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A Comparative Analysis of Budgetary Allocations to Members of Parliament in Nigeria and South Africa: Towards a Possible Parliamentary Funding Model

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Abstract

In Africa, politics often involve a significant number of resources and budget allocations. As the article will argue throughout, the comparison between salaries for parliamentarians in many African countries and the budget allocations for public management and development exposes the profitability of politics on the continent. Indeed, this raises the question of whether parliamentarians' salaries and benefits are too high and detrimental to their citizens. This paper is qualitative in nature and relies on literature materials to examine the profitability of politics in Africa. A particular focus was placed on the comparison of budgetary allocations to elected officials in Nigeria and South Africa and budgetary allocations for the rest of the populace. The aim of the paper, therefore, was to explore the extent of this problem, its impact on citizens' well-being, and potential solutions for reducing the inequality between resources allocated to MPs and those allocated to citizens. Overall, the conclusion drawn was that members of Parliament in both Nigeria and South Africa are earning too much to the detriment of their citizens. The wage gap between MPs and average citizens is substantial, exacerbating existing inequalities and undermining citizens' quality of life. Alternatively, among other recommended solutions, a funding model for the houses of parliament to raise their own revenue is possible and should be considered.

Keyword: *Budgetary Allocations, Nigeria and South Africa, Parliamentary Funding Model*

Introduction

> "No man is rich, whose expenditure exceeds his means; and no one is poor whose Incomings exceed his outgoings" – Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865) as cited in Otti (2019).

The issue of disproportionate allocation of resources to members of Parliament (MPs) in Nigeria and South Africa is one that has long plagued these countries, and it's no secret that members of Parliament (MPs) in both Nigeria and South Africa are among the highest-paid public representatives in the world (Leech 2022 and Ogunde 2019). This paper is concerned with the current budget allocations to parliamentarians in these two respective countries. It is argued that these allocations change the nature of parliament to a profit-centric than that of people centred, hence a possible funding alternative is proposed. To understand this argument, it is important to define some key terms. Politics refers to the process by which decisions are made in a society. Budget refers to the resource allocation for a specific period. Resources refer to the goods and services that are made available for use (Sample, 2020), and allocation is the act of distributing resources among different individuals, groups, or activities.

Disproportionate allocation of resources refers to a situation in which certain individuals or groups are receiving more resources than they deserve relative to others, typically leading to an unequal distribution of resources (Anahideh et al., 2022). Nigeria is a developing country with a population of over 200 million people (Sasu 2022), while South Africa is a more developed nation with an estimated population of 58 million (Statistics South Africa 2022). These countries have both been plagued by disproportionate allocations of resources to MPs, leading to a significant lack of resources for citizens and inadequate access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure. From the outset, this paper commences by outlining the methodological and theoretical paths with the intention being to properly shape the discussion.

Methods and Theoretical Discourse

This paper is non-empirical and largely relies on data collected from speeches, newspapers, journals, government reports, legislation, and other publications. A qualitative approach was followed to analyse the profitability of politics in Africa with reference to budgetary allocations to members of Parliament in South Africa and Nigeria. This method proved to be relevant for this paper because it involves studying certain phenomena using existing literature, and its aim is to try and make sense of the way things happen and then draw conclusions that may not necessarily be generalisable (Brynard, Harnekom, and Brynard, 2014). Furthermore, a thematic approach to selecting the focus areas or factors against which the MPs budget allocations were judged was followed, and this included (i) the poverty rate, (ii) the public health sector, and (iii) education. This allowed the researchers to limit the discussion to context-specific matters aligned with the study's aim. Whereas the poverty rate is relatively at its peak in both countries (Nigeria and South Africa), the provision of education and public health care services is also problematic, often characterised by budget constraints, shortages of basic tools of trade, and dilapidating infrastructure.

Social contract theory explained

Africa is a continent known for its abundantly limited resources, and on many occasions, both the governments of Nigeria and South Africa have accepted this fact (World Bank, 2023). They agree that for their governments to cater to the growing populations, the available resources ought to be used sparingly, in a balanced, efficient, economical, and equitable manner. However, it is contended in this paper that the budget allocations for parliamentarians and, to some extent, the executives are incomparable to the monies often allocated to meet the demands of citizens, particularly in areas of social security, health, and education, among other things. Hence, the social contract theory, which advocates for social contracts between leaders and the public or constituencies, is adopted in this study. It is used so as to remind those in authority, especially MPs in Nigeria and South Africa, about the relationship that they automatically have with the electorate and citizens in general as soon as they assume membership in parliament.

Social contract theory is largely based on the works of social and political science scholars such as Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and John Locke. The social contract theory is supported by an implicit agreement that defines and restricts each person's rights among the members of an organised society or between the governed and the government. As aptly explained by Dunfee and Donaldson (2002), the goal of social contract theory is to reconcile the frequently divergent views of organisational leaders, followers, and stakeholders on what is morally or ethical. This goal may not be achievable if one just chooses a deontological, teleological, or even relativistic approach (Dunfee and Donaldson, 2002). The resulting social contract is, therefore, predicated on the presumptions that the parties will act rationally, are willing to give up some of their rights, and agree to its terms.

The irony of this theoretical thesis is that politicians, especially those in authoritative positions (legislative councils and executive), should denounce any view, act, or situation that is socially condescending in nature or that will leave society divided, simply because their contract is of societal nature while their duty is to act morally and ethically. To this far, given the current status quo on poverty, health situation, education, and other essential areas of government competence in Nigeria and South Africa, it can be argued that the social contract between the elected authorities and the governed is compromised, while on the other hand, the former seem to be comfortably gratified with their socially and hierarchically distant standard of living. But behaviours are punishable, and oftentimes, the electorate uses government blunders, complacency, and their living conditions to judge different political players when voting. The founding intellects of the social contract theory (Hobbes, Rousseau, and Locke) were therefore current in their supposition that the social contract theory, if applied correctly, can lead to improved social welfare, protection of freedom and property rights, and decreased chaos and war, but also enhance the relationship between the state and citizens (Dunfee& Donaldson, 2002).

In addition to the above, the theory of elitism was found to be more appropriate to explain the gap in resource allocation and prioritisation between parliamentarians and the public. As Pareto and Mosca in Molay (2023) and Higley (2024) explained, elitism as a theory is based on the idea that members of the economic and political elite hold most power in a society regardless of democratic structures. In this regard, the authors link parliamentarians to the elite club members who are less concerned about the general and social welfare of society and more focused on enriching themselves. It is rare to hear or find a member of parliament in both countries asking for a salary reduction or stagnancy for purposes of allowing resources to be used for social essentials. A documentary review of the work of parliaments in Nigeria and South Africa shows no record of a case where a political party represented or MPs tabled a motion, which suggests that parliamentarians are earning a lot of money. Hence, the elite theory distinguishes that kind of behaviour as self – seeking and self – centred (Osei, 2018). Ensuing is a brief contextualisation of the political systems in the selected countries.

A Brief Overview of the Political Systems in Nigeria and South Africa

Nigeria is a federal republic with a presidential system of government. The country has a multi-party system, and its political landscape is characterised by alternating periods of military and civilian rule. The current democratic dispensation has been in place since 1999, following decades of military dictatorship. The Constitution of Nigeria provides for three arms of government: the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The President heads the executive, who is both the Head of State and the Chief Executive. The legislature is bicameral and consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The judiciary is independent and responsible for interpreting the Constitution and ensuring the protection of the rights of citizens.

South Africa is a unitary state with federal characters in its design. Although the word 'federal' is avoided in the country's democratic constitution, the design of its executive arm of government, which consists of three spheres of government (national, provincial, and local), strongly demonstrates elements of federalism (Shopola & Mukonza, 2020). No doubt, the nine provincial authorities are allowed, in terms of Section 114 of the Constitution (1996), to enact laws for their jurisdictions, but such law shall be consistent with the national constitution. Parliament, which is the legislative arm of the state, consists of two houses, namely, the national assembly and the national council of provinces (RSA Parliament, 2023). In terms of representation in those houses, the national assembly consists of four hundred (400) members who are elected through a proportional representation party-list system every five years, where half of the members are elected on a proportional basis from provincial lists and the other from national lists.

The major functions and responsibilities of parliamentarians in South Africa, and this is the same case with Nigeria and other constitutional democracies in the world, will usually include, but are not limited to, making laws and appointing a president who then becomes the head of executive and that of the entire state. Just like other organs of state, Parliament receives its budget from the nationally collected revenue, of which a larger portion is dedicated to MPs salaries, followed by oversight functions (RSA Parliament, 2023). A further breakdown and analysis of parliamentarians' budgets is done in the next section, and this considers the necessary comparisons of the salaries of MPs in South Africa and Nigeria.

Overview and analysis of the debate surrounding the salaries and allowances of members of Parliament (MPs) in Nigeria and South Africa.

As expected, the political arrangement of governments throughout the world differs, and the same is the case with governments within the African continent. South Africa's system follows a system that infuses a unitary and federal character. Meanwhile, lawmaking, the collection of national revenue, and other general directives are centralised with the national government; the establishment of provinces and taxation powers given to local government municipalities are signs of a mixed system. This is different to Nigeria, where the constitution of the state and practices of governance are purely federal. The purpose of this section is to give an overview and analysis of the systems of government in these two countries and how the salaries and allowances of MPs look.

Nigeria

Nigerian MP's are constitutionally allocated budget funds for their respective offices as well as other resources. These include funds for salaries, allowances, and other overhead expenses. Additionally, they are also provided with other benefits, such as vehicles, housing allowances, and travel allowances. The Nigerian government has consistently allocated large amounts of its budget to members of Parliament, with an estimated 15-20% of its total budget going directly to these individuals each year. This disproportionately high allocation has led to Nigerian MPs receiving significantly more resources than their counterparts in other countries, as well as more than their constituents. In 2023, the National Assembly received a budgetary allocation of 223 billion naira for 469 members (109 senators and 360 House of Reps members) and 3000 staff members. On the other hand, the total budget allocated to basic health care was 47 billion naira to deliver basic healthcare to Nigeria's estimated 200 million citizens (Uwah, 2023).

The African Union's heads of state and government, recognising the shortcomings in their respective health systems, made a commitment in April 2001 through the "Abuja Declaration" to allocate at least 15% of their annual budgets towards the health sector (Witter, 2020). However, Nigeria has consistently committed less than 7 per cent of the total national annual budget to health, leaving a major gap in the financial resources required to drive the health system. This trend of Nigerian members of Parliament receiving high budgetary allocations has been a consistent trend. For example, see the table below.

YEAR	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	HEALTH CARE (Basic Healthcare Provision Fund)
2021	128	N35.03billion
2022	134	N44.5 Billion
2023	223	N47.6 Billion

Source: (Guardian Nigeria 2022; Ihejirika, 2021)

Analysis of the health budget for the time under review shows that most of the money goes to salaries, pensions, and other overhead costs, while only a small amount goes to investing in healthcare facilities, equipment, and other infrastructure (Ihejirika, 2021). For context, the minimum wage in Nigeria is NGN30,000, or 20.60 USD, using the official exchange rate. Nigeria has recently been named as the country with the highest number of people living in extreme poverty, according to the World Poverty Clock. The report estimates that over 87 million people in Nigeria live on less than $1.90 a day, which is the international poverty line. This is a significant increase from previous years and highlights the dire situation in the country (World Bank, 2020).

The root causes of poverty in Nigeria are complex and include factors such as economic inequality, a lack of access to education and healthcare, corruption, and poor governance. Despite being one of the largest oil-producing countries in the world, the majority of the population in Nigeria still lives in poverty. This is due to the mismanagement of resources and a failure to invest in crucial sectors such as education and healthcare.

Given the high level of public interest in this issue, it is clear that the debate surrounding MP salaries in Nigeria is an important one that deserves ongoing attention and scrutiny. It is a complex issue that touches on several key aspects of the Nigerian political system, including transparency, accountability, and the allocation of public resources. Critics of the current system point out that Nigeria is one of the poorest countries in the world and that high MP's salaries are an unjustifiable burden on the Nigerian taxpayer. They argue that salaries and allowances should be reduced to better reflect the economic realities of the country and to reduce the incentive for corruption and mismanagement.

This imbalance has resulted in a significant lack of resources for citizens, leading to inadequate access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure. This is especially disheartening considering that Nigeria is a developing country with a large population and limited resources. Furthermore, the lack of resources allocated to citizens has also led to an increase in poverty levels and a decrease in quality of life for many Nigerians.

South Africa

In South Africa, it is a norm that budget allocations are done by the National Treasury using the Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999 and other pieces of legislation, which would usually result in Parliament receiving its stake in the national budget. MP's salaries, which are the focus of this discussion, are determined by the Independent Commission for the Remuneration of Public Office Bearers, hereafter referred to as 'the Commission', and the guiding act for that exercise is the Remuneration of Public Office Bearers Act, 1997 (Act 92 of 1997). Amongst other things, this commission makes recommendations on the salaries of the defined office-bearers, allowances, and benefits. However, it is worth noting that the Commission's determinations remain recommendations until signed and effected by the President.

This paper contends that salaries of MPs, Cabinet members, and other office-bearers at provincial levels remain hugely unjustifiable in a country that, for over the last two decades, has (i) failed to lower the unemployment rate at least below 30%, (ii) is presently faced with the undesirable realities of 56.9 per cent of national poverty, and (iii) ranks in the top ten of the most unequal countries in the world (see Statistics South Africa, 2022: 1; World Bank report, 2022). If anything, these perpetual failures signal that the ANC-dominated Parliament and its government are trotting in the wrong direction in the country's development blueprint (National Development Plan 2030).

According to the Commission's database, office-bearers in the cabinet, including president and premierships, received a three percent (3%) annual increase in 2019 (ICRPS, 2023). Numerically, the yearly salary of MPs at the national level (National Assembly and National Council of Provinces) as of 2022 was set at R 1, 172, 071 while the heads of such institutions earned R 2.9 million every year. During the 2021/2022 financial year, a total budget of R1,9 billion was allocated to Parliament, of which R62 million was earmarked for an oversight role (RSA Parliament, 2023).

In addition to these figures, MPs, MPLs, and cabinet members in South Africa are entitled to certain benefits that, as this paper argues, constitute an unnecessary burden to the national budget. As Africa Check (2016) reported, these benefits include transportation (by air, bus, train, or car), which is limited to eighty-eight (88) single journeys annually; daily commuting; travel to and from airports; cell phones (internet connectivity and airtime); tablets; travel for their dependents; and accommodation, among others. Mayai et al. (2022) raised the possibility of parliaments exploring ways to generate revenue to free up the national budget. This could work, especially when the country's economy is dwindling, so that the little resources saved from some of the obsolete activities can be redirected to the populace.

William Madisha, an MP representing Congress of the People (2018) in South African parliament, argued that the national minimum wage, which was R3,500 at that time, is not sufficient for people who are buying bread at R18.00 and commuting daily to work at the taxi fare rate the public transports are charging. It defies logic, he argued, to have ordinary workers rate R23.00 per hour when the difference between this and the price of bread is just R5.00. This goes to demonstrate the gap that exists between the poor and those who claim to represent them.

South Africa faces enormous challenges, from the escalating unemployment rate, poverty levels and education to the deteriorating state of public health care, which COVID-19 has compounded since 2020. However, the Commission proposed a four per cent (4%) salary increase, which the President approved of only 2.8%. The argument by Parliament that "public representatives [in South Africa] do not earn anywhere higher than those of countries with similar GDP and population" (RSA Parliament Media Release, 2022:Online) is a façade, especially if one considers the budget constraints and living standards of the masses.

There is a sense of disdain and discontent among the general populace. How ordinary citizens and the majority population of the working class continue to languish in poverty is rather frustrating. An example is South Africa's minimum wage, which currently sits at twenty-three rands, nineteen cents (R23.19) per hour. Judged against the MP's salaries, hours, and weeks worked, a rough figure shows that MPs' salaries equal twenty-eight (28) times the approved minimum wage (Daily Marverick, 2022).

Mayai et al. (2022), in their weekly review published with the SUDD Institute in South Sudan, cautioned against the enormous gap between MPs and other public service employees. Without taking away the difficult job that comes with being a public representative or MP and recognising the significance of improving their living conditions, this paper contends that there is a need to consider the equal distribution of resources to ensure that the plight of the people or voters is equally taken care of.

Inequality between MPs and citizens

The average salary of an MP in Nigeria is estimated to be around $90,000 per annum, while an MP's salary in South Africa is estimated to be approximately $140,000 per annum. These figures are significantly higher than the average salaries of citizens in both countries. In Nigeria, the median salary is estimated to be around $3,000 per annum, while in South Africa, it is estimated to be around $7,000 per annum. This demonstrates a clear disparity between what MPs earn and what citizens earn. This wage gap between MPs and citizens has been further exacerbated by the fact that MPs are entitled to several additional benefits, such as free housing and transport allowances, as well as expensive entertainment allowances. This means that MPs are receiving much more than what they officially declare as their salary. In addition, many Nigerian MPs have been accused of corruption and misappropriation of funds as it has to do with constituency projects, which has further exacerbated the wage gap between them and the citizens. It can be argued that the salaries of MPs in both countries are not reflective of the duties they must perform. The duties of an MP vary depending on the country, but generally include representing their constituents, proposing and debating laws, voting on bills, and attending committees. Although these duties can be time-consuming and complex, they are not necessarily task-intensive or difficult enough to warrant such huge salaries compared to the average salaries of citizens in both countries.

Impact on Citizens

The unemployment rate in Nigeria is estimated to be around 23%, while in South Africa it is estimated to be around 36%. Similarly, poverty levels are also high in both countries; according to the World Bank, around 69% of Nigerians were living below the poverty line in 2018, while around 55% of South Africans were living below the poverty line (World Bank 2018). The high levels of unemployment and poverty suggest that there may be a need for increased investment in social programmes and economic development initiatives. However, it also raises questions about whether high salaries for members of Parliament could be better spent on other areas that would benefit the public.

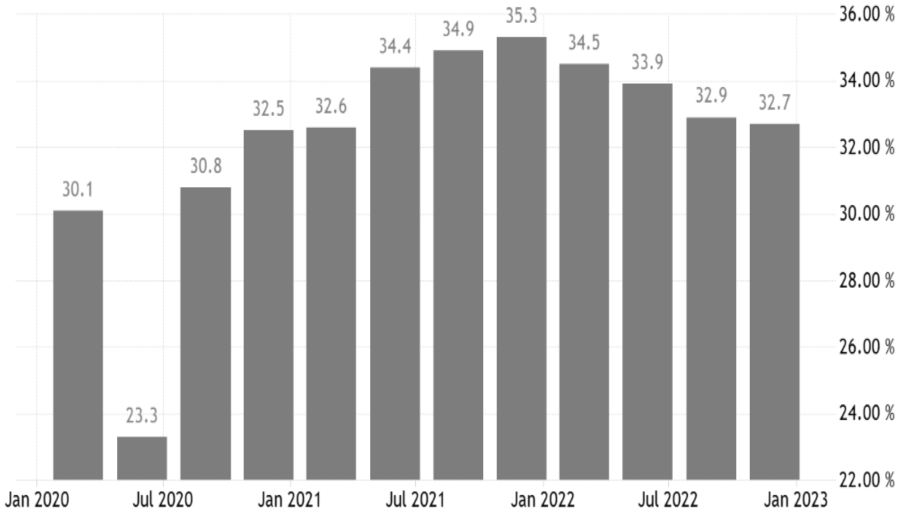
The high salaries of MPs have a direct impact on citizens' quality of life, as they contribute to a significant budget allocation towards public officials' salaries. This consequently leaves fewer resources for important social services such as health, education, and welfare. For example, in Nigeria, only around 8% of its GDP is allocated to healthcare (Smith, 2021), which is far below the recommended 15% by the World Health Organisation (Tambe, 2022). Similarly, Inadequate budget allocations due to high salaries for public officials has affected education in South Africa. In addition, high salaries for public representatives have a negative effect on citizens' morale as they reinforce perceptions of inequality and unfairness. This can lead to a lack of trust in the government and reduce citizens' motivation to participate in politics or engage with their representatives.

Part 1: Poverty Rate

The poverty rate in Nigeria is estimated to be around 62% (Ikpoto, 2022), while the poverty rate in South Africa is estimated to be around 55% (World Bank, 2020). This is significantly higher than the poverty rate in other countries, such as the United States, where the poverty rate is estimated to be around 12%. The high salaries of members of Parliament may have an impact on these poverty rates. In Nigeria, a large portion of the population lives on less than $2 a day, and there is a wide gap between the rich and the poor. The high salaries of members of Parliament may be contributing to this gap by allowing those in power to become wealthier while those who are struggling to make ends meet continue to live in poverty. In South Africa, there is also a wide gap between rich and poor, making South Africa the most equal country globally (World Bank, 2022), with many people living in poverty despite having access to social benefits such as free education and healthcare. The high salaries of members of Parliament may be exacerbating this gap by allowing those in power to become even wealthier, while those who are struggling may not have access to these benefits due to a lack of funds.

Part 2: Unemployment

The unemployment rate in Nigeria is estimated to be around 23%, while the unemployment rate in South Africa is estimated to be around 36%, according to the graph presented below. This is significantly higher than the unemployment rate in other countries, such as the United States, where the unemployment rate is estimated to be around 4.4% (Stats SA, 2022; World Bank, 2020). The high salaries of members of Parliament may have an impact on these unemployment rates. In Nigeria, it is possible that the high salaries may discourage people from looking for work, as they may prefer to rely on their government salary rather than take a lower-paying job. In South Africa, the high salaries may be contributing to the number of people out of work by discouraging employers from hiring employees due to high wage demands. The graph below depicts recent unemployment statistics in South Africa.



The unemployment rate in South Africa is expected to be 32.50 percent by the end of this quarter, according to Trading Economics global macro models and analysts' expectations. In the long term, the South African unemployment rate is projected to trend around 33.80 percent in 2024 and 32.80 percent in 2025, according to Trading Economics econometric models (Trading Economics, 2023).

Part 3: Health Care System

Compared to other countries, Nigeria's healthcare system is inadequate, and basic healthcare services are not easily accessible due to low funding and a shortage of healthcare providers. Despite some improvements since 1994, South Africa's healthcare system still lags behind other countries. The poor state of healthcare in both countries may be linked to the high salaries of members of Parliament. In Nigeria, funds that could be allocated for healthcare may be redirected towards payments for government officials. Similarly, in South Africa, funds that could be used for healthcare may be diverted towards payments for members of Parliament and other government programmes that do not directly benefit healthcare services.

In addition to the issue of funding, the healthcare systems in both Nigeria and South Africa face challenges relating to infrastructure, technology, and training. Many healthcare facilities lack basic equipment and supplies, making it difficult to provide proper healthcare services to the people. There is also a shortage of trained healthcare professionals, which means that those who are available are often overworked and underpaid. Additionally, many healthcare workers lack the necessary training and education, leading to poor quality of care and a lack of trust in the healthcare system among citizens.

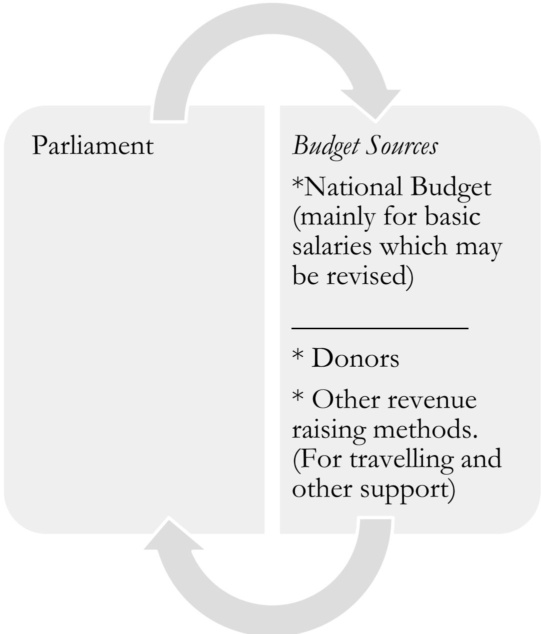
Part 4: Education

The educational system in both Nigeria and South Africa lags behind other countries. In Nigeria, there is a lack of access to basic education services due to low levels of funding and an insufficient number of teachers and educational resources. In South Africa, there is a significant gap between the rich and the poor when it comes to access to educational resources and opportunities. The high salaries of members of Parliament may be contributing to gaps in educational opportunities in both countries. It is possible that funds that could be used for education are instead going towards payments for members of Parliament as well as towards other government programmes that do not directly benefit educational services.

Conclusions and recommendations

This last part of the article provides possible solutions that parliaments in the two countries can use as a way to be less dependent on the national budget but at the same ensuring that there is efficiency and effectiveness in their daily activities of oversight. Below is the proposed funding model, followed by discussion.

Possible parliamentary funding model
Figure 1.1 proposes a funding model for parliaments.



Source: Authors own compilation

The social contract theory dictates a need for relationships between the state and citizens, and the central cog to driving this relationship is government and governance. For reasons articulated elsewhere in this paper, governance should be looked at from the perspective of the budgetary resources that are put in place to change citizens' lives, hence the cost of governance. The cost of governance refers to expenses associated with running a government and providing goods and services to citizens. In Nigeria and South Africa, the cost of governance is alarmingly high and unsustainable, with recurrent expenditure exceeding capital expenditure. This poses a fundamental threat to the nation's development, generating public concern and national discourse.

One issue that transpired throughout the paper is the funding of legislative houses, which is obviously done by the government in both countries, Nigeria and South Africa. The cost breakdown was also done, and the findings were that parliamentarians are earning huge salaries coupled with unsubstantiated benefits like the allowance to travel with family members, among others. This paper suggests that parliaments should try new funding models (as depicted above), whereby they allow donations and other revenue collection methods. This will somehow allow the parliaments to keep existing salary scales while at the same time allowing reallocations of resources to the benefit of social welfare. However, in so doing, they should also guard against 'capture', a commonplace word in South African political parlance, suggesting unwarranted control of politicians by corporate leaders or business elites, whereby they exert a hidden but huge influence on the decisions of the authority.

Efficiency in governance requires judicious spending of public funds, with every kobo or cent fully accounted for and spent for the welfare of the masses. In addition, to reduce the high cost of governance in Nigeria and South Africa, measures can be taken, such as merging similar Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) to avoid duplication and wastage and encouraging attitudinal change among the three arms of government to implement cost reduction policies to free up much needed financial resources for key areas such as health and education. By implementing these measures, the government can build a more efficient and effective government that serves the needs of its citizens.

In closing, it appears that members of Parliament in both Nigeria and South Africa are earning too much to the detriment of their citizens. The wage gap between MPs and average citizens is substantial, exacerbating existing inequalities and undermining citizens' quality of life. Furthermore, the high salaries have a negative effect on public morale, creating a lack of trust in government institutions. It is therefore important that governments take steps to reduce this wage gap by curbing excessive salaries for public officials and allocating more resources towards social services such as health, education, and welfare. This will ensure that resources are properly distributed throughout society and that citizens' quality of life is not compromised by the excessive salaries of public officials. The findings suggest that there may be a need for increased investment in social programmes and economic development initiatives rather than high salaries for members of Parliament.

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