methodology plays a central role in the acceptability of the research findings. Consequently, this study discusses the research methodology under the following headings:-

i. Research design

ii. Population of the study

- iii. Sampling procedure
- iiii. Sample size
- v. Research instrument
- vi. Validity and Reliability of the Research instrument
- vii. Sources of data
- viii. Method of data collection
- ix. Data analysis technique

### **3.1 Research Design**

This study adopted the mixed research design interplay of survey and secondary data. This involves a combination of desk review and the administration of questionnaires. This is a roadmap for conducting a study with effective control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings. Thus, survey and exploratory design were adopted. Exploratory research design entails addressing research objectives from already existing documentaries such as journal articles, textbooks, newspapers, magazines, archives, etc.

Therefore, questionnaire and documents were deployed to carry out this study. Questionnaire is a method for collecting information or data as reported by individuals based on their experience or perceptions. It is suitable for this study because the participants/respondents provided the information self-report/ personal experience manner. It is important because it was used to get an idea of how the National Assembly has fared in the discharge of its mandate and its feel on a number of things, such as political debates. In this case, it was used to determine the views of

Nigerians on the effect of public perception on legislators' turnover in Nigeria using the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic as a case study.

**Objective 1:** To examine public perception of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic (1999-2019). This objective sought to examine the views/perception that the public holds about the National Assembly with respect to how they carry out their core mandate of law making, oversight and representation. The data required to achieve this objective was mainly primary data (the use of questionnaire).

To measure public perception of the National Assembly, the researcher sought to find out the public's awareness of the workings of the National Assembly, their opinion about the credibility of the elections that brought in Members of Parliament based on media reportage and the factors they think in their opinion shapes the perception they have of the National Assembly. Since simple percentage was the statistical technique deployed in the analysis of the data, positive responses above 50% would mean respondents are favorably disposed to the workings of the National Assembly and vice versa.

**Expected result based on existing theory:** The theoretical foundation of this study rests on elite theory by Vilfredo Pareto (1935 and 1968), Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels (1968, 2001). The theory provides that every society is governed by the minority elite who wield enormous influence and controls all fronts of the society, be it political power, economy etc. The ruling elites are only concerned about their class interest to the detriment of the interest of the majority non elite. This indicates that the National Assembly comprises elites who are there to advance their class interest or representatives of the elites.

**Objective 2:** To identify factors accounting for the perception the public holds about the National Assembly.

Here questionnaires and secondary data were used to determine the factors accounting for views the public holds of the National Assembly. The various opinions expressed by the respondents would be compared to the submissions made by scholars in literature in order to test their validity as well as making a reliable conclusion.

**Expected result based on existing theory:** Existing theory provides that the relationship between motivation (material/financial gains) and the performance of the legislators impacts either adversely or positively on their perception and in turnover.

**Objective 3:** To examine the effect of public perception on legislator's turnover in the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic.

This objective sought to find out whether there's a link between public perception of the National Assembly and legislators turnover.

To achieve this, a trend analysis on the return rate of legislators from 1999 - 2019 was done. It also required desk review of documents in the National Assembly library.

The result obtained in objective one above and respondents opinion on the matter will determine whether public perception has any effect on legislators' turnover or not. It will also go a long way to establishing if there's a link between Perception which is the independent variable and turnover which is the dependent variable.

**Expected results based on existing theory:** The theory indicates that there is a class maneuvering, each trying to outsmart and outwit the other in the power game. Therefore a common ground for settlement is important which is to increase confidence in the National Assembly as a means of increasing retention rate among legislators.

**Objective 4:** Identify and examine factors responsible for high rate of turnover in the National Assembly.

The study deployed the use of secondary data such as textbooks, online articles as well as respondent's opinion (questionnaire) to find out factors responsible for the high rate of turnover in the National Assembly. Scholars' views were evaluated, interpreted, and summarized in a very concise manner.

**Existing theory:** provides that the relationship between motivation (material/ financial gains) and the performance of the legislators impact either adversely or positively on public perception and on turnover.

**Objective 5:** Proffer solutions towards improving perception and reducing high turnover of legislators in the National Assembly. The data required to address this objective was primary and secondary data. Respondent's views/suggestions to improving perception and reducing turnover rate was gathered through the use of questionnaire. To analyze the data, collated opinions from respondents was compared to expert opinion in literature to arrive at a position on ways to improving perception and retention rate of legislators in the National Assembly.

**Expected results based on theory:** The theory indicates that there is a class maneuvering, each trying to outsmart and outwit the other in the power game. Therefore a common ground for settlement is important to increase confidence in the National Assembly as a means of increasing retention rate among legislators.

### **3.2 Population of the Study**

This section captures the number of questionnaires that were administered to respondents. According Varden Bergh and Katz (1999), Population is a group of people from which a sample can be selected from for the purpose of conducting a research. Therefore, a population is the total collection of elements from which inference is drawn. Thus, for the purpose of this study, research population comprises the total population of the Federal Capital Territory which is Three Million Ninety-five Thousand, One Hundred and Eighteen (3,095,118).

### **3.3 Sampling Procedure**

This requires selecting individual or elements for a study. The sampling technique used is purposive sampling technique. It is a non-random technique that does not set number of informants. In other words, a researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of their knowledge or

experience Therefore, purposive sampling was used to select the respondents to questionnaires needed for this study because of the nature of the study.

### 3.4 Sample Size

A sample is a fraction, a representative or a sub-group of the population of a study. It can also be seen as a manageable section of a population which has similar characteristics. The sample is the elements making up the sample that is actually studied and a generalization made on the population.

The study adopts Taro Yamane's formula to determine the appropriate sample for the study. The formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N (\alpha)^2}$$

Where:

N = Population Size

$\alpha$  = Probability of type 1 error or level of significance

$$n = \frac{3095118}{1 + 3095118 (0.005^2)}$$
$$= \frac{3095118}{2265.935}$$

$$n = 399.823$$

$$\therefore n \cong 400$$

The study scientifically drew 400 respondents as the sample size to address the research questions posed in the study. Respondents were drawn from the civil service, CSOs, policy makers and the private sector.

### 3.5 Research Instrument

The study used questionnaires as instruments of data collection (primary source). The choice of these instruments was deliberate because the study required much of primary data.

### **3.6 Validity and Reliability**

Questionnaire are reliable instrument of data collection because they present peoples account of any issues being studied. As mentioned earlier, the study scientifically drew 400 respondents as the sample size to address the research questions posed in this study.

### **3.7 Sources of Data**

This study required an interplay of both primary and secondary sources of data.

#### **Primary data:**

These are data sourced through the use of questionnaires to get respondents views of the National Assembly, factors responsible for the views they have about the National Assembly, the performance of their core mandate, the credibility of the elections that brought in the members of the National Assembly amongst others.

#### **Secondary data:**

This comprises data sourced from textbooks, internet, journals, newspaper and magazines on turnover, legitimacy of elections, public perception, evolution of the Nigerian Legislature, the theoretical framework as well as the link between the framework and the study.

### **3.8 Method of Data Collection**

Data for this study was obtained through the use of questionnaires distributed to respondents to gather their views on the subject matter. Secondary data were gathered from text books, journals, reports and magazines from the library as well as the internet.

### **3.9 Data Analysis Technique**

The technique of data analysis used in this study was basically descriptive, using the simple percentage, statistical tables and graphs.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter provided an empirical analysis of the data gathered for this study. It is pertinent to provide a premise upon which relevant inferences can be made within the context of the study, hence the need to examine the research questions and objectives identified in this study.

**4.1 Characteristics of Respondents:** data was collected based on respondents characteristics such as age, position and highest level of education achieved. The background characteristics of the respondents in this study were important as Members of Parliaments are influenced by their characteristics in making decisions. Also these characteristics was a reflection of the representative of the population.



The respondents were asked to state their age in the questionnaires and the responses were summarized below.

**Table 4.1 Age distribution of respondents**

Age category	Frequency	Percentage
18-30	135	44.2
31-40	95	31.2
41-50	75	24.6
Total	305	100

**Source: field survey 2019**

The age distribution is a reflection of the level of involvement of the youths in the decision making process. Considering that the respondents were carefully chosen to reflect those who are considered as stakeholders and enthusiasts in legislative business, it is clear that the youth population constitute a larger percentage of those directly and indirectly interested in legislative activities in Nigeria.

#### **4.1.1 Characteristics of respondents based on their level of education**

The researcher asked the respondents to state their highest level of education

**Table 4.2: Captures the Highest Level of Education Attained by Respondents**

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Primary school	0	0
Secondary school	60	19.7
Ordinary National Diploma	52	17
HND/ B. Sc.	123	40.4
M. Sc. and above	70	22.9
Total	305	100

Source; field survey 2019

Table 4.2 reveals that the study covered respondents from all educational levels. The largest proportion being tertiary institution graduates (B.Sc. & HND) at 40.4%, 22.9% of the sample of

study were master’s degree holders and above. While 17% are Ordinary National Diploma holders, 19.7 of the respondents were SSCE holders. This means that majority of the respondents are educated enough to understand what a legislature is and what is required of a legislature. They are also in a better position to know when a legislature is working effectively and when it is failing in the discharge of their core mandate.

#### **4.1.2 Characteristics of Respondents based on their Occupation**

The researcher collected data from the respondents to find out their level of affiliation to the legislature.

**Table 4.3: Level of Affiliation**

<b>Level of Affiliation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Civil Servants	76	24.9
Private Firms	47	15.4
Business/Self-Employed	45	14.8
Civil Society Organizations/Other enthusiasts	137	44.9
Total	305	100

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 4.3 indicates that 137 respondents, representing 44.9% are staff of civil society organizations (such as Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), PLAC, YIAGA and Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) while 76 (24.9%) of the respondents are civil servants (drawn from federal ministries of Women Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Education, etc.). 47 (15.4%) and 45 (14.8%) are staff of private firms and business/self-employed people. This indicates that awareness among Civil Society Organizations and civil servants about the National Assembly is high. Civil Society Organizations are a community of conscious citizens, who are intelligent and well aware of the current political, economic, and social situations in the world and their country

in particular. They are also like the watch dog of the legislature and foundation of every democratic society.

Therefore, their input becomes very necessary in providing valid and reliable answers to the questions posed in this study.

#### **4.2 Public Perception of the National Assembly**

Before conducting the research, the researcher posed several questions to the respondents to ascertain their perception about the subject matter. The findings are summarized below:

#### **4.3 Objective 1: To examine public perception of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic**

In a bid to examine public perception of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic, questions were posed to respondents and their responses are captured in the tables below.

**Table 4.4: Response to the public’s awareness of the following as means for measuring public perception.**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency/Percentage Yes</b>	<b>Frequency/Percentage No</b>	<b>Total</b>
Election	255 (83.6)	50 (16.4%)	305 (100%)
Interest Groups & Lobbying	242 (79.4%)	63 (20.6%)	305 (100%)
Media	267 (87.5%)	38 (12.5%)	305 (100%)
Letters and Calls	103 (33.8%)	202 (66.2%)	305 (100%)
Protest	117 (38.4%)	188 (61.6%)	305 (100%)

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 4.4 shows adequate public awareness of elections, interest groups & lobbying and media as factors and means of accessing public perception of the legislature with 255 (83.6%), 242 (79.4%) and 267 (87.5%) respectively. This shows that protest and letters and calls are less seen as

instruments for the assessment of public perception. Table 4.5 below further buttress the rate at which each of these factors affect public perception about the National Assembly.

**Table 4.5 shows how respondent rated these methods in the order they define public perception/opinion from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest).**

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Total</b>
Election	10 (3.3%)	7 (2.3%)	11 (3.6%)	22 (7.2%)	255 (83.6)	305
Interest Groups & Lobbying	15 (4.9%)	10 (3.3%)	12 (3.9%)	26 (8.5%)	242 (79.4%)	305
Media	9 (2.9%)	10 (3.3%)	8 (2.6%)	11 (3.7%)	267 (87.5%)	305
Letters & Calls	58 (19.0%)	25 (8.2%)	13 (4.3%)	104 (34.0%)	105 (34.5%)	305
Protest	58 (19.0%)	25 (8.2%)	13 (4.3%)	104 (34.0%)	105 (34.5%)	305

**Source: Field survey, 2019**

Table 4.5 shows how respondents rates the above indices as a way of measuring public perception. 87.5% of the respondents believe the media is the best way to measure public perception, 83.6% believe it's by elections while 79.4% believe it's by interests groups and lobbying. In other words, the media, elections, interest groups and lobbying are the best ways of measuring perception.

**Table 4.6: How good is the election that brought Members into the National Assembly?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Credible	115	37.7
Not Credible	179	58.7
Not Sure	11	3.6

Total	305	100
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**Source; field Survey 2019**

Based on table 4.6, 179 (58.7%) of the respondents believe that the election that brought in members of the National Assembly was not credible, 11 respondents (3.6%) are not sure, while 115 (37.7%) of the respondents believe that the elections that brought in members of the National Assembly were credible. It is clear from the foregoing that most of the respondents are of the opinion that the elections that brought in members of the National Assembly are not credible. Also, from tables 4.4 and 4.5, we saw that election was one of the major factor in measuring perception and if respondents feel they were not credible, it then means that their perception of the process that brought in members of the national assembly is negative.

**Table 4.7: Based on media reports on the 2019 National Assembly Elections, what is your perception of the electoral process?**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	115	37.7
Negative	179	58.7
Undecided	11	3.6
Total	305	100

**Source: Field Survey 2019**

Table 4.7 Indicates that based on media reports on the 2019 National Assembly election and previous elections, more than half, 179 (58.7%) of the respondents have a negative perception of the electoral process that brought the various sessions of the National Assembly (from 1999-2019). 115 (37.7%) have a positive perception, while 11 (3.6%) were undecided on the credibility of National Assembly elections.

**Table 4.8: What is your assessment of the performance of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic?**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Performed its core functions effectively	35	11.5

Performed its core functions below average	108	35.4
Performed its core functions averagely	145	47.5
Performed its core functions above average	17	5.6
Total	305	100

**Source; field survey 2019**

Table 4.8 shows that 108 (35.4%) of the respondents agree that the National Assembly performed its core functions below average, 35 (11.5%) are of the opinion that the National Assembly (NASS) performed its core functions effectively, 145 (47.5%) believes that the NASS performed its core functions averagely, 17 (5.6%) hold the opinion that the NASS performed their functions above average. Generally, it can be deciphered from the table that NASS has performed its tripartite functions averagely in the Fourth Republic.

**Findings:** It is observed that most of the respondents do not have confidence in the elections that brought Senators and House of Representative members into the National Assembly. They also do not believe in the electoral process based on media reports gathered over time. Their perception of the individuals and the entire process is negative. The recently concluded November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019 elections in Kogi and Bayelsa states are good examples for a point of reference.

**Expected result based on existing theory:** The elite theory says every society is governed by the minority elite who wield enormous influence and controls all fronts of the society, be it political power, economy etc. they are concerned only about their class interest to the detriment of the majority of the non-elite. This indicates that the National Assembly comprises of elites who are there to advance their class interest.

The **findings on objective 1**, agrees with the elite theory as stated above. Recall once again the November 16<sup>th</sup> Senatorial elections in Kogi state, the violence that was recorded was unprecedented. The media (both electronic and print media) was awashed with gury images of

electoral violence. A lot of lives were lost (including that of a popular women leader of the opposition Peoples Democratic party) and properties worth millions of naira were also destroyed. All of these was done just to win an election and get into the National Assembly. What then can the public possibly expect from an individual who gets into the National Assembly by means of violence and electoral fraud other than advance his own interest at the detriment of the masses?

#### 4.4 Objective 2: Identify factors accounting for the perception of the public about the National Assembly.

**Table 4.9 Responses to public awareness of the under-listed as factors affecting the perception of the National Assembly.**

Responses	Frequency/Percentage Yes	Frequency/Percentage No	Total
Alleged High rate of Corruption in the NASS	242 (79.4%)	63 (20.6%)	305 (100%)
Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/ Budget	204 (66.9%)	101 (33.1)	305 (100%)
Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship	255 (83.6)	50 (16.4%)	305 (100%)
Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund	189 (62.0%)	116 (38.0%)	305 (100%)
Abysmal Performance of Core Function	117 (38.4%)	188 (61.6%)	305 (100%)

**Source; field survey 2019**

The Table 4.9 indicates that Nigerians are adequately aware of factors that affect the perception of the National Assembly. Chief among these factors include alleged high rate of corruption in the NASS with 242 (79.4%) and the conflictual relationship between the legislature and the executive.

However other such factors that the public pointed out of being aware include the late passage of appropriation bills/ budget with 204 (66.9%), 189 (62.0%) and 117 (38.4%) awareness for the misappropriation of constituency project funds and the abysmal performance of core functions, respectively.

**Table 4.10 Do you think that the alleged high rate of corruption in the National Assembly affect Public Perception of the National Assembly?**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	245	80.3
No	60	19.7
Total	305	100

Source; field survey 2019

Table 4.10 clearly shows that 245 (80.3%) of the respondents are of the opinion that alleged high rate of corruption in the National Assembly affects the perception of the public about the National Assembly, while 60 (19.7%) holds a contrary view on that.

**Table 4.11: Response to whether the late passage of the Appropriation Bill/Budget by the National Assembly affect the Public Perception about the National Assembly.**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	225	73.7
No	80	26.3
Total	305	100

Source; field survey 2019

Table 4.11 shows 225 (73.7%) respondents believe that the late passage of the Appropriation Bill affects the public perception of the National Assembly while, 80 (26.3%) of the respondents do not agree that the delay in the budget affects the perception of the public about the National Assembly.

**Table 4.12: Response to whether the conflictual relationship between the Legislature and the Executive affects the Public Perception of the National Assembly?**



<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	219	71.8
No	86	28.2
Total	305	100

Source; field survey 2019

Table 4.12 indicates that 219 (71.8%) of respondents agree that the conflictual relationship between the legislature and executive affects the public perception of the National Assembly while, 86 (28.2%) of the respondents disagree that the conflictual relationship affects the perception of the public about the National Assembly.

**Table 4.13: Response to whether the Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund is responsible in forming public perception of the National Assembly?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	206	67.5
No	99	32.5
Total	305	100

Source; field survey 2019

Table 4.13 shows 206 (67.5%) of the respondents holds the opinion that the misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund affects the public perception of the National Assembly while, 99 (32.5%) of the respondents do not share the same opinion that the misappropriation of constituency project fund affects the public perception the National Assembly.

**Table 4.14: Response to whether the Abysmal Performance of the National Assembly on its Core Functions affects the Public Perception of the National Assembly?**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	50	16.4
No	255	83.6
Total	305	100

Source; field survey 2019

From the analysis on the table 4.14, 50 (16.4%) respondents hold the view that the abysmal performance of the National Assembly on its core functions is not actually responsible for the perception issues of the National Assembly, while 255 (83.6%) disagreed with the fact that the abysmal performance of the National Assembly on its core functions affects the public perception of the National Assembly.

**Table 4.15: Response to whether the following factors affect the image of the National Assembly Negatively?**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Alleged high rate of corruption	105 (34.4%)	80 (26.2%)	25 (8.2)	50 (16.4%)	45 (14.8%)	305
Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/Budget	102 (33.4%)	99 (32.5%)	40 (13.1%)	25 (8.2%)	39 (12.8%)	305
Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship	135 (44.3%)	95 (31.1%)	38 (12.5%)	25 (8.2%)	12 (3.9)	305
Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund	127 (41.7%)	123 (40.3%)	15 (4.9%)	30 (9.8%)	10 (3.3%)	305
Abysmal Performance of its Core Functions	58 (19.0%)	25 (8.2%)	13 (4.3%)	104 (34.0%)	105 (34.5%)	305

**Source; field Survey 2019**

Table 4.15 indicates that 105 (34.4%) of the respondents are of the view that alleged high rate of corruption is responsible for the negative image of the National Assembly. Whereas 102 (33.4%) of the respondents are of the view that the late passage of appropriation bill/ annual budget account for the current image of NASS, 135 (44.3%) blame it on the conflictual relationship between the National Assembly and the executive arm of government. While 127 (41.7%) respondents believed that the negative image of NASS can be blamed on the misappropriation of constituency projects

funds, 58 respondents representing 19.0% agreed that the abysmal performance of NASS core functions should be blamed for the institution’s image issue. The foregoing analysis is also reflected in Table 4.12.

**Table 4.16: Rating of the factors on a scale of 1-5 in the order they affect the image of the National Assembly with 1 being the highest.**

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Total</b>
Alleged high rate of corruption	105 (34.4%)	80 (26.2%)	25 (8.2)	50 (16.4%)	45 (14.8%)	305
Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/Budget	102 (33.4%)	99 (32.5%)	40 (13.1%)	25 (8.2%)	39 (12.8%)	305
Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship	135 (44.3%)	95 (31.1%)	38 (12.5%)	25 (8.2%)	12 (3.9)	305
Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund	127 (41.7%)	123 (40.3%)	15 (4.9%)	30 (9.8%)	10 (3.3%)	305
Abysmal Performance of its Core Functions	58 (19.0%)	25 (8.2%)	13 (4.3%)	104 (34.0%)	105 (34.5%)	305

Source; field Survey 2019

The respondents believed that the abysmal performance of the National Assembly especially on its key legislative functions in terms of legislation, representation and oversight is a minor contributory factor to the negative perception of the public about the National Assembly. Conflictual legislative-executive relations, misappropriation of constituency funds and alleged high rate of corruption have been identified as factors responsible for the perception of the National Assembly. They are the major factors that inform a negative perception of the public on the National Assembly based on the field survey conducted.

**Table 4.17 Response to the factors responsible for public’s perception of National Assembly in the Fourth Republic**

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Alleged High rate of Corruption in the NASS	135	44.3
Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/ Budget	37	12.2
Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship	90	29.5
Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund	31	10.1
Abysmal Performance of Core Function	12	3.9
Total	305	100

**Source; field survey 2019**

From table 4.17, 135 (44.3%) of the respondents were of the conviction that the negative perception of the National Assembly is as result of the alleged high rate of corruption in NASS, whereas 37 (12.2%) are of the opinion that it is late passage of appropriation bills/budget account for the negative perception of NASS. 90 respondent representing 29.5% believes that the negative image of the National Assembly is because of conflictual legislative-executive relations, whereas 31 (10.1%) hold the opinion that the institution is plagued by misappropriation of constituency project funds. 12 respondents, representing 3.9 percent believe that the abysmal performance of core functions is response for the negative perception of National Assembly.

In order to buttress their points respondents were asked to give reasons for their answers and the table below captures the dominant views given:

<b>Concept Category/Properties</b>	<b>Examples of Participants’ Responses</b>	<b>Potential Remedy</b>
Abysmal performance of core functions	“The National Assembly in the	Improved capacity building programmes to boost the skills of

	<p>Fourth Republic have performed averagely because with so much discussed, Nigeria has not attained much”</p> <p>“Their performance are abysmally poor because they are after their selfish interest only. They are not willing to serve the masses”.</p>	<p>law-makers to perform efficiently and effectively.</p>
<p>“Conflictual legislative-executive relationship</p>	<p>“ Because they are not always in agreement with the executive”</p> <p>“The leadership of the lower and upper houses as well as the presidency are always at war. Preference</p>	<p>Election of popular law-makers as presiding officers. This will encourage independent but coordinate relationship between the NASS and the executive arm of government.</p>

	based on parties is also an issue”	
Alleged high rate of corruption in the NASS and Conflictual legislative-executive relationship	“From budget padding to the corruption charges on Senators and the political rivalry that exists in the House especially between the legislature and the executive”	Policies/ legislative measures that imposes penalties and sanctions on law-makers found wanting while serving either as presiding or principal officers and other serving law-makers.

**Source; field Survey 2019**

**Findings:** It is observed that alleged high rate of corruption in National Assembly, Conflictual legislative-executive relationship and the late passage of the Appropriation Bill and to a certain extent misappropriation of constituency funds are the major factors responsible for the negative image of the National Assembly.

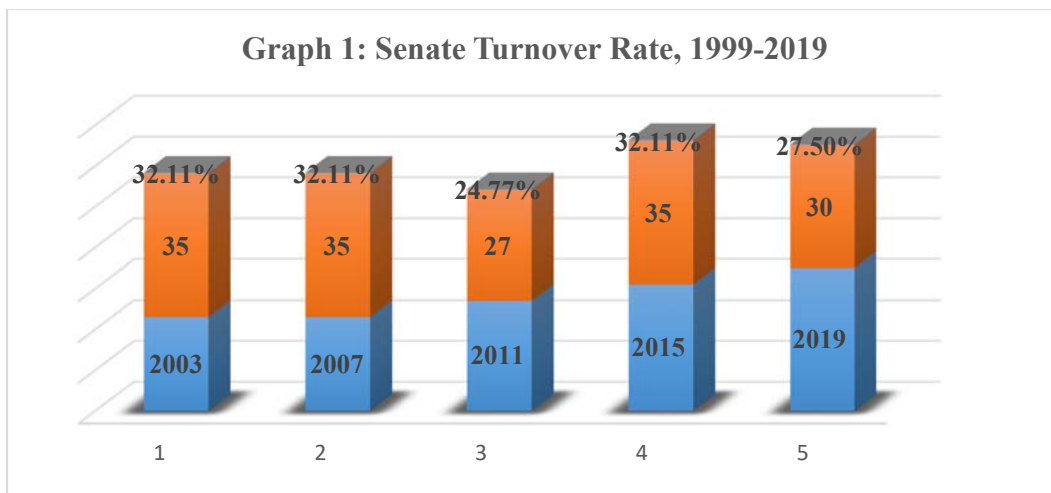
**Expected result based on existing theory:** Existing theory provides that the relationship between motivation (material and financial gains) and performance of the legislators impacts either adversely or positively on their perception and turnover.

While it is true that motivation (material and financial gains) impacts adversely or positively on perception and turnover, the same cannot be said about the performance of legislators judging from findings in table 4.14. If citizens are well motivated by means of providing them with basic

amenities of life like good roads, water, health care, electricity, education etc. through the judicious use of constituency project funds and early budget passage, the perception of the public of NASS would not be negative because the dividends of democracy would be felt by all.

Again, judging from events that has played out in successive Assemblies, ranging from alleged “budget padding”, to corruption charges on senators, misappropriation of constituency funds etc. Is not surprising that conflictual- legislative executive relationship affects public perception of the NASS. This is because the cold war between the legislature and the executive particularly in the eight (8<sup>th</sup>) Senate was within the public space and people have a right to form their own opinion.

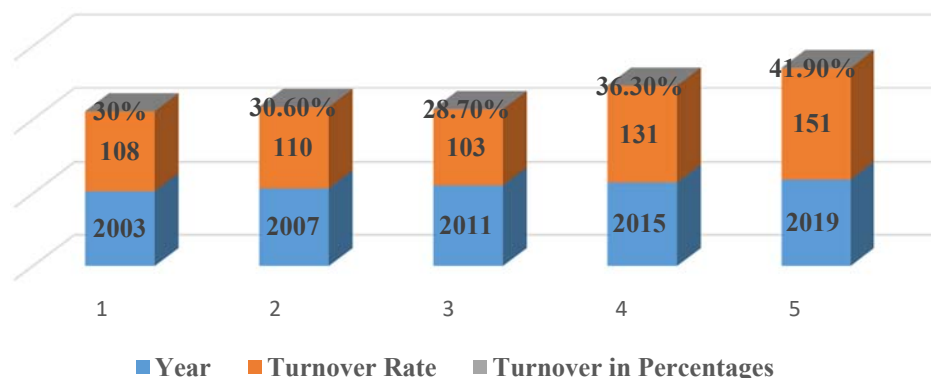
#### 4.5 Objective 3: Examine the effect of public perception on legislators’ turnover in the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic.



**Source:** Author’s compilation

Graph 1 shows that out of the 109 senators, only 35 returned to the Senate in 2003, 2007 and 2015 respectively, while 27 and 30 returned in 2011 and 2019 respectively. This is a representation of 32.11% for 2003, 2007 and 2015 respectively and 24.77% in 2011 as well as 27.50% in 2019. This is quite worrisome considering the fact that the House of Representatives is also affected.

**Graph 2: House of Representatives Turnover Rate, 1999-2019**



**Source:** Author’s compilation

Graph 2 showed that out of the 360 members of the House of Representatives, only 108 (30%) and 110 (30.60%) found their way back to the House in 2003 and 2007, while 103 (28.70%) and 131 (36.30%) returned in 2011 and 2015 respectively. However, there was a little improvement in the 2019 general elections with 151 Honorable Members who returned to the House. This represents 41.90% return rate and it is below average.

**Findings:** From the trend analysis, it was clear that the retention rate in the senate from 1999 till date has always been low unlike the House of Representatives that witnessed a slight increase (151 out of 360) in their retention rate in 2019, although still not encouraging. When respondents were asked about their opinion on whether public perception affects legislators’ turnover, respondents answered in the following manner as captured in the tables below.

**Table 4.18 Response to whether public opinion affect legislators’ turnover in the National Assembly**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	102	33.4
No	203	66.6
Total	305	100

Source; field Survey 2019

Table 4.18 above showed that majority of the respondents (203 respondents, representing 66.6%) believe that public perception does not affect legislators’ turnover in the National Assembly. Only



33.4% affirmed that public perception affect turnover in the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic. When asked to give reasons for their choice of answer in table 4.18 above, some indicated that there are other influencing factors other than public perception. This shows that Public Perception affects turnover to a certain of degree, it doesn't matter how small.

**Table 4.19** Response to whether there are other factors that affect legislators' turnover apart from public perception

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	203	66.6
No	102	33.4
Total	305	100

Source; field Survey 2019

Data in table 4.19 indicated that 203 respondents, representing 66.6% hold the view that there are other determining factors that influence legislators' turnover in the National Assembly, while 33.4 percent hold a contrary view. When asked to mention such factors that affect turnover in the National Assembly, the under-listed factors were identified by the respondents:

Factors that account for high turnover rate in NASS

i.	Political godfathers
ii.	Zoning arrangements
iii.	Electoral malpractices
iv.	Power of incumbency
v.	Party imposition of candidates
vi.	Judicial judgements

Source; field Survey 2019

**Expected result based on theory:** The Elite theory indicated that there is a class maneuvering, each trying to outsmart and outwit the other in the power game. A common ground for settlement will be to boost confidence in the National Assembly as a means of increasing the retention rate among legislators.

The findings above agrees with the theory. In the case of Nigeria, there are issues of god fathers, imposition of candidates, zonal arrangement and power of incumbency which are the real causes of turnover.

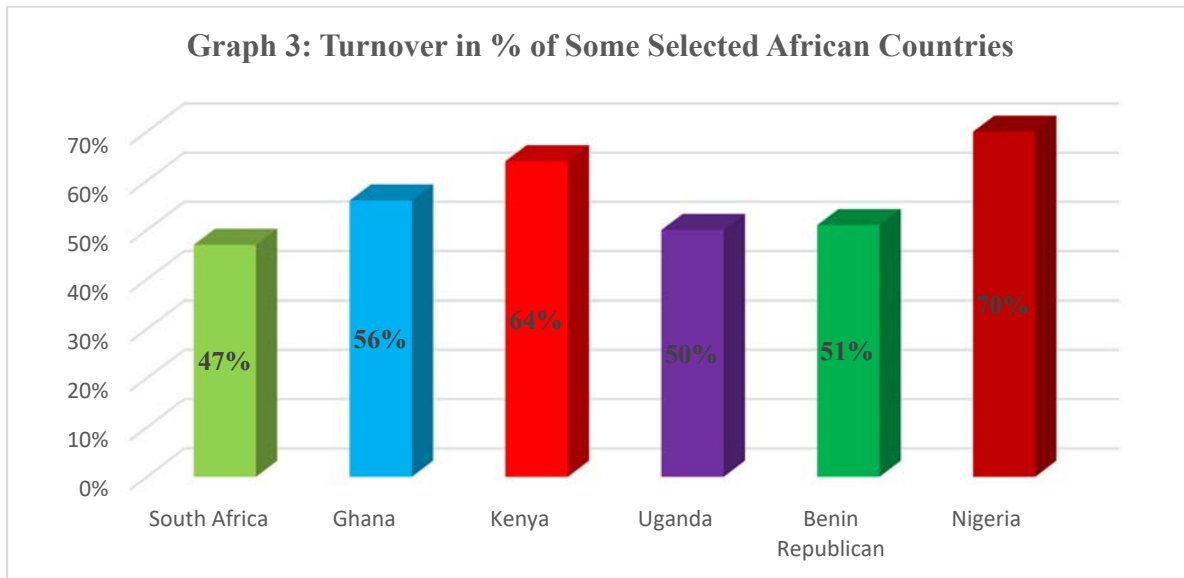
A common ground to increasing the retention rate according to the theory would be to boost confidence in the NASS which can only be achieved by the institution itself, to the degree that they engage the public in their dealings as a way of boosting the perception of the public. This is because, when people have confidence in the NASS, they would do all takes to make sure that their representatives are re-elected. On the other hand, when there is no confidence, politicians are left do as they please.

#### **4.6 Objective 4: Identify and Examine the Factors Responsible for High Rate of Legislators Turnover in Nigeria**

Legislative business requires the legislators to gain the requisite experience to effectively discharge their mandate. Consequently, there is an implied decision not to limit the number of times a performing legislator could be re-elected. Despite this, the electorates have the constitutional right to elect or re-elect a legislator. The incessant and rising turnover of legislators in the National Assembly provides a new challenge to Nigeria's young democracy.

Re-election of a legislator should under normal circumstance be based on his or her performance and contribution in lawmaking process, representation and oversight functions as well as constituency accountability (Eme & Onuigbo, 2015). However, in several occasions, the public deviate in their perception of these constitutional mandates of a legislator, for some selfish and self-serving expectations. With these attitudes, even if a legislator has made meaningful impact in the chambers, he or she may not be re-elected for the failure to play to their tune (Doyle, 2018). Again in some places it is about zoning and not on the grounds of legislative performance (Doyle, 2018).

When compared with some democracies in Africa, Nigeria has one of the highest turnover of legislators. Graph 3 succinctly captures this comparison:



**Source:** Author's compilation

The above graph shows that South Africa has the least turnover with 47% while Nigeria has the highest percentage of turnover rate among the six (6) countries compared with 70%. This is Senate and House of Representative combined.

Existing literature identified a number of factors accounting for the high turnover rate in the National Assembly. These include:

- **Election Malpractices:** -

The prevalence of election malfeasance in Nigeria is appalling and got to its crescendo in 2007. According to Onuigbo & Eme (2015), Governors, godfathers and wealthy aspirants are guilty of perpetuating electoral fraud and manipulating the election processes in Nigeria especially in the Fourth Republic. They out-manuever anyone they do not want to return to NASS from either party primaries or at the elections proper. In a report in 2007, the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies – NILDS brought to the fore, the fact that the election into the National Assembly suffered credibility problems just as previous elections “as the presidency, and the ruling

party (PDP) elite appeared unwavering in their resolve to secure the outcome. The 2007 General Elections were adjudged the worst in the history of elections in Nigeria. Sequel to the resoluteness of the ruling party (PDP), it won virtually three quarter of the seats in the National Assembly leaving the opposition very feeble (Onuigbo & Eme, 2015).

The aftermath was that over than 10 gubernatorial elections were overturned, and scores of National Assembly seats were subsequently transferred or substituted for new voting. Even the highest beneficiary of that charade, late president Umar Musa Yar'Adua owned up to the fact that the process that brought him to power was fraudulent.

**- Intra-Party Politics/ Godfatherism: -**

The activities of godfathers and lack of internal party democracy constituted the fundamental factor accounting for the high turnover rate in the National Assembly. For instance, the idea for Jonathan's blanket endorsement was first proposed in 2013 by the chairman of PDP's BoT, Chief Tony Anenih at two separate stakeholders meetings of the party in Asaba, Delta State and in the Presidential Villa, Abuja. Anenih who admitted that party primaries had always been the bane of rancour in the party's rank, said to avert this tradition of internal warfare, the party hierarchy must consider a selection process that would not leave the party bruised and incapacitated before, during and after the election (Onuigbo & Eme, 2015). The effect on the party was disastrous as the party did not only lose the presidential seat but it also lost majority in both Chambers of the National Assembly (it became minority party).

Similar scenario played out in both Rivers and Zamfara states where the excesses of the party (APC) leaders in trying to impose their preferred candidates backfired on them. APC was barred from contesting the 2019 General and Governorship Elections in Rivers and Zamfara. This

automatically gave PDP control over the two states. Chibuike Amaechi (Transport Minister) and Abdullaziz Yari (Zamfara) will leave with regrets for a long time as a result of the subject matter.

- **Quality of Challengers:**

Also the quality of candidates faced by law-makers in subsequent elections determines whether they return or not. For instance, in 2014 ACN, ANPP, CPC, a faction of APGA and PDP formed a merger (APC) that sold Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (Mr. Integrity) as its candidate. The massive followership the party enjoyed as a result of its presidential candidate, affected National Assembly election in 2015. The electorate massively voted candidates of the APC in the North and Western parts of Nigeria. Consequently, APC swept the elections and won majority seat at NASS thereby displacing most legislators in both Chambers. This has since then changed the narrative in the nation's body polity as it has become a common occurrence for incumbents to lose election across board in Nigeria.

- **Incumbency Factor: -**

It has gradually become a norm that state governors retire to Senate while also sending their favorite *boys* to the House of Representatives thereby displacing or replacing seating law-makers in the process. Only a few law-makers survived such onslaught. Prominent among the were Sen. Patrick Osakwe in 2007 and Sen. Ike Ekweremadu in 2015 when Gov. Sullivan Chime wanted to displace Ekweremadu but the later successfully resisted it.

Despite the call for a paradigm shift in the country's political leadership that has been mainly subjugated by the same group of people that have controlled the leadership of Nigeria from inception. At the expiration of the second tenure of the first set of governors elected in 1999, a handful of them quickly retired to the senate the same year without delay. Among those that were

elected into the Senate in 2007 were Alhaji Bukar Abba Ibrahim (Yobe State), Senator Saminu Turaki (Jigawa State), Senator Chimaroke Nnamani (Enugu), and Senator Abdullahi Adamu (Nasarawa), Adamu Aliero (Kebbi) George Akume (Benue) (Onuigbo & Eme, 2015). This number however, swelled in 2011 with the election of Dr. Bukola Saraki (Kwara), Alhaji Danjuma Goje (Gombe), Dr. Chris Ngige (Anambra) and Joshua Dariye (Plateau). Sen. Chimaroke Nnamani (Enugu), Alhaji Saminu Turaki (Jigawa) and Sen. Adamu Aliero (Kebbi) who were in the senate in 2007 failed to win their re-election in 2011 due to some political differences with their successors and other factors. The likes of Orji Uzor Kalu (Abia), Attahiru Bafarawa (Sokoto), Boni Haruna (Adamawa), Rev. Jolly Nyame (Taraba), Gbenga Daniel (Ogun) and a host of others who failed in their bid to come to the senate immediately after their second term as governors expired have not been finding it easy politically (Onuigbo & Eme, 2015). However, the likes of Orji Uzor Kalu (Abia), Sen. Magatarda Wamakko (Sokoto), Theodore Orji (Abia), Ibikunle Amosun (Ogun), Ibrahim Shekarau (Kano), Abdullahi Adamu (Nasarawa), etc. are today senators.

#### **- Politics of Power Sharing & Power Zoning**

The issue of power sharing and zoning is another big factor affecting legislative turnover. In Bayelsa, the issue of zoning has been a major factor determining who gets what, when and how. For instance, Bayelsa East senatorial district has never produced a returning senator as a result of this zoning conundrum.

**Findings:** Based on what is obtainable from existing literature and respondent's opinion, it is evident that negative Perception of the National Assembly is not the major cause of legislator's turnover in the fourth Republic. The factors listed above are mainly responsible.

**Expected result based on existing theory:** Provides that the relationship between material and financial gains and the performance of the legislators impact either adversely or positively on turnover. From the examination above, it can be deduced that material and financial gains are the main motivation behind all the factors that has been listed starting from a god father who wants to impose a candidate for selfish reasons, to election malpractice and lack of internal democracy in party primaries etc. All of these will eventually have effect on turnover.

#### **4.7 Objective 5: Proffer solutions towards improving the perception of the National Assembly and reducing turnover.**

Responding to the question on ways to improving the perception of the National Assembly, respondent's proffered the following solutions:

- i. *Lawmaker's salaries, allowances and break down of the budget of the National Assembly should not be shrouded in secrecy.*
- ii. *There should be full autonomy for the legislature, and a degree of independence so as not to be seen as a rubber stamp legislature.*
- iii. *Elections should be based on competence and transparency with particular reference to party primaries.*
- iv. *Members should be elected based on integrity as this will make them deliver on their campaign promises.*
- v. *The National Assembly should be opened up to the public. There should also be assess to committee meetings and adequate preparation should always be made for the general public to attend hearing that affect them directly.*

- vi. *Effective utilization of funds meant for constituency projects and early passage of the budget.*

**Expected result based on theory:** The theory indicates that there is a class maneuvering, each trying to outsmart and outwit the other in the power game. A common ground for settlement will be **to boost public confidence in the National Assembly** as a means of increasing the retention rate among legislators. The theory provides a perfect solution for improving perception and reducing turnover which is to boost public confidence in the National Assembly. All of the factors listed above are geared towards boosting confidence in the NASS.

The way to boost confidence in the National Assembly is for the institution to ensure that they are seen to be doing what they are elected for. They should be transparent in their dealings with the public by opening up the National Assembly to the public. Above all, the public must begin to feel the dividends of democracy by the provision of basic amenities in the form of constituency projects. They should ensure that these constituency funds are not misappropriated. These and many more would go a long way to boosting public confidence in the National Assembly. It is important to note that once confidence is boosted, citizens can go all the way to ensure they elect a leader of their choice. We have seen cases where voters stay in their polling booths from morning till night just to guard their votes. However the National Assembly has the sole responsibility to launder its image.

#### **4.8 Discussion of Findings**

The findings from the analysis above reveals that the public's perception of the National Assembly is negative. Respondents affirmed the elections that brought successive sessions of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic were not credible and expressed an appreciable knowledge of the processes that brought lawmakers to seat. The unprecedented level of violence witnessed in



the November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019 senatorial elections in Kogi state as widely reported by the media was a good example of an election whose credibility can be contested. This leaves one wondering what a candidate who was brought into the NASS in such an election would offer to the people other than represent his own selfish interest. The study also showed that respondents were not favorably disposed to the way and manner members of the National Assembly carried out their tripartite function of law making oversight and representation. Most of them were of the view that they performed averagely.

Respondents also showed a high degree of awareness of the various factors that account for the negative perception of the NASS. Chief amongst them are, alleged high corruption in the NASS, conflictual legislature-executive relationship and misappropriation of constituency project funds. The issue of high rate of corruption in NASS could be attributed to the way and manner the annual budget is scrutinized which is mostly not transparent, conduct of oversight activities in Ministry Departments and Agency, issue of budget padding etc. the inability of the Nass to open up its activities to the public and the role of the media over the years in fueling the corruption allegation in the NASS.

The conflictual legislature-executive relationship, particularly in the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate also contributed to the negative perception of the NASS by the public. This was when the media was agog with the news of budget padding with the executive pointing fingers to the legislature. This portrayed the National Assembly before the public in a very bad light.

It was observed from the study that public perception did not necessarily affect turnover in the National Assembly as political godfathers, zoning arrangements, electoral malpractices, power of incumbency, party imposition of candidates and judicial judgements play fundamental role in the election or re-election of law-makers in Nigeria. The reason for this is not far-fetched. As long as electoral laws are not strengthened to give credibility to the electoral processes and internal party democracy is not entrenched, perception would not have any effect on turnover and leaders would continue to emerge irrespective of how the public feels about them.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

This chapter covered the Summary of findings, conclusion in view of the exploration and major recommendations with respect to specific findings.

#### **5.1 Summary of findings**

The legislature is undoubtedly a focal requisite for ensuring good governance and deliverance of the dividends of democracy to the citizenry which makes the views and opinion of the general public of utmost importance. The study examined some parameters of public perception of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic with specific focus on the effects it has on legislator's turnover. Accordingly, the study examined the rate of turnover in the National Assembly from 1999-2019 with a view to identifying the factors responsible for the high rate.

The study found out that the public has a poor perception of the National Assembly which is attributed to their views on the performance of their core mandate (law making, Representation and Oversight), credibility of the elections that that brought in members, their lack of confidence in the entire electoral process as well as the role of the media (both print and electronic) in shaping the perception of the people.

The alleged high rate of corruption in the National Assembly (budget padding, the fact that the breakdown of the National Assembly budget and law makers salaries and emoluments is shrouded in secrecy), Conflictual legislature- executive relationship and misappropriation of constituency funds were identified as the major factors accounting for the negative perception of the National Assembly by the public.

The study also shows that public perception affects legislator's turnover to a certain degree. Some of respondents believed that even though public perception affects turnover rate to a certain degree, there are other major factors that affects it more. In other words, there are more influencing factors that affects turnover apart from a negative that were identified. These factors include incumbency factor, election malpractice, politics of power sharing/zoning, godfatherism, quality of challengers at elections, imposition of candidates, and lack of internal party democracy amongst others.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The issue of Public perception of the legislature is one that ought to be taken seriously because in every true democracy public opinion matters. The legislature as an arm of government, is closest to the people particularly at the grass root level and as such every effort must be made to carry them along in their workings and dealings. However, we are faced with a situation where the public is mostly not aware of what is going on in the NASS, they are not involved and as such form their own views and opinion of their representatives based on what they can gather from the media space be it right or wrong. This also goes a long way to affecting their decisions at the polls.

From the findings of the study, we see that public perception affects legislator's turnover to a certain degree but not as much as the other factors as identified in the study. Therefore the understanding of public perception by legislators would help them in knowing what citizen's

expectations of them are. It will also help them in the effective discharge of their core mandate thereby improving the negative views of the public about the National Assembly and in turn reduce the high turnover rate in the National Assembly.

While it is within the powers of the National Assembly work on improving public perception to reduce high turnover, it really cannot do much about the other factors identified in the study as major causes of high rate of legislative turnover. This is because there are electoral laws already in place as passed by the NASS that should guarantee free, fair and credible elections yet the problem of electoral malpractice, which has been identified as a major cause of high turnover still persists. Other factors such as intra-party politics, godfatherism, politics of power sharing and zoning, incumbency factor are not within the control of the National Assembly.

It will therefore, take the strengthening of the various institutions that interpret and implement laws to enable them discharge their duty without fear or favour.

### **5.3 Recommendation**

The following are major recommendation of the study with respect to specific findings;

1. The National Assembly should enhance its relationship with the public through more effective engagement of citizens and civil society organizations (CSOs). In other words, citizens should be carried along in workings and dealings of the National Assembly. This way, the public would have a better understanding of what is going on the NASS and their perception improved.
2. Based on the public's view regarding the dealings of the National Assembly's with Ministries, Departments and Agencies (Budget defense and oversight activities), it is best

for the NASS to correct the impression of the public by giving the media uninterrupted access to their oversight activities and budget defense. This way there would be no room for unnecessary speculation that would create a wrong impression to members of the general public. They should also strive to have a harmonious working relationship with the executive. Constituency project funds should be judiciously utilized for the purpose it was appropriated.

3. Institutions that implement and interpret the law should be strengthened and motivated. The judiciary and INEC for example must be truly independent in the true sense of the word in order to dispense justice without fear or favour. According to the elite theory, the elites will always govern because of the enormous wealth they possess. This means they can influence whomever or whatever they want. The only way out of this would be to build very strong institutions.
4. Even when electoral laws are strengthened, political parties must ensure internal party democracy as this is one sure way to addressing issues of imposition of candidates, godfatherism,, power of incumbency, judicial decisions etc. that account for high turnover rate. It also means party leaders must have the political will to insist on doing what is right. This is buttressed in Mitchels “iron law of oligarchy”, where he talked about the people seeking a charismatic leader with outstanding qualities in whom they can place their trust in times of crisis and also when things are not going well.
5. To improve public perception, the National Assembly should endeavor to address issues in the public domain/media space such as jumbo pay, breakdown of its annual budget, budget padding, financial waste etc. as a way of boosting public confidence in the legislature.

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## Appendix 1: Questionnaire

### Questionnaire

I am a post-graduate student of NILS and the University of Benin. I am undertaking a research on the topic: *Public Perception of the National Assembly and Legislators Turnover in the Fourth Republic*. In this questionnaire, turnover means the rate at which Senators are being replaced with new comers. While Public Perception entails the view or opinion of the masses about the entire National Assembly membership. I therefore, appeal for your assistance in completing these few questions.

Thank you very much in advance

**Instruction:** Please tick or fill in the gaps where necessary.

### **SECTION A: BIO-DATA**

1. What is your sex category?

a) Male

b) Female [ ]

2. What is your age Bracket?

a) 18-30yrs [ ]

b) 31-40yrs [ ]

c) 41-50yrs [ ]

d) 51 and above [ ]

3. What is your marital status?

a) Married [ ]

b) Single [ ]

c) Others [ ]

4. What is your educational status?

a) O' Level [ ]

b) HND [ ]

c) B.Sc./LLB [ ]

d) MBA/M.Sc./PhD [ ]

e) Others specify \_\_\_\_\_

5. What is your occupation?

a) Civil Servants [ ]

b) Private Firms [ ]

- c) Business/Self-Employed [ ]
- d) Civil Society Organizations [ ]
- e) Others specify \_\_\_\_\_

6. Are you aware of the existence of the National Assembly (NASS)?

- a) Yes [ ]
- b) No [ ]

7. Do you know the Senator representing your senatorial district in the National Assembly?

- c) Yes [ ]
- d) No [ ]

**Section B: objective one:**

**To examine public perception of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic**

8. How good is the election that brought Members into the National Assembly?

- a) Credible [ ]
- b) Not Credible [ ]
- c) Not Sure [ ]

9. Based on media reports on the 2019 National Assembly election, what is your perception of the electoral process?

- a) Positive [ ]
- b) Negative [ ]
- c) Undecided [ ]

10. What is your assessment of the performance of the National Assembly in the Fourth Republic?

- a) Performed its Core Functions Effectively [ ]
- b) Performed its Core Functions Below Average [ ]
- a) Performed its Core Functions Averagely [ ]
- b) Performed its Core Functions Above Average [ ]

11. Are you aware of the following as means for measuring public perception?

- a) Election Yes [ ] No [ ]
- b) Interest Groups & Lobbying Yes [ ] No [ ]
- c) Media Yes [ ] No [ ]
- d) Letters & Calls Yes [ ] No [ ]
- e) Protest Yes [ ] No [ ]

12. Please rate these factors in the order they define public perception/opinion from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest).

- a) Election 1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]
- b) Interest Groups & Lobbying 1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]
- c) Media 1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]
- d) Letters & Calls 1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]
- e) Protest 1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]

**Section C: objective two:**

**To Identify Factors Accounting for the Perception the Public Holds about the National Assembly.**

13. Are you aware of the under-listed as factors affecting the perception of the National Assembly?

- a) Alleged High rate of Corruption in the NASS Yes [ ] No [ ]
- b) Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/ Budget Yes [ ] No [ ]
- c) Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship Yes [ ] No [ ]
- d) Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund Yes [ ] No [ ]
- e) Abysmal Performance of Core Function Yes [ ] No [ ]

14. In your opinion, do you agree that the following factors affect the image of the National Assembly negatively?

- a. Alleged High rate of Corruption in the NASS  
Strongly agree [ ], Agree [ ], Undecided [ ], Disagree [ ], Strongly Disagree [ ]
- b. Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/ Budget  
Strongly agree [ ], Agree [ ], Undecided [ ], Disagree [ ], Strongly Disagree [ ]
- c. Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship  
Strongly agree [ ], Agree [ ], Undecided [ ], Disagree [ ], Strongly Disagree [ ]
- d. Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund  
Strongly agree [ ], Agree [ ], Undecided [ ], Disagree [ ], Strongly Disagree [ ]
- e. Abysmal Performance of Core Function  
Strongly agree [ ], Agree [ ], Undecided [ ], Disagree [ ], Strongly Disagree [ ]

15. Please rate between 1-5 the following factors as they affect the image of the National Assembly

- a. Alleged High rate of Corruption in the NASS .....



1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]

b. Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/ Budget .....

1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]

c. Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship .....

1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]

d. Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund .....

1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]

e. Abysmal Performance of Core Function .....

1[ ] 2[ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ]

16. What is your reason for your response to question number 15 above?

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17. If your perception of NASS is negative, what in your assessment are the Factors responsible for your Perception of the Senate (1999-2019)?

a. Alleged High rate of Corruption in the NASS [ ]

b. Late Passage of Appropriation Bills/ Budget [ ]

c. Conflictual Legislative-Executive Relationship [ ]

d. Misappropriation of Constituency Project Fund [ ]

e. Abysmal Performance of Core Function [ ]

17b. What is your reason for your response to question number 11a above?

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18. If your perception of NASS is positive, what in your assessment are the Factors responsible for your Perception of the Senate (1999-2019)?

- a. Effective Performance of Core Function [ ]
- b. Timely Passage of Appropriation Bills/ Budget [ ]
- c. Efficient Utilization of Constituency Project Fund [ ]
- d. Legislative-Executive Relationship [ ]
- e. Public accountability, Probity & Accountability [ ]

18b. What is your reason for your response to question number 15a above?

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19. What is your assessment of the Nigeria Senate performances 1999-2019?

- a) Performed its mandates effectively [ ]
- b) Perform abysmally poor [ ]
- c) Average performance [ ]
- d) Undecided [ ]

20. Please give reasons for response to question 19 above

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**Section D: Objective 3**

**Examine the effect of public perception on legislators' turnover in the National Assembly  
in the Fourth Republic**

21. In your opinion, does public opinion affect legislators' turnover in the National Assembly?

a) Yes [ ] b) No [ ]

b. Please give reasons for your answer in 18 (a) above

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22. Are there other factors that affect legislators' turnover apart from public perception?

a) Yes [ ] b) No [ ]

23. In your opinion, what other factor affects legislators' turnover in the National Assembly?

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**Section E: Objective 4:**

Proffer solutions towards improving perception of the National Assembly and reducing turnover.

24. What in your opinion will give the National Assembly a positive image and erase the negative public perception?

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**Thank you so much for your attention.**