**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF ENUGU STATE 1999-2015**

**BY**

**EMEKA DESTINY ELIZABETH**

**GOU/12/1718**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY ENUGU**

**JUNE 2016**

**TITLE PAGE**

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF ENUGU STATE 1999-2015**

**BY**

**EMEKA DESTINY ELIZABETH**

**GOU/12/1718**

**IN PARITAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B.Sc) IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY ENUGU**

**JUNE2016**

**APPROVAL PAGE**

This project report has been approved for the Department Political Science, Godfrey Okoye University Enugu.

.......................................... ........................................

**Dr. Onwo, D. O Date**

Project Supervisor

.......................................... .........................................

**Prof. .O. Ocheoha Date**

Head of Department

............................................... .........................................

**External Examiner Date**

**CERTIFICATION**

This is to certify that I **Emeka Destiny Elizabeth** is responsible for the work submitted in this project, The original work is mine except as specified in the acknowledgements and references, and that neither the project nor the original work contained therein has been submitted to this college or any other University or Institution for the award of degree.

.............................................. ......................................

**Emeka Destiny Elizabeth Date**

The Researcher

**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project work to God Almighty, for knowledge, protection, guidance and direction throughout my study in school.

**ACKNOWLEDLGEMENTS**

I wish to thank the Almighty God and all those who assisted in one way or the other to ensure that this project is a successful one.

My thanks goes especially to my wonderful family (my parents) Mr. and Mrs. Emeka for their financial, moral support throughout my stay in school.

I wish to thank my honourable supervisor Dr. Onwo D. for his constant help, correction, assistance, support, guidance and encouragement.

I also wish to express my gratitude to my H.O.D Prof. .O. Ocheoha and my able lecturers Mr. Mbaeze, Mr. Okoli Ronald, Mr. Okonkwo, Dr. Agbo and Mrs. Rebecca Nnamani and those that are not mentioned for their help and direction and impacting of knowledge into my life.

My sincere thanks also go to my senior brothers Emrick (Jm boy), Naza and my lovely sisters Nneka, Onyinyechi, and my beloved one Richard Mary and my little lovely boy Joseph, friends and loved ones especially my classmates Ani Ifeanacho for making my stay in University worthwhile. Thank you all.

**Abstract**

*The general: aim of the research work is to examine “Political Participation and National Development (A Case Study of Enugu State 1999-2015). Some of the specific objectives of this research work include: to find out whether political participation engender national development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015. Did public opinion. engender national development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015? For a successful completion of this research work, the researcher made use of both methods of data collection for information gathering... The data collected were presented in tables and analyzed with simple percentage while the hypotheses stated were tested with chi-square. The findings made includes: national participation engendered national development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015,, public opinion engendered national development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015. In conclusion, the Independent National Electoral Commission needs to improve in the area of electoral security. The electorates, election 0 totals and sensitive election materials require adequate security during elections. This will ensure the confidence of the electorate in terms of their safety being guaranteed, government much more than ever before needs to evolve credible strategies, to improve the resources base of the State in order to address the socioeconomic requirements of the People as postulated. This is the essence ‘of recruiting leadership at elections and this 18 the basis for which leadership is able to garner legitimacy and acceptability.*

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Title Page - - - - - - - - - i

Approval Page - - - - - - - - ii

Certification - - - - - - - - - iii

Dedication - - - - - - - - - iv

Acknowledgement - - - - - - - - v

Abstract - - - - - - - - vi

Table of content - - - - - - - vii

**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

1.1 Background of the Study - - - - - - 1

1.2 Statement of the Study - - - - - - 4

1.3 Objectives of the Study - - - - - - 6

1.4 Research Questions - - - - - - 6

1.5 Research Hypotheses - - - - - - 7

1.6 Significance of the Study - - - - - - 7

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study - - - - 8

1.8 Definition of Terms - - - - - - 9

1.9 References - - - - - - - - 11

**CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

2.1 Political Participation - - - - - - 12

2.2 Nigeria’s Political Party System - - - - 18

2.3 Legal and Institutional Framework including

relationship with INEC - - - - - - 19

2.4 Ideology and Issue Based Politics - - - ­- 27

2.4 Problems of Political Participation - - - - 38

2.5 Political Participation: A Catalyst For Nation Development in a Democratic Society - - - - 44

References - - - - - - - - 52

**CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.1 Theoretical Framework - - - - - - 56

3 .2 Research Design - - - - - - - 63

3.3 Method of Data Collection - - - - - 63

3.4 Method of Data Anaa1ysis - - - - - - 64

References - - - - - - - - - 65

**CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION**

4.1 Population of Study - - - - - - 66

4.2 Determination of Sample size - - - - - 66

4.3 Data Presentation - - - - - - - 67

4.4 Test of Hypothesis - - - - - - 72

4.5 Discussion of Findings - - - - - - 76

**CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATION**

5.1 Summary of findings - - - - - - - 76

5.2 Conclusion - - - - - - - - - 77

5.3 Recommendations - - - - - - - 78

Bibliography - - - - - - - - 80

Appendix - - - - - - - - 85

Questionnaire - - - - - - - - 86

**Chapter One**

**Introduction**

**1.1 Background Of The Study**

Political participation refers to the direct or indirect involvement of the citizens of a country in the governance of their country. Political participation can be broadly divided into two, namely, conventional and unconventional political participation (Efemini 2013). Conventional political participation is concerned with one’s involvement in political campaign, public hearing, recall, referendum, running for public office, voting in elections etc. while unconventional political participation has to do with one’s involvement in public protests, civil disobedience, political debates, community development, strike action, etc. political participation being an important paradoxical and delicate political theory, obliges individuals to form and support a given government or the implementation of a given policy based on certain grounds. It also obliges the same people to dissolve any government or oppose the implementation of any policy based on certain grounds too (Almond and Verba, 2010). This work attempts to show that political participation is an agent that provokes or speeds up significant change or action in development since it is only through conventional and unconventional political participation that one can influence the decisions, policies and other activities of the government for the good of the people. Without political participation, there can be no meaningful development in any country. This truth is evident / obvious in most contemporary societies especially in Africa where many countries are underdeveloped. This under-development in Some countries are due to marginalization of the people from active political participation and sometime apathy on the side of the people towards political participation as this makes the leaders to do whatever they like since no one questions them. But with active political participation of the people, they will be able to demand for what is due to them in terms of development which will include both human and infrastructural development. Where the government fails to provide development, it is still through active political participation that the people will be able to change such a bad government and replace it with a good one. This change can either come through voting such government out during election or by revolution. Arowolo and Aluko (2011) stated that through political participation citizens form and support a given government or the implementation of any policy based on certain grounds. The purpose of participation of citizens in the policy making arrangement is to create sense of belonging and awareness necessary for the sustainability of policy despite the nature of such policy, consolidate democracy and engender good governance.

The importance of political participation to national development cannot be overemphasized as there any democratic society that does not encourage political participation. Emphasizing the need for political participation, Gauba (2008) argued that:

Since most people desire economic development and the physical improvement of their infrastructure and environments, responsive

Government will be such that seeks and promotes economic development. On its own, good governance depicts the degree to which institutions of a particular country (such as executive, legislature or judiciary) and process (such as the role of political parties in election) are transparent, accountable to the people and allow them to freely participate in decisions that affect their lives (Omoregbe, 2009).

This is simply because good governance must indeed democratize the process of decision making in a way to guarantee the involvement of the groups for which decisions are being made. For example, wealthy creation programme can only be potent and sustainable only if the affected group is involved at all levels of decision making process.

**1.2 Statement Of The Problem**

Many countries are faced with the problem of national development. In a democratic society, both the leaders and the people are collectively responsible for this problem of national development, while the leaders can be blamed for not adhering to the main objective of democracy. which is the prioritization of the ‘common good’ over personal interest, which in turn is made manifest in national development. The people on the other hand, receive the greater share of the blame for their lack of interest in political participation, this apathy on the side of the people gives the leaders room to do whatever they want, however they want it and whenever want it, since nobody questions the policies and actions.

It is only through active and popular political participation that the people can checkmate the activities of the leaders and re-dire minds towards the pursuance of common good as against private interest, so as to enhance national development.

Political participation is seen as a panacea for development in a democratic society because, it makes policies legitimate, as it makes people to have a sense of belonging and can lay claim of ownership of such policies. It is through political participation that the citizens partake in the governance of their country, by so doing, they are able to make input in the decisions and policies of the government, applaud a government that is doing well and condemn/oppose a bad government the or even remove such government.

**1.3 Research Questions**

The following research questions are stated for this st

1. Did political participation engender political development in

Enugu State from 1999-2015?

2. Did public opinion engender National Development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015?

**1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of this study is to appraise political participation and national development focusing on Enugu State from 1999 to 2015.

The specific objectives include the following:

1. To find out whether political participation engendered national development in Enugu State from 1999- 2015.

2. To ascertain if public opinion engendered National Development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015.

**1.5 Research Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses are stated for this study:

**Hypothesis One**

**Ho:** Political participation did not engendered national development in Enugu State from 1999-2015.

**H1:** Political participation engendered national development in Enugu State from 19992015.

**1.6 Significance of the Study**

This study may be of enormous benefit to the general populace. It will go to a great extent in enlightening them on the essence of effective political participation as well as its essence in national development.

The recommendations of this study will suggest ways to ensure effective political participation of the populace.

The recommendations of this study will suggest ways to ensure effective political participation of the populace.

Student and other researchers will as well as widen their scope from the information contained in this study.

**1.7 Scope and Limitations Of The Study**

This study on political participation and national development covers Enugu State from 1999 to 2015.

The researcher encountered diverse constraints in the process of carrying out this research study.

**1. Difficulty in Gathering Research Material:**

There was difficulty in gathering the necessary information or materials necessary for the successful completion of this research study. This is due to the fact that most of the respondents were either not on sit or were uncooperative in providing the necessary information as regards to their reward management practices.

**2. Time Constraints**

Time also posed as a constraint to the successful completion of this research study. The researcher had to combine the time for lectures and work to carrying out this research study. Though it was not easy but she was still able to carry out the research work.

**3. Finance:**

There was not enough finance on the part of the researcher to complete this research study.

Irrespective of these constraints, the researcher was still able to successfully carry out this research study.

**1.8 Definition of Terms**

**SOCIAL EQUALITY:** Social equality is a state of affairs in which all people within a specific society or isolated group have the same status in n certain respects, often including civil rights, freedom of speech,

Property rights, and equal access to social goods and services.

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:** Political Participation can be defined as those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics

**Chapter Two**

**Political Participation, National Development, Democracy: Conceptual Clarification**

**2.1 Political Participation**

Political participation refers to the direct or indirect involvement of citizens in the governance of their country (Agbaje, 2009).

Political participation can be broadly divided into two groups, namely, conventional and unconventional political participation. Anifowose and

Enemuo (2011) is of the view that conventional political participation is concerned with one’s involvement in political campaign, public hearing, recall, referendum, running for public office, voting in elections among others. While unconventional political participation has to do with one’s involvement in public protests, civil disobedience, political debates, community development, strike action among others. Accordingly, Ajayi Kunle (2007) gave a lucid clarification of the concept of political participation in his text when he explains that political participation denotes the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental processes affecting their lives. In other words, when citizens themselves play an active role in the process of formulation and decisions, their activity is called political participation. Conventional mode of political participation includes voting, standing for office, campaigning for a political party or contributing to the management of a public park.

Interestingly an act of opposition or public protest also involves political participation. For example, signing a petition, attending a peaceful demonstration, joining a protest march, etc.

Subject to the foregoing analysis and citation, one discovers that political participation is an important paradoxical and delicate political theory. The theory obliges individuals to form and support a given government or the implementation of a given policy base on certain grounds.

**National Development:**

The word ‘national’ refers to a whole nation. Anything national concerns the whole nation. In Akinboye, (2010) view “the nation is a community of people who feel that they belong together in the double sense that they share deeply significant elements of a common heritage and that they have a destiny for the future.

Development on the other hand refers to growth or changes into a better and advanced form. Hence, development is the qualitative and quantitative improvement in the material, emotional and spiritual conditions of human existence which must be sustainable and realizable in ways that are consistent with the protection of human dignity (Akiyode-Afolabi, and Laure, 2003). From the above explanation, National development therefore refers to the growth and changes into better by the nation. This growth or change involves economic, social, political, infrastructural and human development. Using Alexander, and Welzel, (2007) view, it is germane to instance the combination and the highlighting of both economic, social, political and technological observable indices like reduction of the level of absolute poverty, improvement in literacy, health services, housing condition and political consciousness of the people etc. Almond, and Sidney, (2012) stated that human development is also very important in national development because it is actually human development that sustains infrastructural development.

**Democracy:**

The etymology of the word ‘democracy’ is from the Greek words ‘demos’ the mob, a people etc. and ‘kratein’ to rule thus a ruling by the people (Demokratic). Democracy in the 5th century BC was used by Herodotus as a rule by the people, which was characterized by equality before the law. This equality emphasized here demonstrates the very character of democracy, which brings it down to the common man. No wonder then why people conceive of democracy as the best system of government since it appears to orchestrate freedom and independence. This was made clearer by St. Augustine, who insisted, according to Millar “That by Law of nature, man has no right over man seeing that his power Stoops short at things and animals men have of themselves logically only the right to command themselves and no human being can of himself impose any authority on others” (Amadiume, 2007). No doubt, man’s dire need for freedom necessitates the desire for democracy; a system where everyone is free to express himself/herself without fear of punishment.

Accordingly, democracy is said to be practiced where political authority is used for the good of the masses in a polity. It was based on this principle that Pericles of Athens explained the Athenian constitution saying that it is called democracy because power is in the hands not of the minority but of the whole people (Anifowose, 2004). Democracy is characterized by individual empowerment whether economic, political, social or religious. In a sense, the intrinsic ii-freedom governing democracy makes it possible for individuals to participate freely and actively in the developmental process be it religious, economic etc. Democracy is expected to lead the people to prosperity and socio-political excellence. Democracy in sum could be said to be best described by Abraham Lincoln as “the government of the people by the people and for the people” (Appadorai, 2010).

**Political Participation as a Linchpin of Democracy:**

Awe, (2012) insists on the active participation of the common man in the very major decision making of the state. Public offices also must be made open for the masses to join; to say the least; the people have the authority over their representatives who are servants to them. Many scholars like Badawi, (2007) emphasize popular participation for a system to be qualified as democratic. The electorate reserves the supremacy of power.

These culminate in the respect of rule of law and human right, which represent a typical of democracy. If we speak of democracy, then we must be ready to accept the fact that the power and even the sovereignty reside on the people. If this is the case the people reserves the right to alter or abolish any government that becomes destructive or that goes against the will of the people so as to ensure their safety and happiness. This removal can take any form. To be precise, John Locke in his Treatise of Government advocated for revolution in a situation where any government begins to act outside the favour of the people (Babatunde, 2013). Often, revolutions appear to be the very last resort to the problems created by a particular democratic system.

**2.2 Nigeria’s Political Party System**

Nigeria operates as a one party dominant political system in which the dominant party controls enormous resources compared to the others. At the beginning of the Fourth Republic, only three political parties were registered, but the Supreme Court decision allowed for the liberalisation of the regime and many more parties were registered. There are three categories of political parties the dominant party on its own, parties with parliamentary representation and the other small parties most of which were established as possible platforms for important politicians that lose out in the bigger parties or to access resources from the electoral management body. Parties with executive seats are tightly controlled by the President and State Governors, and party leadership is at the beck and call of these executives who can Change them at will. The President is the leader of the dominant party although a party chairman exists and state governors are the leaders of their party at that level.

Overall, the liberalisation of the party regime did not significantly change the nature of political parties (Bari, 2005). Parties are run by godfathers and barons rather than members, and they have clientelist networks that are used by the party barons to “deliver” crowds for rallies and party congresses. Indeed, parties tend to treat their members with disdain and utter disrespect. Consequently, the political relationship within the parties is essentially one between patrons and clients and the clients are mobilised on pecuniary, ethnic or regional basis.

**2.3 Legal and Institutional Framework including relationship with INEC**

Nigeria has an illiberal regulatory regime for the registration and operations of political parties. Section 222 of the Constitution Specifically restricts the qualification of a political party to Organizations registered by the Independent National Electoral Commission under the stringent conditions stipulated by Sections 221 229 of the Constitution. Section 229 of the 1999 Constitution defines political party thus: “Political party includes any association whose activities include canvassing for votes in support of a candidate for election to the office of President, Vice President, Governor, Deputy Governor or membership of a legislative house or of a local government council. It is therefore a very narrow definition that reduces the essence of political parties to canvassing for votes.

Section 222 of the 1999 Constitution specifies the conditions under which an association can function as a political party. It states that “No association by whatever name called shall function as a political party, unless:

(a) The names and addresses of its national officers are registered with the Independent National Electoral Commission;

(b) The membership of the association is open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of his place of origin, circumstance of birth, sex, religion or ethnic grouping;

(c) A copy of its constitution is registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission in such form as may be prescribed by the Independent National Electoral Commission;

(d) Any alteration in its registered constitution is also registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission within thirty days of the making of such alteration;

(e) the name of the association, its symbol or logo does not contain any ethnic or religious connotation or give the appearance that the activities of the association are confined to a part only of the geographical area of Nigeria;

(f) The headquarters of the association is situated in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

(g) The names and addresses of its national officers are registered with the Independent National Electoral Commission;

(h) The membership of the association is open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of his place of origin, circumstance of birth, sex, religion or ethnic grouping;

(i) A copy of its constitution is registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission in such form as may be prescribed by the Independent National Electoral Commission;

(j) Any alteration in its registered constitution is also registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission within thirty days of the making of such alteration;

(k) The name of the association, its symbol or logo does not contain any ethnic or religious connotation or give the appearance that the activities of the association are confined to a part only of the geographical area of Nigeria;

The effects of all these is that parties that emerged during the Second Republic and the first phase of the Fourth Republic needed to be very big and capable of controlling a significant region at least.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the State Independent Electoral Commissions have powers under the Electoral Act 2010 to be present at conventions, congresses, conferences or meetings of political parties as monitors to ensure that the parties respect their procedures. In the 2011 elections, however, parties were able to disregard the role of INEC and do as they pleased, by marginalising INEC under a barrage of court injunctions. At the party congresses, leaders were elected and candidates were nominated for elective positions. The elections were however pre-determined at most times and party bosses tended to have the final say in the selection of leaders. This is the underlying logic that has led to the process of continuous internal party crisis in the country. INEC has been empowered by the 2010 Electoral Act to deregister parties that fail to win seats, and it has used this power to deregister seven parties so far. Following the termination of various cases in the electoral tribunals, INEC has resumed the process of deregistering political parties and it is expected that about thirty more parties will be deregistered.

**Competitiveness**

Competition in Nigeria’s party system is very intense within the ruling Party and less so between the political parties. This is due to the fact that since 1979, Nigeria has developed the tradition of major blocs of the political elite coalescing into a single political party conceived as a hegemonic party. In elections that are relatively free and fair, namely, the 1959, 1979 and 1999 elections, the parties that had the highest. votes, the Northern Peoples’ Congress, the National Party of Nigeria and the Peoples’ Democratic Party failed in their desire to be hegemonic or dominant through the polls. In the subsequent elections of 1964, 1983 and 2003, they all abused their incumbency powers to transform themselves into dominant parties. In essence, they used electoral fraud to boast their control of the political process and weaken opposition parties. Competitive party politics is thus weak as the ruling parties have often falsified the electoral game while the parties in opposition hove too narrow a political base and insufficient resources to effectively compete for power.

In the 2011 general elections, the competition for the presidency of Nigeria was between three major candidates and political parties. They are:

* Incumbent Goodluck Jonathan People Democratic Party (PDP);
* Muhammadu Buhari Congress for Political Change (CPC); and
* Nuhu Ribadu Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)

At the polls, the PDP polled 22,495,187 after winning from 24 out of the 36 states and FCT. This was followed by the CPC who polled 12,214,853. The ACN came third with 2,079,151. In terms of the National Assembly, the PDP won over 60% of elected representative and senators in the National Assembly leaving the other political parties to share the remaining seats among themselves. The important thing about the 2011eleotions was the marked improvement in the integrity of the elections and the significant reduction of electoral fraud. The Attahiru Jega led INEC has shown a capacity to continuously improve the conduct of elections in the country and move towards free, fair and credible elections. If this tendency is sustained, the competitiveness of political parties will receive a boost and the political class will begin to believe that it is possible to get to power without being the candidate of the ruling party. In other words, party competition will gradually become real (Beck, 2007).

**Fluidity**

We have mentioned above that party membership is ephemeral as people engage the political process as patrons or as clients. This means the attachment of people is not really to political parties but to patrons or godfathers who pay for their engagement. The implication of this is that participation in political party activities is mediated by political bosses to whom people owe allegiance. Party life is most active around election time and patrons and godfathers engage in party activity to obtain nomination and elections for themselves or their surrogates. When they fail to obtain the position, they tend to move out with their clients to other parties in search of new opportunities. In Nigeria therefore, both for the patrons and their clients, adherence to political parties is very fluid and opportunistic. It is also true that many people own multiple party cards as they seek to be invited to as many party congresses as possible where the tradition is to pay participants for their Votes. Such people therefore move from party to party in search of Opportunity.

**2.3 Ideology and Issue Based Politics**

The ideology question and the left/right divide have largely disappeared from Nigerian political parties so conflicts are focused on the issue of personalities, ethnic groups, geopolitical zones and the control of power. And yet, ideology matters in Nigeria. Nigerians are profoundly opposed to the liberal economic policy articulated and imposed on the country by the Bretton Woods institutions. Political parties can therefore articulate this Vision but they don’t. The Constitution requires that all political parties draw their manifestoes from Chapter Two of the Constitution on Directive Principles of State Policy. That section of the Constitution places a lot of obligation on the state to provide for the welfare of citizens. It is virtually a social democratic manifesto. Party manifestos however elicit little interest or debate because the parties simply provide them to satisfy a constitutional obligation. The key challenge for political party development is therefore to bring issue based politics back to the agenda. During the Second Republic for example, the UPN was known for its commitment to free education, the NPN for its housing policy and the PRP for its opposition to taxing the peasantry. It is difficult today to associate any issue with any political party. The motivation for engagement in party activities in Nigeria today is simple power and money. The motivation for political contest is dominance and control not ideology of issues.

**Lack of Civility and Exclusionary Politics**

Civility is one quality that is largely absent in political party life. The most important aspect of the internal functioning of political parties in Nigeria since 1978 is that they have a persistent tendency to factionalise and fractionalise. As people go into politics to seek power and money, the battle for access is very intense and destructive. Thugs, violence and betrayal are often the currency for political party engagement. Indeed, the period leading to each election is marked by the assassination of party leaders and contestants for various offices. The reality in the political field is that many political parties are essentially operated by political ‘godfathers’ who use money and violence to control the political process. They decide on party engagement. Indeed, the period leading to each election is marked by the assassination of party leaders and contestants for various offices. The reality in the political field is that many political parties are essentially operated by political ‘godfathers’ who use money and violence to control the political process. They decide on party nominations and campaign outcomes and when candidates try to steer an independent course, violence becomes an instrument to deal with them. The result is that they raise the level of electoral violence and make free and fair elections difficult. Although parties have formal procedures for the election of their leaders, these procedures are often disregarded; when they are adhered to, the godfathers have means of determining the outcomes. The level of violence, thuggery, and monetization of Nigerian politics provides a significant disincentive for women to take part as candidates, and the monetization aspect also makes young people less likely to influence politics in an effective way due to their lower level of access to resources (see Ezeilo 2012).

**Lack of Civility and the Female Politician**

The female politician is the major victim of the lack of civility in the political process. She suffers from various modes of marginalisation many of which are hurtful and full of invectives.(2) In general, party officials refused to take the .candidature of female aspirants seriously. Ironically, one of their main reasons was the affirmative action policy adopted by some of the parties waiving nomination fees for female aspirants. Party executives in most constituencies set out to label women as aspirants with less than the required commitment to the party. Party barons at the local level repeatedly argue that by convincing the national executives to remove nominations fees for them, women have demonstrated a lack of commitment to the development of the party. This argument was used to make declarations that male candidates are more committed to the party because they make their financial contributions willingly and that commitment should be recognised and rewarded. Such officials therefore succeeded in labelling women aspirants as “anti-party” people and thereby created the basis for their exclusion. It is worthwhile recalling the analysis of Geof Wood on the role of labelling in elimination competition:

“The authors of labels, of designations, have determined the rules of access to particular resources and privileges. They are setting the rules of inclusion and exclusion, determining eligibility, defining qualifications... The authors of labels successfully imposed on others are powerful.”(3)

Once a negative label has been successfully imposed on an aspirant, it is easy to exclude the labelled person irrespective of the formal rules and procedures established, because the person’s legitimacy has been eroded.

A second negative labelling strategy used to exclude women aspirants has to do with the cultural deviant label. The way the arguments is presented is that Nigerian culture does not accept assertive, or public, or leadership roles for women. Concerted allegations and campaigns portraying women aspirants as people acting in ways that contradict their culture were systematically used as part of the strategy of marginalisation see Ibrahim and Salihu, 2004. Many party officials made Open or covert assertions that some female aspirants are too assertive and independent and therefore cannot be team players. Closely associated with negative labelling is the direct use of invective that is, the use of abusive language to demoralise and delegitimize female a Spirants. Indeed, it is well known in the sociology of elite competition that the use of invective and insults is an effective strategy of eliminating political rivals. Many of the female aspirants profiled in Ibrahim and Salihu, 2004, were subjected to whisper campaigns and innuendos about their alleged loose sexual and moral standing and some were directly insulted with the use of invectives like prostitute and harlot. Campaigns were organised around the “true marital status” of female aspirants as a means of questioning their moral standing.

As the case of Onyeka Onwenu, the golden voice of Nigerian music shows, women have had to face simultaneous attacks on their marital status from different angles. While some men questioned her legitimacy to contest for the Chair of a Local Government in Igboland because she was married to a Yoruba man, other men were spreading the rumours that because she was using her maiden name, rather than a “marital name”, she must be unmarried and therefore did not have the moral standing to contest for the post. The moral standards Nigerians set for women politicians are higher than those for male politicians. It is generally known, for example, that many male politicians go on the campaign trail with girlfriends and/or sex workers. Male supporters see such behaviour as a normal sign of the virility of leaders. For women however, even when they are not sexually promiscuous, indeed, even if they are saints, the burden of proof is placed on them to show that they are morally upright.

The 1979 Constitution introduced the concept of indigeneity into Nigerian public law as an equity principle to guaranty fair regional distribution of power. Over the years, the principle has been subverted and used to discriminate against Nigerian citizens who are not indigenes of the places where they live and work. Women who are married to men who are non-indigenes of their local governments suffer systematic discrimination. In their own constituencies, they are told that by marrying out, they have lost their indigeneity. In their husband’s constituency, they are told they do not really belong because indigeneity is based on the consanguinity (blood relation), principle. It is particularly insidious for women because many of them who actually married people from their indigenous areas lost their indigeneity when their home areas were carved out in subsequent state creation exercises as Nigeria moved from three regions to four regions, to twelve states, to nineteen states, to twenty-one states, to thirty states and finally to thirty-six states. The indigeneity ploy is usually used only when women seek for political office. Jadesola Akande shows for example in her profile of Chief Titilayo Ajanaku, that when the aspirant successfully campaigned for the top candidates of the Unity Party of Nigeria Obafemi Awolowo and Bola Ige, the party was happy. When however, the proposal to offer her a political post in the state arose, they remembered she was “an Egba married to an Ijesha man” and was not therefore an indigene of Oyo state (Bertalanffy, 2008).

While women suffer greatly from the large repertoire of techniques used to eliminate people from political party primaries, less powerful men also suffer. The lack of civility within party politics has therefore translated into the following elimination tactics:

1) Declaration by powerful “party owners”, party barons, state governors, “godfathers” etc that people must support one candidate and others must withdraw based on “consensus” which means the decision of the boss. As these people are very powerful and feared in their communities, their declarations carry a lot of weight.

2) Zoning is another technique, which is usually used by party officials. Zoning and other forms of administrative fiat are used to exclude aspirants by simply making the party zone out the seat in question to an area where the aspirant being excluded is not an indigene (Bruce, 2004).

3) Violence and the use of thugs and sometimes security operatives are often used by “powerful” candidates opposing challenge from other candidates.

4) Money is of course a major factor in party primaries and is used both to bribe officials and encourage voters support particular candidates. Since in general, aspirants supported by part barons have more money than other aspirants, the playing field is not even as poorer candidates get eliminated because they simply cannot match their opponents-Naira for Naira.

5) One of the most disturbing techniques used to eliminate aspirants and candidates is what Nigerians call “results by declaration”. This means that a candidate would win a nomination or election and returning officers who had been bribed or compromised would simply disregard the results and declare the loser to be the winner.

Given the general lack of civility in party politics and the prevailing culture of violence and invective, the Babalakin Commission of Inquiry into the 1983 elections stated in clear terms that (Bunch, 2009):

“The nature of politics and political parties in the country is such that many men and women of ability and character simply keep out of national politics. For the most part, political parties are dominated by men of influence who see funding of political parties as an investment that must yield rich dividends.” (FRN, 1986:348)

The fundamental objective of political party development should be to reverse this trend and get more people with ideas and vision to integrate the leadership of political parties. As Nigeria moves towards the 2016 elections, it is imperative that political parties imbibe the culture of internal democracy as a means of creating harmonious conditions that would not only enhance their performance but also be of help when they eventually win elections.

Although the 2011 elections have been deemed to be the best organized and most credible in the country’s chequered electoral history, they were far from flawless. International observers described the votes as a ‘significant improvement’ over previous ones, which we believe is a correct characterisation. Pre-election violence, including bomb attacks (which killed dozens of people) as well as the cumbersome new Voting system (modified open ballot system) used in which registered voters had to be certified at designated polling units in the morning and then vote in the afternoon negatively impacted on the turnout for these elections.

**2.4 Problems 0f Political Participation:**

**1. Culture and Religion:** Culture and religion are intertwined, hence the need to discuss the two together as one of the problems affecting political participation. For instance Muslims exhibit a Muslim related culture in everything including politics, likewise other religions. Some religions/cultures forbid certain category of people from political participation and even partaking in other social activities. This prohibition is sometimes based on sex, age etc. for instance, the Muslim doctrine of puda system (i.e. the seclusion of women), forbids women from participating in social and political activities (Butler, 2010).

**ii. Violence and Insecurity:** Violence is an act against an individual or group, with the intent to cause injury or death (Butler, 2010. The major Violence that affects political participation is electoral violence which is Very common in Africa.

Electoral violence refers to the use of force by political parties or their supporters to intimidate opponents which can result to seizures of political power by the use of undemocratic means, such as force.

Electoral violence takes man many steps backwards and even beyond the original state of man (i.e. the state of nature) to a state of war. Sometimes, violence is used to intimidate opponents not to even express their choices of candidates for political position in free open and transparent atmosphere. The effects or consequences of electoral violence range from constituting a major threat to national security, instills fear and causes low participation in elections by eligible voters and consequently casts doubt on the credibility of the purported ‘elected leader’s before the eyes of the local and international community. Similarly, it could affect the respect from the governed and this could further affect the general acceptability of the popularity of the government, amounts to stealing of genuine mandate from the voters, diminishes good governance and makes the people’s hopes and expectations dashed, and finally, it hinders or does away with public accountability by the so-called elected officers.

Delivering a paper on “Nigeria: Electoral Violence and National Security”, the onetime Inspector General of police, Tafa A. Balogun notes that:

Electoral violence could in conjunction with other prevailing factors lead to anarchy and ultimately to political instability. The result has been that political opponents are either intimidated or out-rightly killed or injured.

The situation as indicated above by Balogun scares people to even come out during election to vote not to talk of contesting any election, given the risk involved due to violence and insecurity.

**iii. Gender Inequality:** Attention is always on women whenever gender inequality is considered as a problem of political participation. This is because many factors hinder women, from active political participation especially in Africa. Some of such factors include: tradition, marriage, reproductive roles, lack of confidence, insecurity, money politics, education etc. considering marriage as an example, many married women are being restricted by their husbands from active political participation for fear of loosing their wives to other politicians due to the misconception that most women politicians are wayward. Also other family responsibilities like child birth, child upbringing and other domestic activities hinder women from active political participation.

**iv. Political socialization:** Political socialization is an endless thing and it involves the transmission of a people’s groups or society’s political culture from generation to generation (Chikwe, 20l3). It is a developmental process through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour. Political socialization starts from childhood. Having identified political socialization as the transmission of political culture from one generation to another, if one must investigate the interplay of politics and socialization in political participation, the best place to commence is from the area of political culture which according to Chochran, and Malone, (2009), “is a people’s predominant beliefs, attitudes, values, ideals, sentiments and evaluations about the political system”.

So one’s participation in the political system is conditioned or influenced by the inherent political culture in the system. Some countries no doubt have more participatory culture than others, in which case they are more enthusiastic and proud in their institutions and are more effective in the role they play.

Political culture per se does not account for political participation, but, when this culture is transmitted through the process of socialization, it can then affect political participation. For instance, a child who is socialized in the culture of political thuggery, acrimonious rivalry, political assassinations and political contest fraught with election rigging and vituperations will tend to develop negatively or entirely discouraged participation (Covington, 2008).

Generally, unhealthy political culture discourages political participation. In Nigeria for instance the annulment of the June 12, 1993 general election has produced a lot of apathy to political activities in Nigeria. A lot of people still find it hard to believe in the sincerity of any transition programme in Nigeria. This has succeeded in reducing active political participation including voting in an election.

**v. Wealth and Godfatherism:** Godfatherism is a form of patron-client relationship in the political setting. It is a social problem. It has resulted in political insecurity and violence which are threatening participatory democracy, peace, political stability and consolidation of democracy. Dahlerup, (2005) defines political godfather from his own personal experience as: an impervious guardian figure who provided the life line and direction to the godson, perceived to a life of total submission, subservience and protection of the oracular personality located in the large, material frame of opulence, affluence and decisiveness, that is if not ruthless. Strictly, the godfather is simply a self-seeking individual out there to use the government for his own purpose.

The political godfathers build an array of loyalists around them and use their influence, which is often tied to monetary considerations, to manipulate the rest of the society. They use their influence to block the participation of others in politics. The godfathers are political gatekeepers they dictate who participates in politics and under what conditions. The role of such people is highly injurious to the advancement of popular, participatory democracy.

**2.5 Political Participation: A Catalyst For National Development In A Democratic Society**

The Democratic society came into existence through political participation, and the existence, survival and development of such society can only be possible through political participation. For without authentic political participation, good, leadership and good followship; the political society cannot and will never attain a meaningful and sustainable development. In order words, political participation is the creator, as well as the major determinant of the successful commitment of the government to meaningful development (Dauda, 2007).

As earlier stated, political participation encompasses the many activities used by citizens to influence the election of political leaders or the policies they pursue. Such activities include: voting during election, contesting for political positions, taking part in public protest, civil disobedience, political debates, community development and strike action, signing a petition etc.

Considering voting in an election, voting is a cornerstone of democracy which enables the citizens to choose their leaders, it also gives them the opportunity to change a bad government by voting against the leaders of such government. Voting gives the citizens opportunity to be heard and to have a say in important issues that affect their community. Voting is an opportunity given to citizens to change what they do not like and bring about what they like. Voting brings development as the thought of election makes the leaders to work hard so as to avoid being voted out.

Contesting election gives the contestant/candidate opportunity to contribute to the development of the society if he or she wins. On the Other hands, it gives the electorates the opportunity to vote for the best candidate of their choice. When many people contest for the same political position, there is always variety of choices for the electorates to make and the possibility of the best candidate winning in a free and fair election is high (Georgina, 2013).

Referendum is very useful, in national development as it gives the citizens opportunity to partake in making and implementation of policies that concerns them through voting for or against such policies as the case may be. There are two types of referenda namely the legislative referendum whereby the legislature refers a measure to the voters for their approval, and the popular referendum, a measure that appears on the ballot as result of voter petition drive. Popular referendum allows voters to approve or repeal an act of the legislature. If the legislature passes a law that voters do not approve of, they may gather signatures to demand a popular vote on the law. Once enough Signatures are gathered anti verified, the new law appears on the ballot for popular vote.

During the time between passage and popular vote, the law may not take effect.

Recall and impeachment are other measures that the citizens use to checkmate bad leaders. Recall according to Henderson, (2009) is a procedure that allows the citizens to remove and replace a public official before the end of a term of office, through recall, the citizens are able to remove an earring public officer, this is usually done by an election. An example is the recall of California Governor-Gray Davis and his replacement with Arnold Schwarzenegger in 2003. Impeachment on the other hand, is usually a legal process carried out by the legislature. This is because, in democracy, sovereignty lies with the people and not with the leaders. Hence, “The people are sovereign and they reserve the right to remove any government that fails to Perform its duties properly” (Inglehart, and Noris, 2013).

Public protest helps the citizens to oppose certain policies of the government that is not in the interest of the public. It is an attempt m Stop a policy or practice that is not in the interest of the public. Public protest is used to demand a change of practice or policy by the government. It is an effective strategy against autocratic regimes and political repression. It relies on underlying support from the population. Public protest is a kind of negotiation tactics to extract concessions from a state or a corporation. Public protest may take the form of strike which is commonly used to leverage labour resources for higher wages or more benefits. Public protest has yielded many positive results in development. for instance the public protest against 100% fuel subsidy removal by the federal government of Nigeria, which resulted in reduction of the subsidy removal from 100% and the subsidy reinvestment programme (Surep), and host of other benefits. Also the, Series of strike embarked upon by the Academic Staff Union of the University (ASUU), has yielded many developmental results like Ongoing infrastructural development projects in many Nigerian Universities, the establishment of Tertiary Education Trust Fund (Tetfund) etc.

Civil disobedience is another form of political participation which functions as an act of subversion or opposition against the status qua and legal norm that is regarded as unjust by the public (Kukah, 2010).

It is always used as the last resort to oppose an unjust government. Sargent, Lyman Tower (2006) argues that whenever the law wrongly violates one’s rights, then one has a right to civil disobedience, hence civil disobedience can be used to Checkmate an unjust government and their policies. Civil disobedience is motivated by a genuine sense of the law being morally wrong.

Public debate is an important form of political participation which involves the citizens in the decision making process of their state. According to Sanghera, Balihar (2005) public debate is essentially a series of forums where people’s opinions, interests and expectations are expressed on an issue that concerns the whole or part of the society. Active participation that will take place through such forums will be able to form a powerful ground for an understanding of efficient citizenship and a functioning democracy (powerful democracy). For such forms are primarily those that bear the traces of how people wish to be governed in the context of preference and expectations that have been voiced.

Spiro, Herbert (1968) summarized the role of public debate in g democratic society, by .such roles as, outlined above, the citizens/public we able to control power abuse and corruption by the leaders through public debate. And when these ills are controlled through public debate, development will be enhanced/promoted.

Citizens participation in community development is another form of political participation which according to UNDP Report (2008)” ...is the process that can meaningfully tie program to people”. Citizens can participate in community development by paying their taxes, making donations and volunteering oneself for community services. There are individual and group participation. Groups contribute to national development in many ways including building town halls giving scholarship to citizens, charity organizations, non-governmental organizations (N GO), Religious organizations etc. All the activities of these groups contribute in one way or the other in national development. This form of participation helps the individual or group to make desired change, as well as balance political activity.

In all, the role of political participation in national development cannot be over emphasized, it even transcends infrastructural development to include human development because when a citizen is actively involved in political participation, such a citizen is also improving himself or herself by getting the necessary information he or she needs to be well informed about the events, policies and governance of his society. A knowledgeable person is a developed person, since according to Unumeri, (2013), “to talk of national development is to talk primarily of the development of the human person”. This development of the human person includes proper education, good orientation, right information etc. which makes the individual to be Useful and active in political participation and at the same time well equipped to make meaningful contribution an issues concerning national development which according to Weale, (2009), “is the process of social transformation in which the people themselves are in charge”.

**Chapter Three**

**Methodology**

**3.1 Theoretical Framework**

For the purpose of this research work, Eastonian framework for systems theory has been adopted.

Many political scientists find systems theory as a relevant tool for analysis of multicultural political phenomenon. Alexander, and Welzel, (2007) for instance, argues the case for applying system theory across disciplines because it provides a “humanocentric alternative to the systematic distortions of Eurocentrism” which could help us see ‘a common river and unity of history in a single world system (that is) multicultural in origin and expression.’ In this view, researchers in the field of social sciences have shown the applicability of this approach to the study of political geography, development studies, gender, ethnic and race relations, international relations and international political economy. Thus, Amadiume, (2007) argues that systems theory is all purpose in that it takes into account numerous systems that interact with other systems which help a researcher to focus attention on important component that might otherwise go unnoticed. He argues further that systems theory gains a holistic View of an area of human activity, taking the environment in which a phenomenon is observed as part of this holistic approach.

Following this View, systems theory is seen as useful in providing a framework for the study of complex variables influencing one another. Akinboye, (2010) also reiterates the growing popularity of systems theory over the years because of its apparent ability to serve as a universal conceptual paradigm of social and behavioral phenomena. Sharing this observation, Agbaje, (2009) submits that systems theory has survived the test of time having faced its critics and remains a viable theory used by a cross section of academe. Similarly, Akinboye, (2010) asserts that an attempt to study politics empirically must at least implicitly conceive politics as though it were functioning as some sort of system. That is politics must be seen as more or less regular relationships among various aspects described as political and certain other phenomenon not so described. It is on the basis of these strengths of systems theory in analytical framework of political phenomenon that Appadorai. (2010) sees systems theory as indispensable to political science and all its branches. These aforementioned strengths of systems theory for conjectural and analytical framework have informed its adoption for this research work.

Systems theory was developed by biologist von Bertalariffy in 1936 out of his desire to build laws and principles to guide research in several disciplines. In his words

*There exist models, principles, and laws that apply to generalized systems or their subclasses, irrespective of their particular kind, the nature of their component elements, and the relation or ‘forces’ between them. It seemts legitimate to ask for a theory, not of systems of a more or less special kind, but of universal principles applying to systems in general.*

In his analysis of the general system theory, Bertalanffy emphasized that the same concepts and principles (system environment boundary, input, output and process) underlie the different disciplines, providing a basis for their unification. He argues that real systems are open to, and interact with their environments, and can acquire qualitatively new properties through emergence, resulting in continual evolution. Rather than reducing an entity to the properties of its parts or elements, systems theory focuses on the arrangement of and relations between the units which connect them into a whole.

The development of systems theory for the study of politics however, was first conceived by David Easton in 1953 (Agbaje, 2009). His work was a continuation of the search by social scientists for accurate predictions, using general laws that have universal application for a Systemic interpretation of society which was started by a sociologist, Karl Manheim. According to the Eastonian systems theory, a political System is viewed as made up of interrelated units that function together to make a Whole. His concept of political life is that of “a system of behaviour embedded in an environment to the influence of which the political system itself is exposed and in turn reacts (Chochran, and Malone, 2009). One aspect of the political system cannot therefore be understood thoroughly without studying the other interrelated units. At the centre of Eastonian systems theory is therefore, the formulation of a general framework, a focus on the whole system rather than merely on its parts, an awareness of environmental influences upon the system. Thus Akiyode-Afolabi, and Lanre, (2003) defines a system as a set of regularized interactions configured or bounded in a way that differentiate and separate them from other actions that constitute the system environment. Similarly, Bruce, (2004) defines systems theory as the study of a set of interrelated variables as distinguished from the environment of the set.

The theory considers political activity as essentially involving the political system, the input and the output and the environment. Easton Views the political system as the basic unit of analysis while the intra-system behaviour of various systems is seen as principal areas of research. He defines the political system as that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented. The environment consists of the objective conditions and forces that generate the demand and support input. Demands are expressions of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regards to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so. Supports are actions or orientation prompting or resisting a political system. Also, the system adapts to its environment through growth and elaboration of its structure made possible by negative entropy. Such a system is also self-regulating through feedback loops which are used by the decider or system decision-maker to achieve its goals and to maintain some sort of dynamic equilibrium (Bari, 2005).

According to this concept, inputs in the form of demands (expectations) and support approach the political system. These inputs (demands and supports) become issues for discussion and resolution. Demands drive the motor of politics, and politics operates to convert demands into authoritative policy outputs. Inputs in this way are processed within the political system during the so-called conversion process and made into binding decisions and policy actions for all members of society in the form of laws and provisions (outputs).

The actual conversion of input to output is effected by the various governmental institutions expressly designed for these ends. These Easton referred to as “black box” into which inputs stream and out of which outputs emerge. These outputs in turn create reactions within society and feedback. Outputs that are deemed satisfactory and met the demands of some members within the system generate renewed supports and put to rest the original demands that set the conversion process into motion. Outputs that are judged inadequate may generate negative consequences by eroding supports and dangerously intensifying the level of demands or resulting to new demands on the system. Outputs need to travel full-circle and return, via the feedback loop, to the input side of the conversion process (Kukah, 2010).

**3.2 Research Design**

This study is a descriptive type. According to Orji (2006:19) descriptive research is concerned with the collection, presentation, analysis and interpretation of data for the purpose of describing vividly existing conditions, prevailing practical beliefs, attitudes and on-going processes.

**3.3 Method Of Data Collection**

This data used for this study were obtained from two main sources as follows

**Primary Sources:** This is an original way of gathering information. It is made up questionnaire and oral interviews.

**Secondary Source:** Secondary source of information are those which contain accounts of events or phenomena by other people who did not participate or witness the events. They are Textbooks, Journals and Periodical, Newspapers, Magazines etc.

**3.4 Method Of Data Analysis**

In treating and analyzing of data collected extensive use of tabular and percentage will be paramount. The data collected will be presented in table and analyzed with percentage. The hypotheses will be analyzed by the use of Chi -Square formular.

The formular is shown below:

X2 = $\frac{∑\left(0-e\right)2}{e}$

Where: X2 = Chi Square

O = Observed frequency

E = Expected frequency

**Chapter Four**

**Data Presentation**

**4.1 Population Of Study**

The population of study covers the residents of Enugu metropolis. Therefore the population of the study is adopted from the population census of Enugu state as at 2005 which is 3,267,837.

**4.2 Determination Of Sample Size**

In order to get a representation of the entire population, the Taro Yamani statistical formula was employed. According to Taro Yamene (1964) the formula is stated as follows

n = $\frac{N}{1+N\left(e\right)2}$

Where n = represents the sample size

N = represents the population

e = represents the margin of error

I = constant

For the purpose of this study, N will be equal to 3,267,837, e will be assumed to be 5%

Therefore the sample size for this research work will be

n = 32 2672 837

1+3,267,837(0.05)2

= 3, 267, 837 .

1+ 3, 267, 837 (0.0025)

= 3, 267, 837

l + 8169.59

= 3, 267, 837

8170.59

n = 400

**4.3 Data Presentation**

The presentation of data collected means the way of arranging the different forms of data obtained through various data collecting techniques to enable the researcher perform analysis and exact new meaning from it. The data collected will be presented in Simple table. The data analysis were based on the answer to the key questions received from the various department. The key questions in the questionnaires will be analysed by the use of simple percentage. A total of 400 copies of questionnaire were distributed and 8 copies were unreturned while 392 copies were returned.

**PRESENTATION OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

**TABLE 4.2:** DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY GENDER

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **GENDER** | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| Male | 201 | 51 |
| Female | 191 | 49  |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

SOURCE: Field Survey, 2015

The above table shows that 51% of the respondents are male while 49% of them are female.

**TABLE 4.3:** DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **MARITAL STATUS** | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| Single  | 119 | 30 |
| Married  | 273 | 70 |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

SOURCE: Field Survey, 2015

The above table shows that 30° 0 of the respondents are single while 70% of them are married.

**TABLE 4.4:** DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATIONAL UALIFICATION

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **QUALIFICATION**  | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| WASSCE/NECO | 110  | 28 |
| ND/NCE | 147  | 33 |
| HND/BSC/BA  | 71 | 18 |
| MSC/MA/MBA | 45  | 11 |
| PHD and others  | 19  | 5 |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

SOURCE: Field Survey, 2015

The above table shows that 28% of the respondents have up to WASSCE/NECO certificate, 38% of the respondents are ND/NCE holders, 18% of them are HND/BSC/BA holders, 11% of them are MSC/MA/MBA holders while 5% of them hold PHD and others.

**TABLE 4.5:** DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **AGE** | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| 20 – 30 | 65 | 16 |
| 31 – 40 | 102 | 26 |
| 41 – 50 | 109 | 28 |
| 51 and above  | 119 | 30 |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

SOURCE: Field Survey, 2015

The above table shows that 16% of the respondents are between the ages of 20 30, 26% of them are between the ages of 31 40, 28% of them are between the ages of 41 50 while 30% of them are from 51 years and above.

**ANALYSIS BASED ON KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The analysis of data is based on the returned questionnaires from the respondents.

**TABLE 4.8:** Did political participation engender national development in Enugu State from 1999-2015?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **OPTIONS** | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| Strongly Agree | 129 | 33 |
| Agree | 98 | 25 |
| Disagree | 90 | 23 |
| Strongly Disagree  | 75 | 19 |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY, 2015

The above table shows that 33% of the respondents strongly agree that political participation engender political development in Enugu State from 1999 - 2015, 25% agree, 23% disagree while 19% State from 1999 2015, 25% agree, 23% disagree while 19% strongly disagree.

**TABLE 4.9:** Did public opinion engender National Development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **OPTIONS** | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| Strongly Agree | 145 | 36 |
| Agree | 100 | 26 |
| Disagree | 80 | 20 |
| Strongly Disagree  | 70 | 18 |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY, 2015

The above table shows that 36% of the respondents strongly agree that public opinion engender National Development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015 26% agree, 20% disagree while 18% strongly disagree.

**TABLE 4.10:** Does political participation have significant effect on national development in Enugu State?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **OPTIONS** | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| Strongly Agree | 162 | 41 |
| Agree | 140 | 36 |
| Disagree | 90 | 23 |
| Strongly Disagree  | - | - |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY, 2015

The above table shows that 41% of the respondents strongly agree that political participation has significant effect on national development in Enugu Sate, 36% agree while 23% disagree.

**TABLE 4.11:** To what do Enugu residents actively participate in the issues of politics in the state?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **OPTIONS** | **NO. OF RESPONDENTS** | **PERCENTAGE** |
| To a very great extent | 194 | 49 |
| To a great extent | 118 | 30 |
| To an extent  | 27 | 7 |
| Not at all  | 53 | 14 |
| **Total**  | **392** | **100** |

 SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY. 2015.

The above table shows that 49% of the respondents are of the opinion that Enugu residents actively participate in the issues of politics in the state to a very great extent. 30% said to a great extent. 7% sand to an extent while 14% said not at all.

**4.2 Test or Hypotheses**

The hypotheses will be tested using the chi-square formula stated Below:

$$\frac{∑\left(0- ∑\right)2}{∑}$$

Where:

X2 = Calculated chi-square

0 = Observed frequency

E = Expected frequency

∑ = Summation

The expected frequency (E) is calculated by adding all the observed frequency (0) and dividing by the number of observations. Decision Rule: If the calculated chi-square value (X2) is greater than or equal to the table value at 0.05 level of significance, the alternate hypothesis (H1) is accepted, but if the calculated chi-square value is less than the table value, the null hypothesis (H0) is accepted.

**HYPOTHESIS ONE:**

H0: Political participation did not engendered political development in Enugu State from 1999 2015.

H1: Political participation engendered political development in Enugu State from 1999 2015.

Data from table 5.8 was used to test the hypothesis

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable**  | **O** | **E** | **O - E** | **(O – E)2** |  |
| Strongly Agree | 129 | 98 | 31 | 961 | 9.81 |
| Agree | 98 | 98 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Disagree | 90 | 98 | -8 | 64 | 0.65 |
| Strongly Disagree  | 75 | 98 | -23 | 529 | 5.40 |
| **Total**  | **392** | **392** |  |  | **15.86** |

Table value at 0.05 of significance and 4 degree of freedom (Df) = 7.37778

**Decision:** Since the calculated chi-square (X2) value (15.86) is greater than table value (7.3777), we reject the null hypothesis (Ho) and accept the alternate hypothesis (H1) which states that political participation engendered political development m Enugu State from 1999 - 2015.

**Chapter Five**

**Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations**

**5. Summary of Findings**

The summary of findings made in this study includes the following;

The study discovered that 33% of the respondents strongly agree that political participation engendered national development in Enugu State from 1999 2015, 25% agree, 23% disagree while 19% strongly disagree. Therefore, political participation engendered national development in Enugu State from 1999 - 20l 5. The researcher found out that 36% of the respondents strongly agree that public opinion engendered National Development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015, 26% agree, 20% disagree while 18% strongly disagree. Therefore, public opinion engendered National Development in Enugu State from 1999 to 20l5.

The researcher discovered that 41% of the respondent? Strongly agree that political participation has significant effect on national development in Enugu Sate, 36% agree while 23% disagree. Therefore, political participation has significant effect on national development in Enugu Sate.

The study found out that 49% of the respondents are of the opinion that Enugu residents actively participate in the issues of politics in the state to a very great extent, 30% said to a great extent, 7% said to an extent while 14% said not at all. Therefore, Enugu residents actively participate in the issues of politics in the state to a very great extent.

**5.2 Conclusion**

Political participation engendered national development in Enugu State from 1999 2015.

Public opinion engendered National Development in Enugu State from 1999 to 2015.

Political participation has significant effect on national

Enugu residents actively participate in the issues of politics in the state to a very great extent.

**5.3 Recommendations**

The following recommendations are made for this study:

1. The Independent National Electoral Commission needs to improve in the area of electoral security. The electorates, election officials and sensitive election materials require adequate security during elections. This will ensure the confidence of the electorate in terms of their safety being guaranteed.

2. Government much more than ever before needs to evolve credible strategies to improve the resource base of the State in order to address the socio-economic requirements of the people as postulated. This is the essence of recruiting leadership at elections and this is the basis for which leadership is able to garner legitimacy and acceptability.

3 Political parties should be encouraged to improve on their public images through the entrenchment of internal democracy and good governance when elected into power. Many registered voters did not turnout for the elections due to the fact that, they were not satisfied with government performance by the party in power. As major institutions in the democratic process, political parties can enhance political participation when they deliver on their mandates through good governance.

4. The Independent National Electoral Commission can also encourage increased political participation by improving on its use of the election technology of Smart Card Readers in future elections to minimize the delays that were witnessed during elections due to technical hitches. In addition, the Commission should in conjunction with the National Orientation Agency, the Media.

**Bibliography**

**Books**

Agbaje, A. (2009) ‘Political Parties and Pressure Groups’. Enugu ABIC Books and Equipment.

Anifowose and Enemuo (2011) *Elements of Politics.* Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications.

Akiyode-Afolabi, A. and Lanre, A. (2003) *Gender Audit 2003 Election and Issues in Women’s Political Participation in Nigeria.* Lagos: Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre.

Alexander, A. C. and Welzel, C. (2007) *Empowering Women: Four Theories Tested on Four Different Aspects of Gender Equality.* Irvine: University of Califomia.

Almond, G. and Sidney, V. (2012) *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Amadiume, I. (2007) *Re-inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*. New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Almond G. and Verba S., (2010) *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in five Nations,* Prineton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1963.

Anifowose, R. (2004) *Women Political Participation in Nigeria; Problems and Prospects* Lagos: Concept Publications

Appadorai. J. (2010) *The Substance of Politics*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Awe, B. (2012) *Nigerian Women in Historical Perspectives*. Ibadan: Sankore.

Beck, U. (2007) *The Re-invention of Politics,* New York: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Bertalanffy, V. L. (2008) *General Systems Theory.* New York: Braziller.

Bruce, A. (2004) *Essentialsing Gender Justice and Women’s Empowerment.* Lagos: Concept Publications.

Bunch, C. (2009) “Not by Degrees: Feminist Theory and Education.” In Kolmar Wendy et’al (ed) *Feminist Theory* (2nd ed). Boston: McGraw Hill

Butler, J. (2010) “Contingent Foundations.” in Seyla Benhabib, *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange.* New York: Routledge,

Chochran, C. and Malone, E. F. (2009) *Public Policy, Perspective and Choices.* Boston: McGraw-Hill Companies Inc.

Covington, W. (2008) *Creativity and General System Theory.* Florida: Universal Publishers, Inc.

Dahlerup, D. (2005) *Women in Politics: Electoral Quotas, Equality and Democracy*. London: Routledge.

Dauda, R. S. (2007) *The Economic Context of Gender Equality in Nigeria.* Lagos: Concept Publications.

Efemini A., (2013), *Claud Ake’s Philosophy of Development: Implications for Nigeria,* PortHarcourt: University of Portharcourt Press Ltd.

Gauba O.P,(2008) *An Introduction to Political Theory,* India: Macmillan India Limited.

Georgina, W. (2013) *Third World Politics.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Henderson, S. (2009) *Participation and Protest: Women and Politics in a Global World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Inglehart, R. and Noris, P (2013) *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kukah, M. (2010) *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Omoregbe J., (2009) *Knowing Philosophy,* Lagos: Joja Educational and Research Publishers.

Orji, A (2006) *Principles of Research Methodologies.* Enugu: New Generation Books.

Sargent, Lyman Tower (2006) *“Contemporary Political Ideologies: A Comparative Analysis (13th ed).* Australia: Thomson Wadsworth

Sanghera, Balihar (2005) S*tate and Society: Political Participation* Montreal: Global Democracy Conference.

Spiro, Herbert J. (1968) *An Evaluation of Systems Theory.* New York: The Free Press.

Taro, Y. (1964) Statistics: *An Introductory Analysis.* New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Unumeri, G. (2013) *Socio-Cultural Factors That Inhibit the Emergence of Women Political Leaders in Nigeria.* Lagos: Centre for Social Science Research and Development.

Weale, A. (2009) *Democracy; Issues in Political Theory.* London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

**Journal Articles**

Ajayi, Kunle (2007) ‘Gender Self-Endangering: The Sexist Issue in Nigerian Politics’. *Journal of Social Science* Vol. 14. Number 2. pg 137 - 147).

Arowolo, D. A. and Aluko GA; (2011) “Political Participation and Good Governance in Nigeria” *International Journal of Development and Sustainability,* vol. 1, No. 3 pp797-809.

Badawi, G. (2007) “Libraries and Women’s Participation in Nigerian Politics” *IFLA Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 168-175

**Unpublished**

Akinboye, S. (2010) Introduction: Paradox of Gender Equality in

Babatunde, O. S. (2013) “Gender, Culture, Poverty and the Emergence of Women as Political Leaders.” *A paper presented at the National Workshop on Gender, Politics and Overcoming Barriers to the Emergence of Women Political Leaders.*

Bari, F. (2005) *Women’s Political Participation: Issues and Challenges.* United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) EGM/WPD-EE/ZOOS/EPJZ

Chikwe, K. (2013) “Prospects of Women in Meteorology: Experiences in Africa and Nigeria in Particular”. *Keynote Address at the Second International Conference on Women in Meteorology and Hydrology, Geneva, Switzerland from 24th – 27th March.*

**Internet**

UNDP Report (2008) Millennium Development Goals (MDGS)’. Retrieve on November 29, 2008 from website www.undp.org. /mdg/goal3.shtml)

**APPENDIX I**

Department of Political Science,

Godfrey Okoye University.

Enugu.

Dear Respondents,

I, Emeka Destiny Elizabeth from the above mentioned Department and Institution is carrying out a research work on “Political participation and national development (A case study Enugu State 1999-2015)

I therefore, implore you to fill out the questionnaire being presented to you as the information is used in a research project for the fulfilment of the award of Bachelor of Science (B.Sc) in Political science.

I promise that the information will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Yours Faithfully,

Emeka Destiny Elizabeth

GOU/12/1718

**APPENDIX II**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

INSTRUCTION: Please tick (√) in the box (es) otherwise complete the space appropriately.

**BIO DATA**

1) What is your gender?

a) Ma1e ( )

b) Fema1e ( )

2) What is your educational qualification?

a) WASSCE/NECO/GCE ( )

b) OND/NCE ( )

c) HND/ BSC/BA ( )

d) MSC/MA/MBA ( )

e) PHD ( )

3) What is your marital status?

a) Single ( )

b) Married ( )

4) What is your age (in years)?

a) 20 30 ( )

b) 31 40 ( )

c) 41 50 ( )

d) 51 and above ( )

**GENERAL QUESTIONS**

1. Did political Participation engender political development in Enugu State from 1999 – 2015?
2. Strong agree ( )
3. Agree ( )
4. Disagree ( )
5. Strongly disagree ( )
6. Did Public opinion engender National Deve1opment in Enugu State
7. Strong agree ( )
8. Agree ( )
9. Disagree ( )
10. Strongly disagree ( )
11. Does political participation have significant effect on national development in Enugu Sate?
12. Strong agree ( )
13. Agree ( )
14. Disagree ( )
15. Strongly disagree ( )
16. To what do Enugu residents actively participate in the Issues of politics in the state?

a. To a very great extent ( )

b. To a great extent ( )

c. To an extent ( )

d. Not at all ( )