**1.0 NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**DEFINITION OF FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT**

A federal system of government can be defined as one in which governmental powers that exist in the country are shared between a central government that represent the whole country and government of component regions or states, so that each government is legally and constitutionally independent and autonomous. The federal system, political authority is divided between two autonomous sets of governments, one national and the other subnational, both of which operate directly upon the people. A federal government is a system of dividing up power between a central national government and local state governments that are connected to one another by the national government. Some areas of public life are under the control of the national government, and some areas are under control of the local governments.

The classic definition of federalism by K.C. Wheare, who described the federal principle as the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere co- ordinate and independent. Wheare's definition states that under a federal system the general and the regional government each has an autonomous sphere of power that can be exercised independently of the other level. Wheare's formulation states that the powers of the central government are exercised directly over individual citizens, rather than indirectly through the states or provinces. In the event that the central government does not have power to regulate citizens directly, the form of government would be confederal rather than federal. Federalism according to A.V Dicey, identified the three leading characteristics of a "completely developed federalism" as including the distribution of powers among governmental bodies (each with limited and coordinate powers), along with the supremacy of the constitution and the authority of the courts as the interpreters of the constitution.

Federalism in simple terms is the division of law-making powers and functions between two levels of government, so that general and regional governments are each within a sphere co-ordinate and independent. Federalism is an arrangement whereby powers of government within a country are shared between a national, countrywide government and a number of regionalised (that is; territorially localized) governments in such a way that each exists as a government separately and independently from others, operating directly on persons and property within its territorial area, with a will of its own and its own apparatus for the conduct of its affairs. Federalism is essentially an arrangement between government, a constitutional device by which powers within a country are shared among two tiers of government. Examples of a federation or federal province or state include Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina Brazil, Canada, Germany, India, Iraq, Malaysia, Mexico, Micronesia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Switzerland, the United Arab Emirates, the United States, the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Yugoslavia.

**ORIGIN OF THE FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.**

Federalism in Nigeria is a product of the colonial administration. The Richards Constitution of 1946 provided the ground work for the take-off of the federal constitution. Nigerian federalism started during her colonial experience with Britain. Lord Laggard amalgamated the colony and protectorates of the Northern Nigeria in 1914. Britain, through her colonial representative in Nigeria brought two (2) sections of the country together to enable Britain to achieve her economic objectives. Clifford Constitution of 1922 provided a legislative council for the colony and Southern protectorates, while the Northern region was excluded from the council. However, its decisions could be applied to the North by the Governor General. The elective principle which the constitution introduced led to the formation of political parties and raised political consciousness in the Southern part of the country. The 1946 Arthur Richards constitution introduced regionalism in the country.

The country was divided into three (3) regions namely: The North, East, and West. There was no constitutional division of power between the centre and the regions. Regional assemblies lacked the legislative powers to make laws for their regions. Macpherson Constitution of 1951 was a quasi-federal constitution (regarded as ‘quasi’ because it contained both elements of unitary and federal systems). It introduced quasi-federalism which empowered regional legislative houses to make laws on specific matters to their regional government. This was however subjected to the approval of the central government. The Oliver Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 introduced true federalism with division of legislative powers into exclusive, concurrent, and residual lists between the central and regional governments. The constitution provided the appointment of premiers to head the regions.

**MAJOR FEATURES OF FEDERAL SYSTEM**

1. Division of powers between levels of government:
2. There is constitutional division of powers between the central government and other levels of government.
3. There is always a revenue sharing formula between the central government and the other components units of the federation.
4. Most federations adopt bicameral legislature in other to protect the minority units, because all the states have equal representatives in the upper house (the Senate)
5. Most federal state have written and rigid constitutions.
6. There is supremacy of the constitution in the federal state.
7. There is always a constitutional judicial arbiter who interprets the constitution and decides conflicts of jurisdiction between the central government and other constituent units of the federation.
8. Once the federation is formed, it is usually difficult for components unit to break away.

**REASONS FOR THE ADOPTION OF FEDERAL SYSTEM**

1. Willingness and desire for a union.
2. Size and Population of the Country: Federalism is the best system for a country with a large landmass and a large population made up different ethnic groups.
3. Geographical Contiguity: The states which are to form a federation must be near to one another and not be separated by another country, a large body of water and impassable mountain.
4. Past historical and political backgrounds, experience and associations that make contiguous societies form federations.
5. Need for security: Federation are often formed on the principle of the strength in the numbers because the federation enhances the military might of the federating units.
6. Strong Economy: The resources of the federating unit are harnessed for better and stronger economy for the Federal state.
7. States also come together to form federal state in other to ensure the minorities will not be dominated by the majority groups.

**MERITS OF THE FEDERAL SYSTEM**

* Federalism promotes healthy rivalry and emulation between the unit and these fasten development.
* A federal structure creates employment for the members of the public by providing for duplication of the functions.
* Autonomy is guaranteed for the component units of the state and they can develop at their own paces.
* The constitutions of the federal state are usually written and rigid, and individual rights are guaranteed.
* Because political power is shared between the center and other components units of the country, the dictatorial tendencies of the center are limited.
* It guarantees political stability because the center is strong.
* It brings government nearer to the people at the grassroots.

**DEMERITS OF FEDERAL SYSTEM**.

\* It is expensive to operate because of duplication of function.

\* It encourages unhealthy rivalry between the component units of the state.

\* Conflicts may arise between the levels of government.

\* The sutonomy guaranteed to the unit may lead to uneven development in the state.

\* By creating more than a tier or level of government divided loyalty to the state is encourage.

\* It may lead to secessionist attempt.

\* It is very difficult to amend because the constitutions of the federal state are rigid and these may stifle developments.

**DIVISION OF POWER.**

Division of powers refers to the separation of a state's government into "branches", each with separate, independent powers and responsibilities, so that the powers of one branch are not in conflict with those of the other branches. Constitutional government requires a division of power among several organs of the body politic. Division of powers, separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of government among separate and independent bodies. Such a separation, it has been argued, limits the possibility of arbitrary excesses by government, since the sanction of all three branches is required for the making, executing, and administering of laws. Division of powers is an organizational structure where responsibilities, authorities, and powers are divided between groups rather than being centrally held. Division of powers is most closely associated with political systems, in which the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of government are vested in separate bodies.

The typical division into three branches of government, called the "Trias Politica model", includes a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary. It can be contrasted with the fusion of powers in parliamentary and semi-presidential systems where there can be overlap in membership and functions between different branches, especially the executive and legislative, although in most non-authoritarian jurisdictions, the judiciary almost never overlaps with the other branches, whether powers in the jurisdiction are separated or fused. The reason behind a system of separated powers is to prevent the concentration of power by providing for checks and balances. The separation of powers model is often imprecisely and metonymically used interchangeably with the trias politica principle. While the trias politica model is a common type of separation, there are governments that have more or fewer than three branches.

**LEGISLATURE**

**Legislature** makes law. Legislature is formed from two words "Legg" which means "Law" and "Lator" meaning "A proposer". A legislator is someone who proposed and makes law, the legislature is the place where laws are proposed and made. The legislature is referred to as the first among equals given its functions and powers. The legislature is the centre of decisions about policies, programmes and the place where important decision are made. Legislature is a deliberative body of persons, usually elective, who are empowered to make, change, or repeal the laws of a country or state the branch of government having the power to make laws, as distinguished from the executive and judicial branches of government. The legislature is called many names in different countries, in Nigeria it is known as the "National Assembly" which is made up of the House of Senate which is the upper house and the House of Representatives which is the lower house or chamber, in the United States it is called the "Congress", in Britain the two houses are called the "House of Lord's and the House of Common's", the house of common's is the first chamber and the house of Lord's is the second chamber is the second chamber in the United Kingdom Parliament, in Israel it is called the "Knesset" and in India the central legislature is called the "Parliament", which has two Houses:"Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha".

The legislature is the elected or selected body that makes laws for a state. Legislatures (sometimes called parliament, senate or congress) perform three key roles: representation of the people, passing effective legislation, and oversight of government. Legislature is an assembly with the authority to make laws for a political entity such as a country or city. Laws enacted by legislatures are usually known as "primary legislation". Legislatures may observe and steer governing actions, with authority to amend the budget involved. The members of a legislature are called "legislators". In a democracy, legislators are most commonly popularly elected, although indirect election and appointment by the executive are also used, particularly for bicameral legislatures featuring an upper chamber.

A central feature of any constitution is the organization of the legislature. Legislature, lawmaking branch of a government. Before the advent of legislatures, the law was dictated by monarchs. Early European legislatures include the English Parliament and the Icelandic Althing. Legislatures may be unicameral or bicameral. The Legislature powers may include passing laws, establishing the government’s budget, confirming executive appointments, ratifying treaties, investigating the executive branch, impeaching and removing from office members of the executive and judiciary, and redressing constituents’ grievances. Members may be appointed or directly or indirectly elected; they may represent an entire population, particular groups, or territorial subdistricts. In presidential systems, the executive and legislative branches are clearly separated; in parliamentary systems, members of the executive branch are chosen from the legislative membership.

**FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE.**

\* **Law Making**: The primary function of the legislature is to make laws. Ordinary Bills can be introduced by the members of the Parliament and by the Ministers, while Money Bills can be introduced only by the Ministers in the Lower House. The Members of the Legislature can by a majority vote accept or reject any Bill. The Members of Legislature or the Parliament enjoy full freedom of speech and also of criticism of the policies of the government.

\* **Control over the Budget:** The legislature has control over the budget of the executive (Government) and without its approval the executive cannot spend even a single ‘paisa’. In England and India, the Members of the Parliament can impose a cut on any demand on the budget but they cannot increase it.

\* **Control over Executive:** In a Parliamentary Government the Legislature or the Parliament exercises full control over the executive or the Council of Ministers. The Parliament has the right to put Questions and Supplementary Questions to the Cabinet. The Parliament can remove the Cabinet by a No- Confidence Motion. It can bring in Adjournment Motions and Censure Motions against the Cabinet. The Parliament can appoint a committee to investigate the affairs of the ministers.

\* **Judicial:** In certain countries the legislature has to perform certain judicial functions. For example, in India and America the Parliament and the Congress can remove the President by a process of Impeachment. In England, the House of Lords is the final Court of Appeal. In Canada, the Upper House, that is, the Senate hears the divorce cases. In Switzerland, the Federal Assembly has the power to interpret the Constitution.

\* **Electoral:** In certain countries, the legislature elects the President, the Vice-President and the Judges. In India, the Parliament takes part in the election of the President and the Vice-President. (In the election of the President, besides the Parliament, the State Legislatures also take part, but in the election of the Vice- President, only the Parliament takes part). In Russia, the Judges of the Supreme Court are elected by the Parliament of that country. In Switzerland also the members of the Executive and Federal Tribunal are elected by the members of Parliament. Formerly, in China the President was elected by the Parliament.

\* **Amendment of the Constitution:** In every democracy, the power to amend the constitution rests with the legislature of that country. The only difference is that in some countries, a similar procedure is adopted as that for the amendment of ordinary laws. In some other countries a special procedure is adopted for the amendment of the constitution. In our country, the Parliament can amend certain clauses of the constitution with a two thirds majority and for amending certain clauses; the approval of one half of the state legislatures is needed.

\* **A Minor of Public Opinion:** The legislature acts as the mirror of public opinion, because it criticises and compels the executive to act according to the wishes of the people.

\* **Right of the Legislature to remove the Judges:** In India, China, Soviet Russia, England and the U.S.A., the Parliament has the power to remove the judges of the Federal or Supreme Court.

\* **As a Board of Directors:** In certain countries the legislature acts as a Board of Directors for Government Corporations, because it decides the manner in which the Administrative Branch is to be organized and perform its functions. It also decides the ways and means for raising money.

**TYPES OF LEGISLATURE**

\* **UNICAMERAL (ONE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS):** This is a situation where there is only one house of assembly. Unicameral legislatures are typical in small countries with unitary systems of government (Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Israel, and New Zealand) or in very small countries (Andorra, Dominica, Luxembourg, Liechtenstein, Malta, and Tuvalu). Other examples include; Greece, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Ghana.

**MERITS OF UNICAMERAL LEGISLATURE**

1. One advantage of a unicameral legislature is that it is democratic
2. Unicameral legislature is also known to be ideal for unitary states.
3. Unicameral legislature is easy to maintain, that is, it is cheaper to run than bicameral legislature, since there is no second chamber to maintain.
4. In a bicameral legislature, some form of rivalry is present and unavoidable as the two chambers struggle for superiority. Unicameral legislature prevents squabbles as to which of the houses is upper and which is lower.
5. Unicameral legislature provides room for a faster process of law making and is applicable in moments of emergency.

**DEMERITS OF UNICAMERAL LEGISLATURE**

1. Unicameral legislature does not make room for adequate and equal representation in a country as large as Nigeria.
2. A unicameral legislature creates room for the emergence of a dictatorial head of state because it does not check excesses as well as a bicameral legislature.
3. Unicameral legislatures do not allow bills to be properly debated before they hastily passed.
4. In a unicameral legislature, it is only one chamber that does all the work. There is no opportunity for assistance from a second chamber.

\* **BICAMERAL (TWO LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS):** Federal states, whether large or small, usually have bicameral legislatures, one house usually representing the main territorial subdivisions. The classic example is the National Assembly of Nigeria, which consists of a House of Representatives, with 360 members elected for four- year terms from single-member districts of approximately equal population, and a Senate, consisting of 3 persons from each states and 1 from the Federal Capital elected by the voters of that state. The fact that all states are represented equally in the Senate regardless of their size reflects the federal character of Nigeria. Other examples include United States of America and Britain.

**MERITS OF BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE**

1. It is a safe guard against dictatorship.
2. Prevention of hasty legislation
3. Delay may be useful in law making
4. It is very essential for the federal system of government. It gives for better representation.
5. It is a source of stability.

**DEMERITS OF BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE**

\* It confuses public opinion.

\* It is costly.

\* It brings delay into law making and delay can be dangerous.

**EXECUTIVE**

The executive is the second but most powerful organ of government. It is the organ that implement the laws made by the legislature and the authoritative judgment of the judiciary. The executive is identified with the government by the people. The executive refers to all the political office holders and the civil servants who implement laws and policies and who also take part in day to day administration of the state. The executive arm of government is the same with the Cabinet, the President or Prime Minister of a country, Governors of State, Ministers, The Civil Service, The Arm Forces and The Police.

**FUNCTIONS OF EXECUTIVE**

\* **Enforcement of Laws:** The primary function of the executive is to enforce laws and to maintain law and order in the state.

\* **Appointment making function:** All major appointments are made by the chief executive. For example, the President of Nigeria appoints ministers who make up his cabinet to take responsibility for each of the government ministries. The ministers appointed include Minister of Justice or Attorney General, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Defence, Minister of Education.

\* **Treaty-Making Functions:** It is the responsibility of the executive to decide as to which treaties are to be signed with which other countries. The executive negotiates the treaties in accordance with the procedure defined by international law and also in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the state.

\* **Policy Making:** Modern welfare state has to carry out a large number of functions for securing the socio-economic-cultural development of its people. It has to formulate policies, prepare short-term and long-term plans and implement these. All actions of the state are guided by definite policies and plans.

\* **Foreign Policy-Making:** In this age of ever-increasing global interdependence, it has become one of the most important functions of a government to formulate the foreign policy of the state and to conduct foreign relations. This function is also performed by the executive.

**Functions and Powers of the Executive**

1. **Enforcement of Laws:**

The primary function of the executive is to enforce laws and to maintain law and order in the state. Whenever a breach of law takes place, it is the responsibility of the executive to plug the breach and bring the offenders to book. Each government department is responsible for the implementation of the laws and policies concerning its work. For maintaining law and order in the state, the executive organises and maintains the police force.

**2. Appointment-Making Functions:**

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Likewise, the President of the United States makes a very large number of key appointments. All the secretaries who head various government departments, Judges of the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts, the Federal officials in the States etc., are appointed by the US President. However, all such appointments require the approval of the US Senate (Upper House US Congress i.e. Parliament). As such appointment-making is a function of the executive.

**3. Treaty-Making Functions:**

It is the responsibility of the executive to decide as to which treaties are to be signed with which other countries. The executive negotiates the treaties in accordance with the procedure defined by international law and also in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the state. Each treaty is signed by a member of the executive. Most of the treaties also require ratification by the legislature of the State. It is again the responsibility of the executive to secure legislative approval for the treaties signed by it.

\* **Defence, War and Peace Functions:** One of the key functions of the state is to defend and preserve the unity and integrity of the country and protect it in the event of an external aggression or war. It is the responsibility of the executive to undertake this work. To organise military for the defense of the state, to prepare for and fight the war, if it becomes necessary, and to negotiate and sign peace settlement after every war, are the functions performed by the executive.

**TYPES OF EXECUTIVE**

\* **Nominal and Real Executives:**

In many countries the Head of the State has nominal powers, as in Great Britain, Japan, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium and Holland. In these countries, the powers of the Monarch are exercised by his ministers, there is nominal executive in these countries. Under the Constitution of the U.S.A. and Nigeria, the President has been given many powers and he himself exercises these powers. Therefore, there is real executive in Nigeria and in America. Though the President of India has been given many powers in the Constitution, yet in actual practice these powers are exercised by his ministers, therefore there is nominal executive in India.

\* **Single and Plural types of Executives:**

Single executive means that all executive powers are vested in one Head of the State, for example the President of Nigeria exercises all executive powers. In Switzerland, the executive power is not in the hands of only one individual, but in the hands of a Council of seven members. The Chairman of this Council has no additional powers. Thus all the seven members are equally responsible for the administration in that country. This type of Swiss executive is called Plural Executive.

\* **Parliamentary and Presidential Types of Executives:**

In a parliamentary executive, the Cabinet is responsible to the legislature. This system functions in England, France, Japan, Sri Lanka, India, West Germany, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland. Where the President is the Head of the State and has real executive powers and is not responsible to the Parliament, the system will be known as the Presidential type of executive. This system functions in the United States of America, Nigeria, Brazil and some countries of South America. The President is elected for a fixed term in these countries and he can be removed only through an impeachment.

\* **Hereditary and Elective Executives:**

When a king or queen is the Head of the State and when after his or her death, his son or daughter or, in a case where he or she is issueless or childless, some of his or her near relative occupies the throne, the system refers to a hereditary executive. This type of executive functions in England, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Japan and Nepal. In countries where the Head of State is elected either by the people or by their representatives, the system refers to an elective executive. We find this system in Nigeria, India, France, West Germany, Italy, the United States of America, Austria, Pakistan, and Egypt.

\* **Dictatorship:**

When the entire powers of the nation are in the hands of one person, it is called Dictatorship. The dictator wields power with the help of a particular party or army and later on he becomes all in all in that country. After World War 1 (1914-18), Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany became dictators. In the Second World War (1939-45) Germany and Italy were defeated and the dictatorship came to an end. Today, democratic governments are functioning there. In Spain, General Franco established his Dictatorship. In Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the dictatorship of the Communist Party has been established and no opposition party can be formed there.

**THE CONTROL OF THE EXECUTIVE**

\* In a parliamentary system, the Executive can be removed by the Legislature through a vote of no confidence.

\* Action of the Executive could be challenged in the court of law.

\* The Constitution has control on the Executive.

\* Periodic free and fair election had control on the Executive.

\* In a presidential system, the president could be impeached by the Legislature.

\* The Judiciary controls the Executive through judicial review.

\* The press can control the Executive through fearless criticism, exposure of corrupt practices.

\* People can criticise the government constructively through write ups in newspaper, radio and television.

**JUDICIARY**

The judiciary constitutes the arm of government that interprets the law of the state and applies the existing law to individual cases. It is a branch of government whose task is the authoritative adjudication of controversies over the application of the laws in specific situations. The judiciary constitutes the arm of government that interprets the laws in specific situations. The judiciary is the last hope of any citizen for justice or good judgment. It is made up of different courts and it is also made up of Judges and Magistrates

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JUDICIARY**

\* Impartiality: The Judiciary is impartial to the extent that it is not a creation of the Executive or Legislature and so cannot be influenced by them.

\* Political Neutrality: The Judiciary is politically neutral. Judges do not engage in partisan politics but rather act as an arbiter in cases of political disagreement.

\* Permanence: The Judiciary is a permanent institution inherited by successive government. Its term does not end at the end of any political regime or tenure.

\* Professionalism: The Judiciary is made up of independent of the Executive and the Legislature in order to avoid undue interferences and delays in the judiciary process and to promote separation of power.

\* Judiciary Immunity: Judges enjoy judicial immunity in the performance of their duties.

\* Due Process: The Judiciary operates according to laid down procedures or precedence.

\* Code of Conduct: The Judiciary has prescribed code of conduct in integrity.

**FUNCTIONS OF THE JUDICIARY**

* Interpretation of Laws: The judges interprets the laws of the state and applies the existing law to individual cases.
* Settlement of Disputes: The courts deal with cases between private individuals and the government. Both criminal and civil cases are settled in the courts.
* Punishment of Offenders: The courts have the power to punish those that have offended the laws of the State.
* Prevention of Wrongful Acts: By means of restraining order, courts act to prevent violation of laws.
* Protection of The Constitution: The Judiciary had the power to determine whether the Constitution has been violated or not.

**THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY**

This means the judiciary should be free or independent from the control of the other two organs of government to be able to operate freely. This includes:

\* Judges must be independent from the absolute control of either the Executive or the Legislature.

\* To prevent government functionaries from being too powerful.

\* Promotion of judges should be done by an independent body.

\* Remuneration: The salaries and allowance of judges should not be subject to frequent alteration and must be sufficient.

\* To bring about peace and other in the society.

**THE EXCLUSIVE LIST**

This list contain power exercised by the central government alone. Items on this list are entirely left to the central government to legislate on, for example; currency, defense, customs, Immigration, telecommunication, Mines and Power, Arms, ammunition and explosives, Aviation, including airports, safety of aircraft and carriage of passengers and goods by air. Awards of national titles of honour, decorations and other dignities, Bankruptcy and insolvency. Banks, banking, bills of exchange and promissory notes. Borrowing of moneys within or outside Nigeria for the purposes of the Federation or of any State. Census, including the establishment and maintenance of machinery for continuous and universal registration of births and deaths throughout Nigeria. Citizenship, naturalisation and aliens. Commercial and industrial monopolies, combines and trusts.

**THE CONCURRENT LIST**

Concurrent List means the Third List set out in the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution, being the list enumerating the matters with respect to which both Parliament and a State Legislature may make laws. Both the central government and the state government have the constitutional right to legislate on items on this list but where state laws clash with federal laws will supersede and make null and void the state law, for example; Higher Education, Electric Power, Collection of Taxes, Electoral Laws and Roads.

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**THE RESIDUAL LIST**

These items are left entirely to the state government to legislate on, for example; Chieftaincy, Primary Education, Agriculture, Housing, Community Development and Markets.

**CRITICAL ISSUES IN NIGERIAN POLITICS**

There are roadblocks to a strong democracy in Nigeria at all levels of government. Conflict triggered by political competition and communal, ethnic, religious or resource allocation rivalries poses a major threat to democracy. Corruption pervades the daily lives of Nigerians. The critical issues include:

* **Godfatherism** : Godfathers are political sponsors, who use money and influence to win support and success for their preferred candidates. Godfathers are those who have been in politics for a long time and now wield unchecked power to do as they so, please. They can manipulate election results and also appoint candidates they want into political positions. Most times, someone who is venturing into politics looks for a godfather who will be his career patron, which stands as backing both financially and in terms of influence.
* **Tribalism**: Tribalism has been the cause of war, electoral malpractices, and political instability in Nigeria. Due to tribalism, citizens lose their sense of reasoning and vote a person into power, not because of their political capabilities but because he or she is from his or her tribe.
* **Corruption**: Corruption remains a problem in Nigeria and especially in her world of politics. Nigeria ranks 144th most corrupt in a list of180. The country is notorious as one of the most corrupted countries in the world. The causes of corruption include greed, tribalism and nepotism, and the general disposition towards corruption in the country. It is in fact reported that 70% of corruption practices in Nigeria come from those in politics.
* **Ethnic and religious tensions:** Nigeria is a diverse country, and there have been cases of ethnic and religious tensions that have resulted in violence.

**2.0 POPULATION CENSUS**

**Meaning of population**

Population can be defined as the total number of people living in a geographical environment or country.

**Meaning of census**

Census includes the total process of collecting, compiling, analyzing, evaluating, publishing and dissemination, statically data regarding the population & housing and their geographical location.

**Meaning of population census**

A population census is a complete snapshots of a nations people. It’s provides information on the size, location, and characteristics of a population. It is the backbone of a national statistical system.

**Population Census:** Are generally conducted every 10 years and have as primary objective the total enumeration of the population of a country to provide essential information on their spatial distribution, age and sex structure, and other key social and economic characteristics.

In the long-term, the Nigeria Population is projected to trend around 215.87 Million in 2023, according to our econometric models. The population of Nigeria represents 2.35 percent of the world´s total population which arguably means that one person in every 43 people on the planet is a resident of Nigeria.

**TYPES OF CENSUS**

**AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (ACS)**

This survey asks many more questions than the Decennial Survey. Information from this survey helps communities plan budgets for schools, elder programs, veterans, transportation, and issues like how many people have access to health care.

**AMERICAN HOUSING SURVEY (AHS)**

“The AHS is sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The survey is the most comprehensive national housing survey in the United States.”

**CENSUS OF GOVERNMENTS**

“The Census of Governments identifies the scope and nature of the nation's state and local government sector; provides authoritative benchmark figures of public finance and public employment.” This Census happens every ten years and counts all residence in the country. It is often referred to by the year ie: 2020 Census.

**ECONOMIC CENSUS**

This census started in 1810 with the first Census of Manufactures. This information is now gathered every five years. “The Economic Census provides detailed information on employer businesses, including detailed data by industry, geography, and more. The first data release will be in September 2019.”

**POPULATION CENSUS** Rises of census in Nigeria continue to be sustained in contemporary times by the inherited contradictions that define the nation's political economy. Thus every past census in Nigeria has been a victim of intense elite contestation for power and resources, and therefore rather than enhance the planning and development process of the country, has further impaired it. The paper argues that any census, the scheduled 2005 edition inclusive, conducted in the context of extant hotly-disputed and largely illegitimate State structure, will not be able to accomplish its set objectives; with the decision by the Nigerian State to deny rather than come to terms with Nigerians' primary forms of identity, ethnic and religious, set to further erode rather than enhance the integrity of the exercise. It concludes that census will stop being inverted in its role in Nigeria only when the governance structure becomes wholly decentralized, the federating units become truly so, and census as an exercise becomes wholly de-politicized.

**POLITICS OF CENSUS IN NIGERIA**

With the coming 2023 population census, Nigeria might get to sort a big part of its national puzzle with data guiding its resource allocation, revenue estimation, formulation of economic policies, provision of social amenities, and determination of population density.

Population of Nigeria has been estimated at more than 100 million by various sources. The UN in 1987 estimated it at 87 million, the World Bank at 106.2 million, and the Nigerian National Population Commission at 112.3 million. However, the 1991 census, which was carefully conducted, came up with only 87.5 million, whereas according to the World Bank the number should have exceeded 120 million. The discrepancy of 30 million provoked strong reaction among politicians in the country. 5-year average growth rates between 1970 and 1990 indicated an increase from 26.6% to 37.9%; therefore, the population during the 28-year period from 1963 and 1991 must have approximated 100 million. The figure of 112.3 million would require a growth rate of 34.9%, which was plausible from the early 1970s. The results of the 1991 census have pointed to an enigmatic curiosity: was it an accident that the North has registered the highest annual growth rates dating back to 1963, or even 1952? The political infighting and series of coups d'etat by generals may also be correlated to this numerical distortion, since all these generals were Northerners. An accurate analysis was not possible because of the paucity of data. The census of 1991 has not been fully disclosed until the present time [August 1994], strengthening the case of the skeptics, although the full publication of the figures has to do with the political situation in Nigeria. The democratization process was halted after June 1992, especially after the invalidation of the results of the presidential election and the seizing of power by General Abacha. In the event that a democratic government arises, perhaps the figures of the

1991 census will be published, which could also explain the lower growth rate of the economic centers in the Southwest and the Southeast. Nigeria sorely needs more reliable census data for planning because of a one-sided export structure (95% of foreign currency is earned from oil), neglected agriculture, and migration to the cities.

**APPROACHES OF POPULATION CENSUS**

1. De-facto: enumeration of individual as of where they are found in the census, regardless of where they are normally reside

2. De-jure: enumeration of individual as of where they usually reside , regardless of where they are on census day.

**PROBLEMS OF POPULATION CENSUS**

1. High level of illiteracy

2. High cost

3. Political problem

4. Geographical barriers

5. Lack of trained personnel

6. Religious belief

7. Lack of transportation

8. Lack of communication

9. Poor regional planning

10. Tax evasion

In recent decades, census taking around the world has faced major challenges, including cost pressures, concerns about intrusiveness, privacy and response burden, reduced cooperation, difficulties in accessing secure apartments and enumerating unsafe areas, more complex living arrangements, and timeliness concerns.

**PROBLEMS WITH CENSUS**

The census has historically undercounted populations that are harder to reach through surveys, phone calls and door-to-door canvassing, including Native Americans on reservations, poor urban communities and undocumented immigrants.

The census tells us who we are and where we are going as a nation, and helps our communities determine where to build everything from schools to supermarkets, and from homes to hospitals. It helps the government decide how to distribute funds and assistance to states and localities.

**PROBLEMATIC HISTORY OF POPULATION CENSUS IN NIGERIA**

Ideally, a census should be done every 10 years, but it is difficult to sustain that in an economy like Nigeria’s. The timing requires political will and proclamation by the president. Constitutionally, it is conducted by the National Population Commission.

All previous censuses in Nigeria were conducted in an environment fraught with political interference. This was because there was an incentive to inflate population figures. As people became more aware of the importance of population size for political representation in a federal system, the census became more problematic. There was also competition within states and among communities to inflate their population so as to get more government resources.

The first census was in 1911 and covered only a small part of the country. The first nation-wide census was conducted in 1921. It suffered from inadequate staffing and the public boycotted it because they thought it would lead to higher taxes. In Southern Nigeria, the preliminary figures were adjusted upwards before the result of 8.4 million was published. The published figure for Northern Nigeria was 10.4 million.

The 1931 census was marred by tax riots and a locust invasion. The census of 1941 could not be conducted because of the Second World War.

Eventually, a census took place over 1952 and 1953 and returned a total of 30.4 million. This was taken as the benchmark for political representation in the country’s parliament in preparation for independence in 1960. The population of the Northern Region was 55.4% of the total, that of Eastern Nigeria 23.7% and that of the Western Region, including Lagos and the Mid-West, 20.9%. This gave Northern Nigeria 174 seats, Eastern Nigeria 73 seats, and Western Nigeria (including Lagos and the Mid-West) 65 seats in parliament before independence. The first post-independence census was conducted in May 1962 by the Federal Census Office in the Ministry of Economic Development. It was better organized but the provisional figure of 45.1 million showed that the southern regions combined had a higher population than Northern Region. This was controversial particularly from political point of view. The 1962 census was canceled, and a recount was ordered in 1963. Its management was also removed from the Federal Office of Statistics, marking the beginning of direct political interference in the process.

A special Census Board was set up, census staff numbers increased, and more resources were provided. But at the end of the count, a population figure of 55.7 million was recorded, a difference of nearly 11 million. This led to a slight redistribution of power in favor of Western Nigeria. Eastern Nigeria and the Mid-West lost five seats in parliament.

This reversal led to strident criticism of the 1963 results. Politico-linguistic rivalry brewed until it exploded in the civil war of 1967-70, which devastated much of the South East and started military rule in Nigeria. The 1973 census returned a total population of 79.8 million with the North making up 64.4% which was a subject of controversy. In 1989, the National Population Commission was created by military decree to organize the 1991 census in preparation for handover to a civilian regime. The military government announced that the 1991 census figures would not be used for the upcoming elections, thereby reducing the political tension and the usual incentive to inflate population figures.

The board of the commission consisted of seven professionals who did not belong to any political party. Each member was responsible for one census zone which consisted of a mix of states. This reduced the incentive to inflate figures. For the first time, adequate maps were produced and used for the 250,000 enumeration areas. Instruments and processes were also tested in advance.

The 1991 census published a total population of 88.5 million, much lower than projections based on the inflated 1963 census. The most recent census in Nigeria was conducted in 2006 and was plagued by political interference from design through to implementation. The population estimate was 140 million people. The results were criticized and subject to litigation.

**A NEW APPROACH**

Planning for the next census must address critical issues. One is the need to strengthen the scientific structure of the National Population Commission. It needs a technical committee of Nigerian experts from universities and research centers at home and in the diaspora. The good news is that enumeration areas and maps are being geo-referenced and digitalized to make them more accurate.

Quality needs to be assured and verified transparently at every stage of the census processes. One option is to stagger the census across geopolitical zones within a specified time frame. Another is to do a sample census. The government must be open to the best option that can give the most accurate information and value for money. The post-enumeration survey must also be well planned. This is the scientific exercise conducted on a sample of census enumeration areas to validate census figures and compute growth rates. Champions at national and sub-national levels could help check against political and economic maneuvering of the census. They could include population experts, traditional and religious leaders, and civil society organizations.

Communities must be engaged through entertainment and education. And international and local monitors should be involved at every stage to ensure transparency, accountability, and quality.

**3.0 ELECTION**

**THE CONCEPT OF ELECTIONS IN POLITICS**

**Election:** An election is a formal group decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual or multiple individuals to hold public office.

Elections are a fundamental aspect of democratic systems, allowing citizens to choose their representatives and hold them accountable. According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), an election is "a process for citizens to select their representatives and to hold them accountable for their policies and performance."

**MEANING AND HISTORY OF ELECTION**

The history of elections can be traced back to ancient Greece, where they were held to select officials and make important decisions. However, the modern concept of elections is largely influenced by the Enlightenment period, which emphasized the importance of individual rights and popular sovereignty.  
In most democratic countries, elections are held on a regular basis to select representatives at various levels of government, from local councils to national parliaments. The process usually involves several stages, including voter registration, candidate nomination, campaign period, and voting day. Depending on the electoral system, voters may cast their vote for a single candidate or party, or they may have the option to rank their preferences.

The importance of elections lies in their ability to provide citizens with a voice in the governance of their country. By allowing citizens to choose their representatives, elections provide a means of holding those representatives accountable for their actions. Furthermore, elections encourage political participation and civic engagement, as citizens are more likely to engage with the political process when they feel their voice is being heard.

However, elections are not without their challenges. In some countries, elections may be subject to fraud or other forms of manipulation, which can undermine their legitimacy. Moreover, the role of money in politics can distort the democratic process, as wealthy individuals or interest groups may be able to exert an outsized influence on the outcome of an election.

**Suffrage**, in [representative government](https://www.britannica.com/topic/representative-democracy), the right to [vote](https://www.britannica.com/topic/election-political-science) in electing public officials and adopting or rejecting proposed legislation. The history of the [suffrage](https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/suffrage), or franchise, is one of gradual extension from limited, privileged groups in society to the entire adult population. Nearly all modern governments have provided for universal adult suffrage. It is regarded as more than a privilege extended by the state to its citizenry, and it is rather thought of as an inalienable right that inheres to every adult citizen by virtue of [citizenship](https://www.britannica.com/topic/citizenship). In [democracies](https://www.britannica.com/topic/democracy) it is the primary means of ensuring that governments are responsible to the governed. The basic qualifications for suffrage are similar everywhere, although there are minor variations from country to country. Usually only the adult citizens of a country are [eligible](https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/eligible) to vote there, the minimum age varying from 18 to 25 years. Most governments insist also on the voter’s affiliation to a certain locality or [constituency](https://www.britannica.com/topic/constituency). The [insane](https://www.britannica.com/topic/insanity), certain classes of convicted criminals, and those punished for certain electoral offenses are generally barred from the suffrage.

**Election in Nigeria**

Elections are a vital component of democratic systems, allowing citizens to choose their representatives and hold them accountable. Despite the challenges they face, including the risk of fraud and the influence of money in politics, elections remain a cornerstone of democratic governance.

Elections have been a central part of Nigeria's political landscape since the country gained independence from Britain in [1960](tel:1960). However, the country has had a tumultuous history with elections, marked by periods of military rule, political violence, and electoral fraud.

Nigeria's first elections were held in [1959](tel:1959), in advance of the country's independence. These elections were relatively peaceful and saw the Northern People's Congress (NPC) win a majority of seats in the federal parliament. In [1960](tel:1960), Nigeria gained its independence, and the NPC formed a government with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as the first Prime Minister.

In [1966](tel:1966), a military coup led by Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi overthrew the civilian government, suspending the constitution and the democratic process. This was followed by a counter-coup later that year, which brought General Yakubu Gowon to power.

Gowon promised to restore democracy and held elections in [1979](tel:1979), which saw the victory of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the election of Shehu Shagari as President. However, the election was marred by allegations of irregularities and fraud.

In [1983](tel:1983), another round of elections was held, but again, there were allegations of fraud and violence. This led to another military coup, which brought General Muhammadu Buhari to power.

Buhari promised to restore democracy and held elections in [1985](tel:1985), but his regime was also marked by human rights abuses, political repression, and corruption. He was overthrown in another coup in [1985](tel:1985), and the country returned to civilian rule in [1999](tel:1999) after a long period of military rule.

Since the return to civilian rule, Nigeria has held several elections, including the [1999](tel:1999), [2003](tel:2003), [2007](tel:2007), [2011](tel:2011), [2015](tel:2015), [2019](tel:2019) and the 2023 elections. These elections have been marked by varying degrees of violence, fraud, and irregularities. However, there have also been some improvements, with the [2015](tel:2015) elections widely regarded as one of the most transparent and credible in Nigeria's history.

Despite the challenges, Nigeria has continued to hold elections and make efforts to improve the electoral process. In recent years, there have been several reforms aimed at enhancing the transparency and credibility of the electoral process, such as the use of electronic voting machines and biometric voter registration.

Elections have been a central part of Nigeria's political landscape since the country gained independence in [1960](tel:1960). However, the country has had a tumultuous history with elections, marked by periods of military rule, political violence, and electoral fraud. Despite the challenges, Nigeria has continued to hold elections and make efforts to improve the electoral process.

**STAGES OF ELECTION PROCESS IN NIGERIA**

There are various stages for election in Nigeria. Elections are conducted periodically into various political offices across the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory.

The Independent National Elections Commission (INEC) is the Commission set up by the Constitution to conduct, supervise elections in Nigeria for the office of the President, Vice- President, members of the Senate and House of Representatives, Governors, Deputy- Governors, and members of the States Houses of Assembly.

There are several stages and activities that are involved when conducting elections in Nigeria. These stages range from the pre-election to the result declaration. They will be briefly discussed below.

**Pre- Election Stage-** this stage involves candidate of political parties presenting their manifesto to the general public. Before the general election, all persons qualified to vote are called upon to register themselves, and only those who are duly registered can vote. The age criteria to register as an eligible voter is 18 years and above. In this pre-stage, the Commission announces the date of the election for the process to begin.

**Primary-** at the primary’s stage, the aspirants seeking to run for a political office through a platform of a political party shall face both the parties’ screening and primary elections. The party members will elect one aspirant, each among others contesting for the same position or office through the same political party. The winners at this stage shall be nominated by the various political parties to compete for the general election.

**Nominations**- this stage involves each electoral political party nominating a candidate who would be the forerunner of the election. The candidate nominated must meet the basic qualification requirements as stipulated by the Constitution, Electoral Act, and INEC’s guidelines.

**Campaigning–** this stage involves the electoral political parties and their nominated candidate campaigning actively for the support and votes of the general public. The INEC usually schedules the campaigning periods. Political parties generally do it by promoting their various ideas and promises using multiple media platforms such as television, radios, street outreach, pamphlets, and occasional visits to gain the support and followership of the voters.

**Accreditation-** the INEC regulations states that the method of voting shall be by the Continuous Accreditation and Voting Systems (CAVS) procedure. According to the procedural system, no person will be allowed to vote at any polling unit other than the persons whose names appear on the register. At 8:00 am, the Presiding officer will declare the polling unit open for accreditation and voting. The accreditation process involves reading the permanent Voters Card (PCV) and the authentication of the voter’s fingerprint. The INEC is entitled to abandon fingerprint accreditations if their machines are malfunctioning or due to network issues.

**Producing Ballot Papers and other Polling Material**- this election stage involves the Commission producing the ballot boxes, papers, and other materials to be used to conduct the election effectively. The ballot papers and boxes are printed and tagged with INEC, and they will be used by voters to cast their votes on election day. Candidates of all participating political parties are put on the ballot papers for various positions being contested.

**Voting –** voting days in Nigeria are usually during the weekends, especially Saturdays. Under the current electoral law, election to the office of the President and Vice-President as well as National Assembly shall hold first, while election to the office of the Governor and Deputy Governor and State House of Assembly shall hold two (2) weeks after that. This is to ensure that opportunity is created for a rerun if need be. The polling units for voting are declared open, usually by 8 am, or 10 am in some voting centers. The polling officials appointed by INEC will be at the various units to conduct the election. The voters are allowed to cast their votes using the appropriate voter’s card after proper identification and accreditation.

Collation or counting the votes– this is one of the crucial stages in the election process. In this stage, after successful voting, the ballots are counted, tabulated, and summarized at every polling center by the INEC Officials. Votes are counted differently for each candidate at every polling unit. The candidate who wins the majority of the votes after a scrutinized counting will be declared the winner. The failure to complete the collation and transmission of results in a quick, transparent, and accurate manner can jeopardize and affect the entire process of the election.

**Result Declaration**– this is the final stage of an election process. After the successful counting of the votes cast, the candidate and party with the highest votes will be officially announced by INEC officials. The announcement of the result is a mandatory requirement of the electoral process. Upon the declaration of the result, the winners shall be presented with the Certificate of Return by the presiding or returning officers.

In announcing the electoral result, the winners will be declared at the various levels where the following occurs;

Candidates contesting an election to the office of the Governor shall be declared the winner if he has the highest number of votes cast at the election and not less than one-quarter of all the votes cast in each of at least two-thirds of all the Local Government Areas in the state.

Candidates contesting election to the office of the President shall be declared the winner if he has the highest number of votes cast at the election and not less than one-quarter of all the votes cast in each of at least two-thirds of all the States of the Federation and the FCT Abuja.

The success of any election conducted in Nigeria is dependent on effective planning. The INEC is constitutionally required to conduct elections in Nigeria. In conducting free and fair elections

**MEANING OF DEMOCRACY**

Democracy is a system of government in which power is held by the people, either directly or through elected representatives. In a democracy, citizens are able to participate in the decision-making processes of the government and have a say in the laws and policies that affect their lives.

The word "democracy" comes from the Greek words "demos," meaning "people," and "kratos," meaning "rule" or "power." The concept of democracy has been around for thousands of years, with the ancient Greeks often cited as the first people to develop democratic systems of government.

Today, democracy is widely regarded as a fundamental aspect of modern governance, with the vast majority of countries in the world practicing some form of democracy. However, there are many different types of democracy, each with their own strengths and weaknesses.

One of the key features of democracy is the idea of political participation. In a democratic system, citizens have the right to vote, express their opinions, and engage in political activities. This participation can take many forms, from voting in elections to attending protests and rallies.

Another important aspect of democracy is the rule of law. In a democratic system, the government is subject to the law, and all citizens are equal under the law. This means that even the most powerful individuals or groups must obey the law and are not above it.

Despite its many benefits, democracy is not without its challenges. One of the biggest challenges is ensuring that all citizens have equal access to political participation and that their voices are heard. In addition, the democratic process can be influenced by powerful individuals or interest groups, making it difficult to ensure that the government truly represents the will of the people.

Democracy is a system of government in which power is vested in the people, who exercise it through free and fair elections to choose their representatives. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, democracy is "a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives."

Democracy is a system of government in which power is held by the people, either directly or through elected representatives. It is a fundamental aspect of modern governance, providing citizens with a voice in the decision-making processes of the government. While there are many different types of democracy and challenges to its implementation, it remains a cornerstone of modern political systems.

Democracy can take different forms, such as representative democracy, direct democracy, or hybrid systems that combine elements of both. In representative democracy, citizens elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf, while in direct democracy, citizens participate directly in decision-making through initiatives, referendums, or other forms of direct participation.

The concept of democracy has its roots in ancient Greece, where citizens participated directly in decision-making through the agora, or public assembly. However, the modern concept of democracy emerged during the Enlightenment period, which emphasized individual rights and popular sovereignty.

The importance of democracy lies in its ability to provide citizens with a voice in the governance of their country. By allowing citizens to choose their representatives and participate in decision-making, democracy provides a means of holding those representatives accountable for their actions. Moreover, democracy promotes political participation and civic engagement, as citizens are more likely to engage with the political process when they feel their voice is being heard.

Despite its benefits, democracy is not without its challenges. In some countries, democracy may be subject to corruption, inequality, or other forms of manipulation, which can undermine its legitimacy. Furthermore, the rise of authoritarianism and populism in some parts of the world has raised questions about the future of democracy and its ability to meet the complex challenges of the 21st century.

Also democracy is a system of government that empowers citizens to participate in decision-making and hold their representatives accountable. Although it faces challenges, including the risk of corruption and the rise of authoritarianism, democracy remains a vital component of modern governance.

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND ELECTION**

An election is a process by which citizens of a country or community choose their representatives to hold positions of power and make decisions on their behalf. Elections are typically held at regular intervals, such as every few years, and are a key feature of democratic societies. They provide an opportunity for citizens to have a say in how their government is run and to hold their elected officials accountable.

Democracy, on the other hand, is a system of government in which power is held by the people or their elected representatives. It is based on the principles of political equality, popular sovereignty, and majority rule. Democracy ensures that all citizens have equal rights and are able to participate in the decision-making process through free and fair elections. In a democratic society, citizens are also guaranteed certain freedoms, such as freedom of speech, assembly, and the press.

Elections are a crucial component of democracy as they allow citizens to exercise their right to vote and choose their representatives. Through elections, citizens have the ability to influence policy decisions and hold their government accountable for its actions. Free and fair elections are essential to the functioning of a democratic society and help to ensure that the government remains responsive to the needs and concerns of its citizens.

Elections are a vital component of democratic societies, as they provide a means for citizens to participate in the governance of their country. According to the United Nations, elections are a "fundamental human right" and a "basic element of democracy" (UN, [2021](tel:2021)). Free and fair elections are essential to ensuring that governments are representative and accountable to their citizens.

Democracy is a system of government based on the principle of political equality, in which power is held by the people or their elected representatives. According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "democracy is a form of government in which the people have the authority to choose their governing legislators" (Estlund, [2016](tel:2016)). Democracy also requires certain freedoms, such as freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, in order for citizens to fully participate in the decision-making process.

The concept of democracy has evolved over time, with different countries implementing different systems of government. The most common forms of democracy are representative democracy, in which citizens elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf, and direct democracy, in which citizens directly participate in decision-making processes.

In summary, elections and democracy are crucial components of modern society, providing citizens with a voice in how their government is run and ensuring that the government is accountable to its citizens. For more information on the importance of elections and democracy, you can refer to the following sources:

**PROBLELMS AND CHALLENGES OF ELECTION IN NIGERIA**

Nigeria is a country with a history of election-related violence and fraud. Here are some of the major problems and challenges faced by Nigeria during elections:

1. **VOTER INTIMIDATION:** Voter intimidation is a significant issue during elections in Nigeria. Political thugs are known to intimidate and harass voters to prevent them from voting for a particular candidate.
2. **ELECTORAL VIOLENCE:** Electoral violence is a significant problem in Nigeria, especially during election seasons. This violence includes physical attacks on candidates, party supporters, and election officials, which leads to injuries and deaths.
3. **VOTER APATHY:** Voter apathy is a significant challenge during elections in Nigeria. Some people do not believe that their vote can make a difference in the outcome of an election or are disillusioned with the political process.
4. **VOTER FRAUD:** Voter fraud is another significant issue in Nigerian elections. This fraud includes ballot-box stuffing, vote buying, and multiple voting.
5. **TECHNOLOGICAL ISSUES:** Nigeria's use of technology during elections has been plagued by challenges. Some challenges include poor network coverage, power outages, and technical malfunctions.
6. **INADEQUATE FUNDING:** Inadequate funding is a challenge to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), responsible for organizing and conducting elections in Nigeria.
7. **ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS POLITICS:** Nigeria's politics is also characterized by ethnic and religious cleavages. This situation creates tensions and division that often manifest during election seasons.
8. **LACK OF CIVIC EDUCATION:** Many Nigerians do not understand the importance of their participation in the electoral process, and some do not know how to vote or follow the voting process.

In conclusion, these challenges pose a threat to the credibility of Nigeria's democratic process, and concerted efforts are required to address these problems for the successful conduct of free, fair, and credible elections in the country.

**4.0 EDUCATION**

**What Is Education?**

Education refers to the process of teaching and developing knowledge. In the United States, education consists of both required and elective programs from preschool to adult education. Continue reading to find more in-depth information regarding education.

**Education** is a purposeful activity directed at achieving certain aims, such as transmitting [knowledge](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Knowledge) or fostering [skills](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skills) and [character traits](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Character_trait).

These aims may include the development of [understanding](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Understanding), [rationality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rationality), [kindness](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kindness), and [honesty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Honesty). Various researchers emphasize the role of [critical thinking](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_thinking) in order to distinguish education from [indoctrination](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indoctrination).

Some theorists require that education results in an improvement of the student while others prefer a value-neutral definition of the term. In a slightly different sense, education may also refer, not to the process, but to the product of this process: the [mental states](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mental_state) and dispositions possessed by educated people.

Education [originated](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_education) as the transmission of cultural heritage from one generation to the next. Today, [educational goals](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Educational_aims_and_objectives) increasingly encompass new ideas such as the [liberation of learners](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophy_of_education#Critical_theory), [skills needed for modern society](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/21st_century_skills), [empathy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empathy), and complex [vocational skills](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vocational_skills).

Types of education are commonly divided into *formal*, [non-formal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-formal_education), and [informal education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Informal_education). Formal education takes place in [education and training institutions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/School), is usually structured by curricular aims and objectives, and learning is typically guided by a [teacher](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teacher). In most regions, [formal education is compulsory](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Compulsory_education) up to a certain age and commonly divided into [educational stages](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Educational_stage) such as [kindergarten](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kindergarten), [primary school](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Primary_school) and [secondary school](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secondary_school).

Nonformal education occurs as addition or alternative to formal education. It may be structured according to educational arrangements, but in a more flexible manner, and usually takes place in community-based, workplace-based or civil society-based settings. Lastly, informal education occurs in daily life, in the family, any [experience](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Experience) that has a formative effect on the way one thinks, feels, or acts may be considered educational, whether unintentional or [intentional](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Autodidacticism). In practice there is a continuum from the highly formalized to the highly in formalized, and informal learning can occur in all three settings

For instance, [homeschooling](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homeschooling) can be classified as nonformal or informal, depending upon the structure.

Regardless of setting, educational methods include [teaching](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teaching), [training](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Training), [storytelling](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Storytelling), [discussion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Discussion), and directed [research](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Research). The [methodology](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Methodology) of teaching is called [*pedagogy*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedagogy). Education is supported by a variety of different [philosophies](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophy_of_education), [theories](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Educational_science) and [empirical research agendas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Educational_research).

There are movements for [education reforms](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_reform), such as for improving quality and efficiency of education towards relevance in students' lives and efficient [problem solving](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Problem_solving) in modern or future society at large, or for [evidence-based education methodologies](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evidence-based_education). A [right to education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Right_to_education) has been recognized by some [governments](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government) and the [United Nations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations).

For example, 24 January is the [International Day of Education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Day_of_Education). At UN - level, several observance years and decades have been dedicated to education, such as 1970 International Education Year.

Education is also one of the [17 Global Goals](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/17_Global_Goals), where global initiatives aim at achieving [Sustainable Development Goal 4](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable_Development_Goal_4), which promotes quality education for all.

**Types of Education**

In the formal sense, education is structured learning. From children to adults, students receive their education mainly through classroom instruction. Technological aids, such as online and distance education, are common methods for collegiate education. The five main areas of education are contained in the following list:

* Preschool education
* Elementary education
* Secondary education
* Post-secondary education
* Continuing education

### Preschool Education

Preschool education, or early childhood education, provides a structured learning environment for children under five. Also called nursery school, preschool education is designed to prepare children for elementary school by teaching them the basics of reading, writing and math.

### Elementary Education

Elementary education encompasses grades one through eight. Elementary education continues to develop basic skills while also introducing students to other subjects, such as history, science and health education. In all 50 states, attending elementary school is mandatory. In some cases, parents might elect to provide home schooling for their children.

### Secondary Education

The four years of high school following completion of primary education is called secondary education. In most states, secondary education consists of grades 9 through 12; in others, secondary education might start as early as grade 6. Secondary education further develops social skills while also preparing students for college or, through vocational courses, a trade occupation.

### Post-secondary Education

Upon completion of secondary education, many people choose to pursue post-secondary education by attending college. Degree programs in specific areas of study prepare college students for a particular career. For some, post-secondary education might extend beyond a 2- or 4-year degree, leading to a graduate or doctoral degree.

### Continuing Education

In most cases, continuing education refers to study beyond the academic programs offered by colleges and universities. In some careers, continuing education is a requirement to retain professional licensure or certification. Continuing education might consist solely of classroom instruction, or it could combine classroom teaching with seminars, online instruction or workshops.

**EDUCATION IN NIGERIA**

Education in Nigeria is overseen by the Federal Ministry of Education. The local authorities take responsibility for implementing state-controlled policy regarding public education and state schools. The education system is divided into Kindergarten, Primary education, Secondary education, and Tertiary education Nigeria's federal government has been dominated by instability since declaring independence from Britain, and as a result, a unified set of education policies is yet to be successfully implemented. Regional differences in quality, curriculum, and funding characterize the education system in Nigeria. Currently, Nigeria possesses the largest population of out-of-school learning youths in the world. The education system in the Southern Nigeria is Different from the North. Most northerners have memorized the Holy Qur'an and use that as their education. The educational systems in Nigeria are divided into two the public where the student only pays for PTA while the private where students pay school fees and some other fees like sports, exam fees, computer fees etc. and they are costly. According to UNESCO, the adult literacy rate is estimated to be [62%](https://datatopics.worldbank.org/education/country/nigeria) among Nigerians aged above 15 years. This shows that the average Nigerian possesses the ability to read and write, even if that may not be fluently.

The education system in Nigeria influences the literacy rate of its citizenry. Education in Nigeria grew over the years after the Methodist missionaries introduced formal education in Nigeria.

**History of Nigerian Education System**

Methodist missionaries started the first primary school in Nigeria in 1843. Thankfully, they introduced formal education in Nigeria. A few years later, in 1854, some Christian missionaries started CMS grammar school in Lagos which became the first secondary school in Nigeria.

Once Lord Lugard had amalgamated the northern and southern parts of Nigeria in 1914, there was a growing demand for schools in Nigeria. The rapid growth in education led to the establishment of the University of Ibadan in 1948, and this was the first Nigerian university. Individuals and groups in the private sector took the responsibility to establish private schools in addition to the public schools. The educational sector in Nigeria has both government and private schools across all levels of education.

**Nigerian Education Statistics and Facts**

According to statistics, [7.2 million children enrolled in early childhood education programs](https://www.statista.com/topics/6658/education-in-nigeria/#:~:text=The%20official%20junior%20secondary%20education,enrollment%20rate%20reached%2054%20percent.&text=Nationwide%2C%20there%20were%2013%20thousand,for%20over%20five%20million%20students.) in Nigeria. In contrast, 22.2 million children aged above 6 years enrolled in a public primary school and 5.5 million children registered in a private primary school.

For secondary school enrolment, the pattern was clear. The survey revealed that the enrolment rate in junior secondary school was 54.4%, while those for senior secondary school were 68.6%.

A 2017 university census revealed that the total number of undergraduate students was 1.7 million, while the number of postgraduate students (students carrying out either a master’s or doctorate degree) was 234,000.

**What Is The Educational Policy In Nigeria?**

The [national policy on education](https://education.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/NATIONAL-POLICY-ON-EDUCATION.pdf) is legislative guidelines from the federal government that set standards, procedures and implementation plans that ensure [educational development](https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/educational-leadership-working-for-good) and delivery of qualitative education in Nigeria.

The first national policy on education was published in 1977 but has been revised several times by successive stakeholders in the federal ministry of education because of growing changes in education delivery.

The 2014 edition of the national policy on education stipulates that the government handles formal basic education, which is compulsory and free to all. The basic education covers:

* 1 year pre-primary education
* 6 years of primary education
* 3 years of junior secondary education

Also, new objectives and curricula were highlighted in the national policy on education to guide and regulate educational activities across all levels of education, both in public and private schools.

**How Education In Nigeria Works**

The government and private stakeholders such as non-governmental organizations and private individuals manage educational facilities as stipulated by the national policy on education. The federal ministry of education regulates both public and private educational institutions.

Nigeria has 3 government levels: Federal, State and Local. The federal government and statement government manage public tertiary and secondary level institutions, while the local government oversees public pre-primary and primary level institutions.

The Nigerian educational system was formerly structured using the 6-3-3-4 formula, which means 1 year pre-primary, 6 years primary, 3 years junior secondary, 3 years senior secondary and 4 years tertiary education. Tertiary education covers universities, polytechnics and educational colleges.

However, in 2008, the federal government [introduced the 9-year basic education](http://pubs.sciepub.com/education/3/1/7/)curriculum to achieve the goals of the universal basic education program.

Thus, the Nigerian educational structure became 9-3-4, which means 9 years basic education, 3 years senior secondary school education and 4 years tertiary education.

The structure of the 9-year basic education curriculum is:

* Lower basic education curriculum- Primary 1-3
* Middle basic education curriculum- Primary 4-6
* Upper basic education curriculum- Junior secondary 1-3

The 9-year basic education program, together with the recent curriculum changes, was implemented in 2014 across various schools in Nigeria.

## Educational structure in Nigeria

The Nigerian formal educational structure is divided into:

* Basic education
* Senior secondary school education
* Tertiary education

### Basic Education

The 2014 national policy on education stipulated that basic education covers early child care and development education (crèches, daycare), pre-primary education, primary and junior secondary education.

Basic education provides formal education training to children aged between 0-15 years.

The age group distributions for sub-level of basic education are:

* Early child care and development education – 0- 4 years
* Pre-primary education (1 year duration) – 5 year olds
* Primary education – 6-12 years
* Junior secondary education – 12- 15 years

[English is the official language of instruction](https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/english-grammar-for-teachers) at the basic education level, but they may adopt indigenous languages depending on the location. For instance, educators in a particular geopolitical zone of Nigeria may choose to [teach primary school students](https://www.futurelearn.com/subjects/teaching-courses/primary-education) in their local language, such as Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba.

Schools use the national policy on education guidelines to decide on the curriculum and subjects to teach.

They give a student that successfully completes primary education a primary school leaving certificate to progress into junior secondary school level.

Also, a basic education certificate is awarded to successful students that pass the entrance exams into senior secondary school education.

### Senior Secondary School Education

The current curriculum prepares students to have vocational skills apart from their formal education training. Vocational training [empowers senior secondary school](https://www.futurelearn.com/subjects/teaching-courses/secondary-education) students to gain skills such as hair styling, crafting, and fashion designing.

The formal education curriculum offers core subjects such as mathematics, English, civic studies and entrepreneurship across the different fields of studies which include: science, arts, technology and business.

For senior secondary school students to progress into the tertiary level of education, the student must pass the senior school certificate examination prepared by the West African examination council (WAEC) and national examination council (NECO).

The WAEC exams are usually taken every year in May, and they only expect senior secondary school students in the last class to sit for this exam.

Successful students are given a senior school leaving certificate upon completion of senior secondary education.

For students to gain admission into a Nigerian university, the student must pass both the West African examination council (WAEC) or national examination council (NECO) and the unified tertiary matriculation exam (UTME).

The joint admissions and matriculations board prepares the UTME as a uniform admission test for all eligible senior secondary students, regardless of location.

However, in 2016, because of some irregularities in the conduct of the UTME, some universities now conduct their internal exams to screen students further before admission.

### Tertiary Education

Nigerian tertiary education covers universities, polytechnics and colleges of education.

The National University Commission is the governing body that regulates the activities of accredited universities in Nigeria.

The university curriculum is structured to prepare university graduates to contribute towards national development and to develop entrepreneurs to create [employment opportunities.](https://www.futurelearn.com/info/blog/biggest-employment-industries-in-nigeria)

Entrepreneurs will boost economic growth by creating more jobs and reducing unemployment as well as crime rates among unemployed youths.

Colleges of education are [training](https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/teacher-training-pgce) centers for preparing young students interested in the teaching profession. These colleges prepare their students to become competent teachers in the society.

Polytechnics provides specialized technical training and skill acquisition for students so they can contribute to the industrial and economic developments in Nigeria.

## ****Final thoughts****

Education in Nigeria has developed over the years after the initial introduction by Christian missionaries because it is one of the major sectors in Nigeria that contributes towards nation-building and economic growth.

The federal ministry of education regulates education in Nigeria, and the national policy of education sets standards and guidelines that educational institutions follow to ensure students are prepared for national building and development.

The current educational system in Nigeria follows a 9 years basic education, 3 years senior secondary education and 4 years tertiary education.

# Problems and Prospects of Education in Nigeria

Education in Nigeria is the shared responsibility of everyone, government, stakeholders, parents, teachers and the society at large. But it is rather unfortunate that, when the issue of the Nigerian education system is raised, the first thought that comes to mind is: decline in standard, deterioration of facilities, examination malpractice, mass promotion syndrome and the likes. However, there is a need for an in-depth study and analysis aimed at educating each and every stakeholder in the educational system on how their actions and inactions have both individually and collectively contributed to the collapsing state of education in Nigeria.

**Challenges Facing education in Nigeria**

**Poor parenting/guidance**

 Poor parenting and guidance is one of the major problems facing education in Nigeria. According to L.O. Odia and S.I Omofonmwan in 2007, they cited that ‘’parenting entails caring, protection, and the provision of basic needs for a child’s up keep in order for him/her to be properly equipped to meet with the challenges of life’’. However, it is saddening that many parents are now involved in encouraging their wards to participate in exam malpractice by means of financing activities in and around the examination venues to effect malpractice, in order to increase the chances of their wards in securing admission into higher institutions. Some of these students even progress in this act in the tertiary institutions.

It is so unfortunate, that the end result of this act is producing ‘’half-baked graduates’’. Graduates, who cannot express themselves properly, write good sentence, and graduates who cannot argue constructively. Little wonder, why employers keep saying some Nigerian graduates are unemployable!

**Financial constraints:** the gross under-funding of the educational sector in the country generally and neglect of the maintenance of physical facilities has contributed to the problems confronting the educational system. If you visit some of the government owned institutions; you would discover the deplorable state of facilities in our tertiary institutions, starting from dilapidated buildings, to inadequate furniture’s, and unconducive learning environment. You would be startled to see the condition under which students receive lectures.

**Fall in standard:** the concept of acquiring knowledge is supposed to help us fight against illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and diseases. Regrettably, illiteracy and ignorance has become one of the dominating factors in our society. The standard of education in Nigeria has fallen drastically over the years, and the gap between education and ignorance has now broadened. Some of the problems that are associated with the fall in standard of education in Nigeria are the quality of education received in schools. Little wonder why graduates from so many institutions exhibit ignorance towards societal realities, lack of creativity and the ability to think constructively, which is as a result of the inadequacies associated with learning and training process.

**Poor preparation and examination malpractice:** examination malpractice is as a result of poor preparation of students, while poor preparation is associated with laziness, lack of self-confidence, and over-dependence on exam ‘’chips’’. In most cases, teachers at secondary schools promote this act by way of encouraging students to contribute money (cooperation fees) in order to secure the needed assistance during examinations because they, the teachers are left with no other alternatives considering the fact that they are aware of the inadequate preparation of their students as well as the facilities to properly prepare them before examination.

**5.0 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION is the activity of making citizens "present" in public policy- making processes when political actors act in the best interest of citizens. This definition of political representation is consistent with a wide variety of views on what representing implies and what the duties of representatives are. For example, representing may imply acting on the expressed wishes of citizens, but it may alternatively imply acting according to what the representatives themselves judge is in the best interests of citizens. And representatives may be viewed as individuals who have been authorized to act on the behalf of others, or may alternatively be viewed as those who will be held to account by those they are representing. Political representation can happen along different units such as social groups and area, and there are different types of representation such as substantive representation and descriptive representation.

Under the accountability view, a representative is an individual who will be held to account. Representatives are held accountable if citizens can judge whether the representative is acting in their best interest and sanction the representative accordingly. The descriptive and symbolic views of political representation describe the ways in which political representatives "stand for" the people they represent. Descriptive representatives "stand for" to the extent that they resemble, in their descriptive characteristics (e.g. race, gender, class etc.), the people they represent. On the other hand, symbolic representatives "stand for" the people they represent as long as those people believe in or accept them as their representative. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin argues that these views of political representation give an inadequate account of political representation because they lack an account both of how representatives "act for" the represented and the normative criteria for judging representative's actions. Hence, Pitkin proposes a substantive view of representation. In this view of political representation, representation is defined as substantive "acting for", by representatives, the interests of the people they represent.

In contrast, Jane Mansbridge has identified four views of democratic political representation: promissory, anticipatory, surrogate and gyroscopic. Mansbridge argues that each of these views provides an account of both how democratic political representatives "act for" the people they represent and the normative criteria for assessing the actions of representatives. Promissory representation is a form of representation in which representatives arechosen and assessed based on the promises they make to the people they represent during election campaigns. For Mansbridge, promissory representation, preoccupied with how representatives are chosen (authorized) and held to account through elections, is the traditional view of democratic political representation. Anticipatory, surrogate and gyroscopic representation, on the other hand, are more modern views that have emerged from the work of empirical political scientists. Anticipatory representatives take actions that they believe voters (the represented) will reward in the next election. Surrogate representation occurs when representatives "act for" the interest of people outside their constituencies. Finally, in gyroscopic representation, representatives use their own judgements to determine how and for what they should act for on behalf of the people they represent.

Under Andrew Rehfeld's general theory of representation, a person is considered a representative as long as the particular group they represent judges them as such. In any case of political representation, there are representatives, the represented, a selection agent, a relevant audience and rules by which the relevant judge whether a person is a representative. Representatives are those who are selected by a selection agent from a larger set of qualified individuals who are then judged to representatives by a relevant audience using particular rules of judgement. The rules by which a relevant audience judges whether a person is a representative can be either democratic or non-democratic. In a case where the selection agent, relevant audience and the represented are the same and the rules of judgment are democratic (e.g. elections), the familiar democratic case of political representation arises and where they are not, undemocratic cases arises.

**Components of Political Representation:**

1. Some party that is representing (the representative, an organization, movement, state agency, etc.);
2. Some party that is being represented (the constituents, the clients, etc.);
3. Something that is being represented (opinions, perspectives, interests, discourses, etc.); and
4. A setting within which the activity of representation is taking place (the political context).
5. Something that is being left out (the opinions, interests, and perspectives not voiced).

**UNITS OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

1. **Representation by population**

This is the preferred (and far more common) method for democratic countries, where elected representatives will be chosen by similarly-sized groups of voters. The shortened term "rep-by- pop" is used in Britain whereas "one person, one vote" is more common in the U.S.

1. **Representation by area**

This form of representation tends to occur as a political necessity for unifying many independent actors, such as in a federation (e.g. NATO, the UN). It's highly unusual (and controversial) where it exists within countries because of its violation of the 'one person, one vote' principle. Examples of representation by area within countries tend to be historical remnants of when those countries were federations before their unification. For example, the American Constitution was not quite able to eliminate its rep-by-area features due to smaller states already holding disproportionate power in the proceedings from the Articles of Confederation. In Canada, provinces such as Prince Edward Island also have unequal representation in Parliament (in the Commons as well as the Senate) relative to Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta, largely for similar historical reasons.

**MODELS OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

Models of representation refer to ways in which elected officials behave in representative democracies. There are three main types: delegate, trustee, and politico.

1. **Delegate model**

A delegate is someone who is elected to represent and convey the views of others. The delegate model of representation suggests that representatives have little or no capacity to exercise their own judgement or preferences. They are merely elected to be the mouthpiece of their constituency and act only the way their constituents would want them to, regardless of their own opinion.

Joseph Tussman stated, "The essence of representation is the delegation or granting of authority. To authorize a representative is to grant another the right to act for oneself. Within the limits of

the grant of authority one is, in fact, committing himself in advance to the decision or will of another".

1. **Trustee model**

A trustee is someone who acts on behalf of others, using their knowledge, experience and intelligence upon a certain field. The trustee model contrasts with the delegate model as this time constituents "entrust" their elected representatives to represent them however they see fit, with autonomy to vote and behave in the best way for their constituents.

Edmund Burke, who formulated the model, stated in a speech, "You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him he is not member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament...your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgement; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your own opinion".

1. **Politico model**

The politico model came about when theorists recognized that representatives rarely consistently act as just a delegate or just a trustee when representing their constituents. It is a hybrid of the two models discussed above and involves representatives acting as delegates and trustees, depending on the issue.

**Other models**

The mandate model views representatives as less independent actors. This came about after the emergence of modern political parties; now constituents rarely vote for a representative based on their personal qualities but more broadly, they vote for their party to be elected into government. A mandate is an order or instruction from a superior body therefore this model suggests representatives follow the party line and must carry out policies outlined during election campaigns.

The resemblance model is less concerned about the way representatives are selected and more concerned whether they resemble the group they claim to represent. It is similar to descriptive representation, they argue that to represent a group of people such as the working class or

women to its full potential you must be part of that social group yourself. Therefore, only people who have shared experiences and interests can fully identify with particular issues.

**TYPES OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

An alternative way of considering types of representation is as follows:

1. **SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

Under representative democracy, substantive representation (in contrast to descriptive representation) is the tendency of elected legislators to advocate on behalf of certain groups.

Conflicting theories and beliefs exist regarding why constituents vote for representatives. "Rather than choosing candidates on the basis of an informed view of the incumbents' voting records, voters, it is argued, rely primarily on the policy-free 'symbols' of party identification".

1. **DESCRIPTIVE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

Scholars have defined representation as "the making present in some sense of something which is nevertheless not present literally or in fact". Descriptive representation is the idea that a group elects an individual to represent them who in their own characteristics mirror some of the more frequent experiences and outward manifestations of the group. This descriptive representation can have again different types such as "perfect over representation", "over representation", "proper representation", "under/nominal representation" & "No representation".In this form of representation, representatives are in their own persons and lives in some sense typical of the larger class of persons whom they represent.For example, certain ethnic groups or gender-based groups may want to elect a leader that shares these descriptive characteristics as they may be politically relevant. Disadvantaged groups may gain benefit from descriptive representation primarily in two ways:

**When there is mistrust:** This refers to a situation where communication between the group and its representatives has been inadequate. In these cases, descriptive representation promotes vertical communication between representatives and their group of constituents.

**When interests are uncrystallized:** In certain historical moments, citizen interests are not clearly defined. Either the issues have not been on the political agenda for long, or candidates have not

taken public positions on them. In this case, the best way to have one's substantive interests represented is often to choose a descriptive representative whose characteristics match one's own. Descriptive representation can be instituted by political parties independently where they set aside a certain number of party seats for particular groups.It can also be instituted through national electoral quotas either by reserving seats for office or candidate quotas for political parties.

Traditionally, quotas have been thought of as a way of providing adequate representation for previously disadvantaged groups such as women or oppressed ethnic groups. However, another way of conceptualizing quotas is to institute a maximum or ceiling quota for advantaged groups. This may improve the meritocracy of the system and improve the process of candidate selection.

Empirically, quotas show mixed results. In Lesotho, quota-mandated female representation has had no effect or even reduced several dimensions of women's engagement with local politics.In Argentina, quotas have mandated negative stereotypes about women politicians. Meanwhile, in India, women are more likely to win an election in a constituency that formerly had quotas, even when the quotas are removed, and women leaders provide public goods favoured by women constituents. Evidence also shows that while caste-based quotas may not change stereotypes of how people view the oppressed caste group, they do change the social norms of interaction between caste groups.

**3. DYADIC POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

Dyadic representation refers to the degree to which and ways by which elected legislators represent the preferences or interests of the specific geographic constituencies from which they are elected. Candidates who run for legislative office in an individual constituency or as a member of a list of party candidates are especially motivated to provide dyadic representation. As Carey and Shugart (1995, 417) observe, they have "incentives to cultivate a personal vote" beyond whatever support their party label will produce. Personal vote seeking might arise from representing the public policy interests of the constituency (by way of either the delegate, responsible party, or trustee models noted above), providing it "pork barrel" goods, offering service to individual constituents as by helping them acquire government services, and symbolic actions.

The most abundant scientific scholarship on dyadic representation has been for the U.S. Congress and for policy representation of constituencies by the members of the Congress. Miller and Stokes (1963) presented the seminal research of this kind in an exploratory effort to account for when alternative models of policy representation arise. Their work has been emulated, replicated, and enlarged by a host of subsequent studies. The most advanced theoretical formulation in this body of work, however, is by Hurley and Hill (2003) and by Hill, Jordan, and Hurley (2015) who present a theory that accounts well for when belief sharing representation, delegate representation, trustee representation, responsible party representation, and party elite led representation will arise.

**4. COLLECTIVE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

The concept of collective representation can be found in various normative theory and scientific works, but Weissberg (1978, 535) offered the first systematic characterization of it in the scientific literature and for the U.S. Congress, defining such representation as "Whether Congress as an institution represents the American people, not whether each member of Congress represented his or her particular district." Hurley (1982) elaborated and qualified Weissberg's explication of how such representation should be assessed and how it relates to dyadic representation. Stimson, MacKuen, and Erikson (1995), offer the most advanced theoretical exposition of such representation for the U.S. Congress. And the latter work was extended in Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson (2002).

In most parliamentary political systems with strong (or ideologically unified) political parties and where the election system is dominated by parties instead of individual candidates, the primary basis for representation is also a collective, party based one. The foundational work on assessing such representation is that of Huber and Powell (1994) and Powell (2000).

**FACTORS AFFECTING POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN NIGERIA**

A number of factors have contributed to this lack of political representation in the country. These include but are not restricted to electoral fraud, the activities of godfathers, defection and the politics of zoning among other sundry reasons.

1. **ELECTORAL FRAUD**

An electoral fraud is an illegal interference with the process of election that interferes with the mandate of the people. Electoral fraud comes in different forms such as increasing the number of voters for the favoured candidate, under age voting, mass voting by unregistered citizens, snatching of ballot to be stuffed with thumb printed votes by party candidates, snatching of results before or after elections to favour the ruling party candidate, intimidation at the polls using militant gangs or even state security, scaring away of genuine registered voters from exercising their votes in polling boots located in an opposition favoured constituency, deliberate one side and improper counting of votes and media manipulation to announce or publish the wrong results and declare the wrong candidates as winners before the proper collection of results by the Electoral Commission.

Since the 1999 to 2019 elections, the Nigeria electoral and political landscape has fallen from Pat to below par and has moved from violence to greater violence. The level and magnitude of electoral and political violence has risen and the political elite have often converted poverty stricken Nigerian youths into ready-made machineries for the perpetuation of electoral violence.

Since the return to the civil rule on 29th May 1999, Nigeria has held six general elections apart from the sundry re-run elections and local government polls. Out of the six general elections conducted, none has met both the local and International standard. But the distributing trend is that each general election was worse than the preceding one. This trend shows that the country is faring very badly at each passing election as nobody can talk of consolidating democracy in such an environment. This is because the leaders seem to have forgotten that conducting a free and fair election is vital to the growth and development of any democratic process. Also, an average Nigerian voter is interested in immediate rewards and will easily trade off votes when appropriately induced. This can be explained by the crippling poverty facing the people in the absence of government’s provision of the basic amenities required for decent living, as well as justified distrust of the political leaders.

Indeed, one major element of electoral process is that election must be conducted in a free and fair atmosphere, while electoral results must reflect the wishes of the people. Nigeria’s experience in this regard had since Independence been contrary to this expectation. This is because previous and present electoral bodies had conducted elections in a way that favoured the ruling political parties through poor planning, the device of excluding electorates from voting in places considered to be strong holds of opposition, inadequate supply of voting materials and late arrival of electoral officers to polling stations etc.

Nigeria’s over eighteen years of uninterrupted democratic experience cannot in any way be compared with that of United States which is over two hundred years or with Britain democratic experience which is over three hundred years. This is because there are still cases of anti- democratic practices especially in the areas of electoral processes, rule of law and constitutionalism (Kwasau, 2013). Also related to this problem is the fact that electoral malpractices often lead to legitimate crisis which helps to erode democratic practices.

Election with time became inevitable for selecting and choosing leaders, as the population and level of understanding increases and improves respectively. This development made elections the best democratic means of selecting leaders. It gives the masses the chance to select for themselves, who will represent them. The democratic principle of this election has been abused resulting in a number of ugly developments. Today, the well intended measures shows that elections has lost its capacity to determining who will represent the people.

This development has resulted to the masses losing confidence in this democratic exercise, its nature toady instead of luring the people to come out and vote in their leaders but it deters them from coming near electoral boots to exercise their fundamental human right. Consequently, the morale to vote has been killed because of the “do or die” nature of elections today. Electoral frauds have constituted a clog in the development and consolidation of Nigeria’s nascent democracy. It has adversely affected the change and transfer of power from one government to another. Electoral frauds which were witnessed in this fourth republic especially in 2019 general election have destructive consequences on democracy in Nigeria. It erodes the legitimacy of government as it is not based on popular mandate. Again it places a question mark on the relevance of election, from other means of acquiring political power.

In other words, electoral frauds make it difficult for the electorate to remove an unpopular government and install a popular one. This difficulty will result to the neglect of the electorates as well as lack of transparency and frauds which strip election of its competitive character. This is because the electoral outcome is been determined by every other means but not the votes. Suffice it to say that the results of the elections are decided before the election proper. In a situation like this, it becomes clear that the capacity to maneuver is unequal as some candidates are better privileged than others. On the side of the electorate, political apathy rising from a general feeling that votes no longer count in the determination of electoral outcomes in inevitable. Deriving from the above, the paper examined the relationship between electoral fraud and political development in Nigeria in the areas of how electoral fraud is seen as a threat to political development in Nigeria; electoral fraud has affected electoral participation in Nigeria; and how political instability and social disorder in Nigeria has in turn resulted in electoral fraud.