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An Assessment of Youth Participation in Kwara State Politics: 2015-2020

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MATRIC NO: 18/27/MPS004

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POLITICS: 2015-2020**

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**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
KWARA STATE UNIVERSITY, MALETE
NIGERIA.**

DECLARATION PAGE

I hereby declare that this thesis titled (An Assessment of youth Participation in Kwara State Politics: 2015-2020) is a record of my research. It has neither been presented nor accepted in any previous application for higher degree.

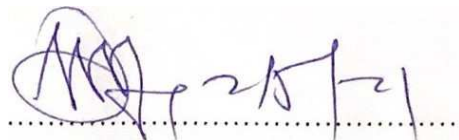
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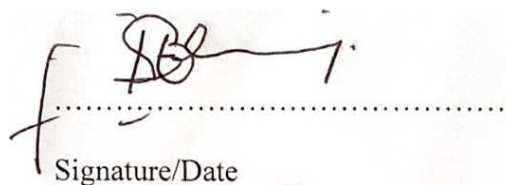
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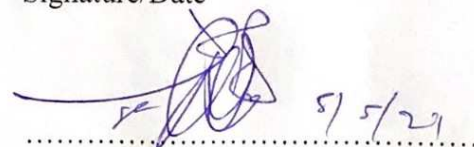


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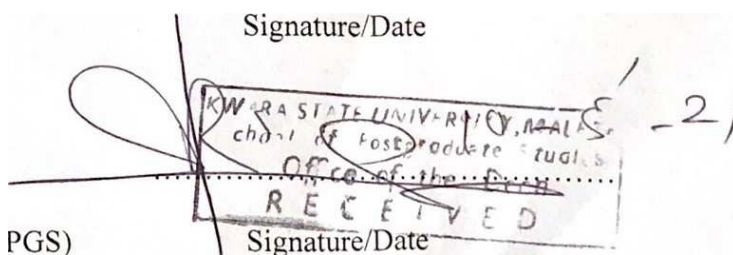
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DEDICATION

This research thesis is dedicated to: God Almighty and to the Blessed Memory of my late Father.

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Abstract

The research is an assessment of the factors militating against the participation of youth in Nigerian Politics with specific references to Kwara state. The low level of Political participation of youth in Nigerian Politics and Kwara State to be specific constitutes the base of this study, four research questions were asked as well as four research objectives. The study adopts both social inclusion theory and relational leadership model theory to shed light on the possible relationship that exists between Social, Cultural and Economic indices and youth Political Participation. The study adopts a survey research design to seek numerical data, the Taro Yamani formula is used to determine the sample size which is a total number of 400 respondents. The questionnaire was used to collect data from the respondent and results were also gotten through the Chi-Square. The major findings of the study revealed that (i) there is a significant relationship between cultural factors and youth Political Participation in Kwara State (ii) there is a significant relationship between Social factors and youth political participation in Kwara State (iii) there is a significant relationship between economic factors and youth political participation in Kwara State (iv) there is an improvement in the level of youth Political Participation in Kwara State. It is further recommended in the study that there is need for a change of value reorientation by the Youth and the general society at large, The Nigerian youth should engage the government positively through the use of the social media to vehement campaign against youth subordination, discrimination and stigmatization by older politician, Government should come up with reasonable Economic policies that will favor the youth and lastly The governments at all levels should prioritize all youth related issues.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Political participation presupposes the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental processes affecting their lives. Political participation includes political activities such as joining civic/political groups, interacting with politicians, voting, signing petition online, volunteering or participating in campaign. Political participation has been recognized internationally as an important ingredient for successful democracy. It is axiomatic that the nature and number of individuals' political involvement can impact significantly on levels of democratic quality. Put differently, the political stability and development of any political system is consequent upon the awareness and positive involvement of the citizens in civic and political matters irrespective of gender, age, race, religion, income etc.

While the possibility for all citizens to participate in the management of public affairs is at the very heart of democracy, it is rather pellucid that some set of individuals, especially the youths are not well represented as the political arena remains largely dominated by very old ones. Studies of political participation in advanced democracies have long found that age acts as an important factor in explaining the likelihood of an individual being politically involved. Thus, being young or very old is most associated with a lower likelihood of turning out to vote or joining a political party (Henn, Weinstein, Wring, D. (2002), Sloam 2007: 548, Fieldhouse 2007:797). In recent decades the gap between young voters and older has apparently widened in many advanced democracies, (Fieldhouse, Tranmer, Russell. 2007:800).

Youth political participation has become an increasingly significant concern for political scientists, policy makers, civil organizations, the media and the general public as the gap between young voters and older has apparently widened in many established democracies. The problem of youth low participation in politics and decision making positions is not confined to a region or clime rather it is a global phenomenon. Studies by Buckingham (1997) Wattenberg (2002) Franklin (2004) Hooghe (2004) and Fieldhouse et al. (2007) confirmed that, in virtually all countries of the world, including developed democracies, youth participation and representation in political positions are minimal and also declining. It is incontrovertible that the young people are not reaping their share of benefit from the profound political, economic and social changes, transforming the world and their under representation in all levels of decision making institutions and processes in almost every country remains a major obstacle. Observations and statistics have revealed a very low and disproportionate representation of youth in governance at both the national and international levels. In its Report on Youth participation in national parliaments 2016, the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU) reports that people between the ages of 20 and 44 make up 57% of the world's voting age population but only 26% of the world's Members of Parliament (MPs). Young people under 30 represent 1.9% of the world's MPs and more than 80% of the world's upper houses of Parliament have no MPs aged fewer than 30.

In recent times, the efforts to increase the participation of young people in Parliament and other representative bodies have become a growing priority worldwide. Concerted efforts have been made by various individuals, youth's groups, youth advocates and activists, civic society organizations and international agencies to enhance equitable participation of youth in politics and governance. Oyeyipo and James (2016) observed that most countries have addressed the issue of age discrimination by removing the legal and constitutional inhibitions and liberalized access to

political space thereby accommodating young persons in leadership and decision making process. The likes of France, Canada, Australia and host of other countries today boast of youthful presidents. Even in South Africa, the major opposition party Economic Freedom Fighters is led by a 32 years old (Julius Malema); and just recently in Botswana, a 29 years old lady, Ms. Bogolo Kenewendo was appointed the Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry.

In Nigeria, after the adoption of the “Not too young to run act”, the participation of youth has been recognized as a political right. The likes of Governor Yaya Bello and Senator Elisha Abbo in Nigerian politics signify the inclusion of youth in mainstream politics. However, the participation of youth in the political and decision-making processes remains infinitesimal, especially in kwara state. The seeming disinterest of the youths in the political process can attributed to unfavorable low socio-economic status, and other discriminatory practices embedded in our culture. Nigerian youths seem to be faced, presently, with socio-cultural economic problems which are limiting their potentials to contribute meaningfully to national development, among such challenges include cultism, prostitution, and unemployment, inadequate education, to mention but a few. These challenges have arguably also inhibited their ability to participate activity in politics.

With respect to Kwara State, youth in Kwara politics are said to play multiple roles within the family, community and the society at large, but there still remains a lot of youth discrimination in the public sphere where youth are marginalized in the electoral processes and they are still under represented in key sectors of the state’s economy, politics and social institutions. Politics is typically regarded as a space for politically experienced men, and while women are often disadvantaged in accumulating experience to run for office, young people are systematically marginalized because of their young age, limited opportunities, and projected lack of experience.

These reasons coupled with other various socio-economic factors, youth in Kwara state are finding it difficult to take leading roles in Kwara politics.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In today's Nigeria and Kwara State in particular, the low level of political and civic participation of the youth is a source of concern. Adebayo (2018) argued that Africa's youth have not shared in post-colonial governance as recent elections on the continent do not offer much hope of a generational shift. Most African leaders are 55 years old or older, with some as old as 75. This represents a significant gap between those deciding policy and those who have to weather its effects. According to the Election results of the 2015 general election only 9% of the House of representative member are under the age of 40, while the 2019 General election according to same reports reveals that only 13% of the entire parliament is under the age of 40. Young people seem to be marginalized from mainstream politics and decision making. Politics is typically regarded as a space for politically experienced men, and while women are often disadvantaged in accumulating experience to run for office, young people are systematically marginalized because of their young age, limited opportunities, and projected lack of experience.

Despite making up more than half of the population in many countries, young people between the (ages 18-35) often find themselves marginalized from mainstream politics and decision making. They struggle to gain the respect of public officials and are seen as lacking the skills and experience to engage in political activity and lead positive change in their communities.

A close observation of the degree of political participation and training of youths in Nigeria tend to reveal that they have not been actively involved in the process of sharpening the political

system. It is rather unfortunate that with the large population of youths and the kind of influence they can weigh on national development; they have been relegated to the background as the elderly politicians use them for various vices. This trend has brought about tremendous misrepresentation of youth's right at the level of the family to the general society. As a result of lack of political participation of youth in the state, most the younger population is disorganized, unemployed, and vulnerable to radical ideas such that leading demonstrations against governments as opined by Saka (2010). Consequently, the youth were at the center in the electoral violence that bedeviled the state in the recent time.

More also, youth often than aged face practical barriers while entering politics. These barriers (mainly socio, cultural and economic factors) range from the paucity of financial resources, lower interest in politics, less access to information, lack of job, respect for elders, religion, deprivation of rights that has left the young people with few opportunities to acquire political experience. With the exception of the close relatives of older politicians, youth generally lack the political networks necessary for electoral success. While most countries have put up various strategies to improve youth participation in politics, the case is not the same in Nigeria, especially in Kwara State. The government is yet to truly encourage youth inclusion in politics. Promises of youth mainstreaming in the political sphere have to say the least, remained a mere paper work. This situation has raised serious doubts with regards to the nature and version of democracy operating in Nigeria (Alumona 2010:2) where social, cultural and economic factors continue to undermine youth's aspirations for active participation in all aspects of political process.

Therefore, the gap of the problem is on the issue of socio-cultural and economic disadvantage which might have impacted negatively on the youth's participation in politics and all sphere of life in Kwara State.

1.3 Research Questions

The main question raised here is what are the militating factors against youth participation in Kwara State politics?

- i. To what extent do cultural factors affect youth Political Participation in Kwara State?
- ii. To what extent do socio factors affect youth Political Participation in Kwara State?
- iii. To what extent does Economic factors affect youth political participation in Kwara State?
- iv. Was there any significant improvement in youth political participation in Kwara State between 2015 and 2020?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study therefore aims at assessing the militating factors affecting youth political participation in Kwara State, through the following specific objectives:

- i. To assess the impacts of cultural factors on youth political participation in Kwara State.
- ii. To assess the impact of Socio factors on youth political participation in Kwara State.
- iii. To assess the impacts of economic factors on Youth's political participation in Kwara State.

- iv. To assess the level of improvement on the involvement of youth in Political Participation of Kwara State.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

1. There is no significant relationship between cultural factors and youth political participation in Kwara State.
2. There is no significant relationship between Socio factors and youth political participation in Kwara State.
3. There is no significant relationship between economic factors and youth political participation in Kwara State.
4. There is no level of significant improvement on the level of youth political participation in Kwara State.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in so many ways.

First, the study is relevant as it would suggest various ways through which social cohesion and democratic values can be promoted. Political participation is a critical component of democratic dialogue and social cohesion as well as one of the tenets of democracy which is found to be liberal and unrestrictive. By enlightening the public about the need for youth's adequate representation, this study would ensure the public affords youth the opportunity to have a stake in public affairs thereby promoting popular participation within Kwara state and Nigeria at large.

Second, this study provides useful information and solution to the problems surrounding youth participation in politics in Kwara state. It would make efforts at correcting all the notion and misconception that people of Kwara state have in terms of youth and politics. The result of the study would make citizens of Kwara state to understand that political participation is a civil obligation where both old and young have equal right and not meant for old ones alone.

Also, this study is relevant as it would create a sense of belonging to the youth within our society by bringing out multifarious reasons for the need for youth's adequate participation. It would also expose the values of Nigerian youth and show case the important to these values towards bringing about development in Kwara State and Nigeria at large. In other words, this study would help to restore confidence in youth, thereby building a sense of belonging in them to collaborate with their old counterpart in driving the economy of the state and also give reasons and hope to youth for a better turn-up in political matters or issues.

Lastly, this study serves as a reference point for subsequent researchers who would be interested in making research in line with the topic as well as pave way for future research.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This work is limited to assessing the factors affecting youth political participation in Kwara State. The study is restricted to Kwara State. Kwara State is chosen upon the fact that there seems to be low levels of youth participation in the state.

Furthermore, the study limit itself to interrogating the determining factors of youth's political participation in Kwara State between 2015 and 2020 and to seek ways on how to improve the chance of the youths in the political affairs of the state.

1.8 Organization of Chapters

This work is divided into five chapters. The first chapter entails the introductory aspect of the study: that is, the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, research hypothesis, scope of the study, plan of the work and definition of relevant terms.

In chapter two, the study x-ray views, thoughts and perspectives of scholars and authors who have contributed in one way or the other in youth political participation. The chapter discuss the concept of youth, political participation, forms of political participation, importance of political participation, overview of youth political participation socio, cultural and economic factors and youth political participation. The chapter employs the relational leadership model to explicate the possible connections between socio, cultural and economic factors and youth political participation in Nigeria and particular in Kwara state. The chapter also review extant empirical studies and discover the gaps within these studies with the aim to fill the gaps in the current study.

The chapter three then concern itself with the Methodology of the study. This was discussed under the following subheadings: research design, sampling techniques and sample size, research instrument, data collection and data analysis techniques.

The chapter four concern itself with data presentation, interpretation and analysis. Also, basic statistic tools will be adopted to process and analyze data from the respondents.

Finally, chapter Five captures the concluding part of the study by discussing the summary, conclusion, and recommendations. It also houses the list of material consulted i.e. books, Journals, Newspapers, Published and unpublished documents and relevant internet materials.

1.9 Definition of key Terms

The purpose of this section is to clearly define terminologies to aid understanding for the purpose of this work. The following concepts are defined for better understanding.

Youth:

A youth is considered a person between ages of 18 to 35.

Politics

Politics is the seizure of state power, consolidation of state power and usage of state power. It is also the art of governing especially the governing of a political entity such as a nation and the administration and control of its internal and external affairs.

Political participation

Political participation is a voluntary act which encompasses wide range of political activities, including voting at election, contesting for political and party offices, attending political rallies, joining political parties and many more.

Socio, cultural and economic factors

Socio, cultural and economic factors means society related cultural and economic factors that may affect political participation. Such factors include family, religion, culture, education, age, income, poverty etc.

Involvement

Involvement means to engage in the interest of politics.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter would be carried out under the following subheadings, conceptual clarification, theoretical framework, empirical review and appraisal of literature Reviewed. This will have us look at previous related studies, observations, and opinion of different scholars that has contributed to this area of research.

2.1 Conceptual Clarification

For better understanding of our discussion, there is need to conceptualize some key concepts, such key concepts in this study are; the concept of youth, political participation, forms of political participation and importance of political participation.

2.1.1 The Concept of Youth

The term “youth” is rather an amorphous concept. There seems to be no single definition of youth as the definition of “youth” varies from individual to individual, even from society to society. Tekindal (2017) also believed that the concept of “youth” varies not only from society to society, but from age to age and even from class to class, from stratum to stratum, and from segment to segment. In Obed’s word, the concept of youth is understood differently depending on individual or group perception. It is a social construct which meaning and comprehension varies from society to society (Obed, 2018). As a social construct, the word youth connotes a demographic period in one’s life but there is no agreement as to the upper limit of the age group that qualified one as a youth. As Ogundowole (2001) notes, youthfulness is biologically universal, but its age limits and the social status as well as the socio psychological features associated with

it has their own socio-historical nature and are dependent on social structure, culture and laws of socialization inherent in a given society.

Given this, several African countries define their youth population differently. Ghana, Tanzania and South Africa define the youth population as those between 15 and 35 years of age; Nigeria and Swaziland define it as those between 12 and 30 years; and Botswana and Mauritius define it as those between 14 and 25 years. These varying definitions of the youth population make it difficult to effectively discuss issues affecting youths in Africa generally and to compare information across countries.

Traditionally, the term “youth” has been defined as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood. Youths, according to the dictionary, is seen as “the state or time of being young – young men and women” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, Current English, 2001). Hornby (2007) defined youth as the time of life when a person is young especially the time before a child becomes an adult. It is also used to mean the quality or state of being young. MacMillan English Dictionary (2007), adds that youth refers to the time in peoples life when they are young or looking young. Generally, the term youth refers to a time of life that is neither childhood nor adulthood.

However, in the contemporary times, age limits are attributions of the definition of youth. The United Nations defines youth as the age between 15 and 24 years. Although, the United Nations’ definition of youth has been recognized internationally, however, its adaptation and implementation often pose problems because the data for different countries are not provided using this definition. For example, population data are commonly presented in five-year age bands or presented for children (below 15 years) and for adults (15 years and above). Similarly, labor market data are typically presented for adults (16–64 years).

According to the African Youths Report, (2009), youths are people between 15 and 39 years of age. The age band used in the *AYR* is too wide because it is generally agreed that people in their 30s are adults, and hence not part of those youths who are in transition to adulthood. According to Gyampo (as cited in Obed, 2018), the lower age limit (15) was a critical period in the human developmental stages when most young people experience puberty; while the upper age limit (39) was the threshold of adulthood for young men and women.

Youths do not constitute a homogeneous group; their socio-economic, demographic and geographical situations vary widely both within and between regions. Notwithstanding these differences, regional-level analysis provides a general understanding of their development profile (Obed, 2018). Some 87 per cent live in developing countries and face challenges deriving from limited access to resources, education, training, employment, and broader economic development opportunities (UNO, 2007). The Youths are defined as persons resident in Kenya in the age bracket 15 to 30 years. This takes into account the physical, psychological, cultural, social, biological and political definitions of the term (Obed, 2018).

The National Youth Policy (2010 :10) in its position on the meaning of youth posited that “the way in which a nation defines its youth is related to the object conditions and realities that exist on ground especially historical and contemporary socio-economic and political issues that need to be addressed”. It therefore defined a youth in Nigeria as someone who is in the age bracket 18 to 35. This study adapts the National Youth Policy definition to describe the youth as those between the ages of 18 – 35 years old. Constitutionally also, the voting age limit in Nigeria is 18 years.

2.1.2 The concept of Politics

So many scholars all over the world as defined the term “politics” it is however important to note that, there is no one definition of the said term, because politics in itself is a contested concept, according to David, Easton (1953) he defined politics as the authoritative allocation of values, that is the allocation or distribution of our values can be described as the act of politicking, according to Ibezim (2019) Politics could as well be seen as a methodology and activities associated with running a government, an organization or a movement, looking at the definition of Ibezim it is obvious that he sees politics beyond just running a government, that politics could as well be a methodology of activities that cut across and even beyond the governmental level, it could be associated with a movement or even an association, according to this definition, we could then say politics operates everywhere, even in our religious gathering and fellowships politics could as well payout.

Taking a critical look at the definition of Harold Laswell of Politics, He defined politics as" who gets what, when, how., that is the act of getting “whatever” it might be money it might be anything “when” that is the time you want to get the particular thing “how” the method in which we want to use in getting such, looking at the definition of Laswell we could see that politics is not limited to only the seizure of the state powers alone, any act that we engage in to get what, when and how could be as well regarded as the act of politics.

According to Emmanuel (2019) he further stated that there are various levels of politics and the level at which they operate, which includes the followings

1. Politics as that which concerns the state
2. Politics as a (non-violent) method of conflict resolution

3. Politics as conflict
4. Politics as the exercise of power
5. Politics as a social activity
6. politics as a public activity
7. Politics as dependent on context and interpretation
8. Politics as struggle over the meaning of political concepts.

While these various levels of Politics are distinct and in some cases contradictory, they do also overlap, and they certainly don't correspond to mutually exclusive realms of political activity. Engaging in political activity in the narrower sense, for instance by voting or becoming involved in party politics, does not preclude one from engaging in political activity in the broader sense, for instance, by participating in protests or boycott campaigns. Politics is ubiquitous. Avenues for political involvement are multiple, and there is certainly nothing to prevent you from engaging in as many kinds of politics as you have the time and desire to.

However, the aspect of politics in which this research work will be focusing attention on as regards youth, is the aspect of voting, contesting and winning elections as it relates to the representation of youth in Nigerian Politics.

2.1.3 Political Participation

Political participation as a concept has been given a wide range of definitions by different scholars based on their perspectives and understanding of the concept. Put differently, an acceptable definition of political participation itself is difficult to arrive at because so many definitions have been framed over the years but with one deficiency or the other. For example, Abubakar (2011) defined political participation as the involvement of people, (not necessarily

active) in any political process before a collective decision is arrived at. According to Abubakar (2011) political participation may include such activities like political discourse, political campaigns, voter registration, the actual voting, writing and signing of petitions, attending of civic protest, joining interest groups that engage in lobbying, political advocacy, monitoring and reporting of cases of violation of the electoral process such as frauds, rigging, intimidation, violence, monetary inducement, underage voting, e.t.c. With respect to the political activities mentioned above, political participation may entails citizens' engagement in the discourse of socio-political and economic issues which serve as yardsticks for choosing would-be-leaders.

According to Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995:38) political participation means “activities that have intent or effect of influencing government action – directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or directly influencing the selection of people who make these policies; that participation is not obligatory and receives no pay or financial compensation” and not by “being attentive to politics” but by doing “politics.” This suggests that political participation requires the involvement of the citizens through participating in democratic activities, which influence the political actions of the state. Eakin cited in Adelekan (2010) described political participation as the process through which the individual plays a role in the political life of his society and has the opportunity to take part in deciding what common goals of the society are and the best way of achieving these goals. According to Akamare (2003) political participation is an aspect of political behaviour and it focuses on the way in which individuals take part in politics. It is a voluntary activity and one may participate directly or indirectly. The various ways by which the people can be involved in the political system include selection or election of political leaders, formulation of policies, community activities and other civic engagements.

Rosen stone and Hansen (1993) add that political participation is that action of individuals that influences government decision on distribution of social goods and values in the society. The implication of this is that the citizens have the capacity to influence government actions through their participation in the political system. Political participation goes beyond influencing the governmental actions, to include activities of the citizens used to influence the selection of political leaders, the actions of leaders, and the policies they pursue. Political participation is achieved in a given political system when citizens exercise their freedom of speech, partake in the conduct of public affairs, contest elections, campaign freely, and are freely elected to hold public office for the good of the majority citizens. Other forms of political participation include protest on political issues, public consultations, jury duty, joining interest groups, volunteering for a campaign etc.

In Orum's words (1978), political participation refers simply to the "variety of ways in which people try to exercise influence over the political process. In a similar vein, McClosky (1968), defined political participation as "those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy" Lawson and Wasburn (1969) described political participation as "the process by which individuals acting singly or through group origination, attempt to influence decision-making or alter the manner in which it may be exercised in a particular society. People participate in many ways "ranging from discussing political issues or events, taking parts in a demonstration or riots, voting, writing a letter to political parties and seeking political offices" (Osaghae, 1988). Thus it is clear that political participation takes place in all political system and it can be seen as the citizens' involvement in the acts, events or activities that influences the selection of and/or the actions taken by political representatives.

2.1.4 Forms of Political Participation

Researchers have observed various forms of political participation and various extralegal institutions through which ordinary people can participate in politics; however, practitioners of politics commonly emphasize voting as a critical and essential aspect of authentic participation (Kumari & Kidwai, 1999:12; Isumonah, 2004:7; Llein, 2005). On the contrary, however, voting is the minimal form of political participation. Political participation can take many other forms besides voting, such as joining a political party, standing as candidates in elections, joining a non-governmental advocacy group, exercising control over which issues should emerge on the political agenda or participating in demonstration (Kumari & Kidwai, 1999:25; Weale, 1997:214).

Almond & Verba (1963:154) identified fourfold typology of political partisanship. The first type of partisanship is the open partisan. The open partisan is emotionally inclined towards politics. He is emotionally involved in campaigns but not so intensely as to detach from relating with members of other parties. The second partisan is the apathetic partisan who expresses no feeling of anger, pleasure or contempt about politics. The Intense partisan on the other hand, is actively involved and emotionally attached to electoral contests. The fourth type of partisanship is the parochial partisan who is indifferent about elections and relatively uninvolved in politics (Almond, 1963, 1963:155). Sanghera (2005) and Magstadt (2006) on the other hand, identify two forms of political participation (1) Legal forms of political participation and (2) illegal or contentious forms of political participation.

Sanghera (2005) and Magstadt (2006) further categorise legal forms of participation into conventional political participation and unconventional political participation. A conventional form of political participation refers to routine, an institutional and regular form of political actions, most visible of which is voting. Attending political rallies, responding to political polls, standing for office and campaigning for a political party are other forms of conventional political

participation (Magstadt; 2006:313). Unconventional forms of political participation are any form of political action that is though legal but are considered as inappropriate by a majority of citizens. Such forms of participation are signing a petition and attending a peaceful demonstration of interest groups (Sanghera, 2005; Magstadt (2006: 314)). the illegal means of political expression includes such forms as civil disobedience, political terrorism, subversion and sedition, violent protest, riots, rallies, marches and revolutions and refusal to pay taxes (Sanghera, 2005; Magstadt, 2006:314). From the foregoing analysis therefore, it is obvious that individuals adopt different modes of participation in politics depending on personal interests and propensities and opportunities available.

2.1.5 Importance of Political Participation

Political participation is an important component of any democracy and the nature and amount of citizen political involvement can impact significantly on levels of democratic quality. There seems to be no democracy that can survive without active political participation. This is because political participation serves various purposes in any democratic system. As put by Awolowo and Aluko (2010), political participation is one of the fundamental requirements of democratic governance. To these scholars, the essence of political participation in any society, either civilized or primitive is to seek control of power, acquisition of power and to influence decision making. Political participation is a means of contributing ones quota to the political system and overall development of the nation.

Briggs (2012:37) and Rush (1992) emphasized that political participation enables the citizens to; understanding, morals, attitudes, knowledge, and behavior. Participation in politics is related to the idea of good governance and the degree to which people joining in political activities

is the main point of the extent of that equality succeeds. In particular, the significance of political involvement by the way of articulates it is at the core of self-governing rule and civilization (Whitely, 2012: 34). Furthermore, (Coxall, et.al. 2006:54) Studied participation in politics is „citizen rights for example through voting and party activity intended to influence government and public policy“.

In his own opinion, Adelekan (2010) emphasized that ideally, democracy means individual participation in the decisions that involves one's life. In a democratic system, there is the necessity for the citizenry to be fully involved in the democratic procedures of the choice of rulers and effective communication of the public policies and attitudes. Any claim to democratic regime or state must essentially embrace a high degree of competitive choice, openness, and enjoyment of civic and political liberties and political participation that involves all groups of the society (Arowolo and Aluko, 2010).

Print (2007) argued that participation is an integral part of a democracy's foundation and that without an active citizenry, democracy would crumble. For democracy not to crumble, Print (2007) believed that citizens must act and influence politics and governance. To him, there is a plethora of methods by which people can act and influence politics and governance. Print (2007) further lays out three categories of 'engagement indicators' within democracy: civic indicators, electoral indicators and political engagement indicators. Civic forms of participation include group membership, volunteering with civil service organizations, and working towards solving community problems. Electoral indicators include voting in elections, donating to political candidates/parties, and campaigning alongside political candidates/issues during an electoral cycle. Meanwhile, political engagement indicators include somewhat unconventional means by which to participate that include protests, boycotts, reaching out to the media or candidates

regarding issues, and utilizing the internet to create political change. Of all the forms listed above electoral methods of participation are most commonly used by citizens of a democracy. Print (2007) writes that, [Voting] is argued [to be] the least problematic, requiring the least resources and what is potentially the most powerful for most people.” Perhaps many people are more inclined to vote than to join a civic organization or protest because voting arguably requires less commitment and energy.

Nevertheless, all of these forms of participation are used, at least from time to time, in a thriving democratic state. A healthy democracy requires, or at least invokes, every citizen to play a crucial role in maintaining and preserving democratic principles through these methods of participation. Roefs and Liebenberg (1999, 279) agree when they write that, “Although there is disagreement as to what the optimum level of participation should be to guarantee a functional democracy, the key dictum remains: Participation by citizens at various levels is essential to make democratic society work.” In a perfect world, every citizen in a democracy should willingly and freely contribute by participating in some way. Such a world does not exist, and not all citizens participate equally.

2.1.6 An Overview of Youth Political Participation

Across the globe, youths seem to share a common feature when it comes to participating in politics. Their participation and representation in political position continue to be minimal. From the local to the global youth’s placement in leadership position and political participation are evidently restricted. Youth are underrepresented in leading positions, whether in elected office, the civil service, the private sector or academic. This occurs despite their proven abilities as leaders and agents of change, as well as their right to participate equally in democratic governance.

The problem of youth low participation in politics and decision-making positions is not confined to a region or clime rather it is a global phenomenon. Studies by Buckingham (1997) Wattenberg (2002) Franklin (2004) Hooghe (2004) and Fieldhouse et al. (2007) confirmed that, in virtually all countries of the world, including developed democracies, youth participation and representation in political positions are minimal and also declining. It is incontrovertible that the young people are not reaping their share of benefit from the profound political, economic and social changes, transforming the world and their under representation in all levels of decision making institutions and processes in almost every country remains a major obstacle. Observations and statistics have revealed a very low and disproportionate representation of youth in governance at both the national and international levels. In its Report on Youth participation in national parliaments 2016, the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU) reports that people between the ages of 20 and 44 make up 57% of the world's voting age population but only 26% of the world's Members of Parliament (MPs). Young people under 30 represent 1.9% of the world's MPs and more than 80% of the world's upper houses of Parliament have no MPs aged fewer than 30.

In recent times, the efforts to increase the participation of young people in Parliament and other representative bodies have become a growing priority worldwide. Concerted efforts have been made by various individuals, youth's groups, youth advocates and activists, civic society organizations and international agencies to enhance equitable participation of youth in politics and governance. The notable ones among these efforts include the "Youth Strategy (2014 – 2017)" otherwise known as "Empowered Youth Sustainable Future (as developed by the United Nations Development Programme -UNDP)", the "UN System-Wide Action, Plan on Youth (2013)", the "United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250 on Youth", Peace and Security", "Youth

Global Programme for Sustainable Development and Peace Youth – GPS (2016 – 2020)”, the Global Campaign on “Not Too Young to Run” etc.

In spite of the aforementioned measures put in place to ensure equitable participation of youth in politics at both national and international levels, the participation of youth in the political processes remains infinitesimal, especially in African societies. Adebayo (2018) argued that Africa’s youth have not shared in post-colonial governance as recent elections on the continent do not offer much hope of a generational shift. Most African leaders are 55 years old or older, with some as old as 75. This represents a significant gap between those deciding policy and those who have to weather its effects. At the parliamentary level, only 14 percent of members are under 40 years old.

In Nigeria, as elsewhere, youth involvement in mainstream politics has been at the front burner of public discourse. Political Scientists (Balogun, 2010; Emma and Sunday, 2010; Saka, 2010; Jega, 2017; Omede and Ojibara, 2017; Adebayo, 2018; Olaniyan, 2018; Omotola, 2018; Opejobi, 2018; Aliyu, 2019; Bello, 2019; Chibuzor, Aniekwu, Keyna, Muhammed and Joel, 2019; Etim, 2019 etc) working in Nigeria have devoted a great deal of attention to describing and analysing the inactive roles of youth in politics. Some (such as Saka, 2017, Omede and Ojibara, 2017, Aliyu, 2019 etc) have made a particular state or community the focus of their study, while others (such as Jega, 2017; Olaniyan, 2018; Bello, 2019 etc) have sought to use electoral data to illuminate the trends, causes and consequences of youth low political participations in Nigeria as a whole. From most findings, it is indicated that youth low political participation is a prevailing problem in Nigeria and that most strategies to enhance youth participation have not effectively solved the problem. The recent “Not too young to run Bill” that was signed into law on the 31st day of May, 2018 is also a notable measure in which the government seeks to improve youth

political participation. In Sesan's (2018) words, the "Not too Young to Run Act" amends the Constitution by reducing the age qualification for certain elective offices created by the Constitution.

In spite of the aforementioned efforts put in place to ensure equal representation of old and young people in politics, available literature, evidences and statistics show that young people still constitute a disproportionately small percentage of those participating in political decision-making and leadership. Giving to the slow increase in the number of women in both national and international politics, one must have it in mind that there are barriers or factors impeding women effective political participation. These factors no doubt, vary from one political system to another.

According to Burbank and Goldsmith (2013) youth at the age of around 21 in 2000 have turned their back on formal political practices and organizations, like political gatherings and elections (Anderson & Beramendi, 2012). However, they notice that this associate is making the plan to take actions on issues that they are concerned about, as less percentage of young people's engagement in events like join charity for purposes, as this suggests their political neutrality (Cairney, 2015). It is also found that young people are unconvinced of the political structure in the region or country, notwithstanding the fact that democratic process and electorate are developing (Bennett, 2014). In disparity to Anderson and Beramendi (2012), the argument upholds that youth are not indifferent, and they are disenchanted because of the insensitivities of government officials and the political systems (Cairney, 2015; Bennett, 2014).

According to Adeleke (2017, p. 6), in some African cultures elders are never considered to be wrong even when they palpably are so; and young people may never evince more knowledge than their elders, even when they do. He further remarked thus:

"The elder can say whatever he wants to the youth, he can be rude to

the youth, he can disrespect him and talk down on him, even when he (the elder) is at fault, and the youth must take it because he is the youth. This is often reflected at grassroots levels where, in villages and wards, elders hold all the key positions. There is even a saying in a Nigerian tribe that “when elders are talking, the youth must be quiet.” When you take this idea and magnify it, you start to see how the culture is already rigged to make elders think that youth have nothing beyond physical strength and youthful exuberance to offer when they (the elders) are around. The few times young people are allowed to lead are times when they are leading their peers, as seen in student unions and community age groups”.

Adeleke further believes these cultural barriers are wittingly or unwittingly experienced within the political terrain, resulting in a burgeoning population of youth without political pedigree. Given the complex nature and cost of electioneering in Africa, it becomes very daunting for the youth with a culturally and economically repressed mindset to break into political leadership. To be elected into political office in Africa requires political connections that are usually built over decades and across several ethno-religious divides. Unfortunately, Africa’s youth do not appear to possess the sort of political influence and connections that have defined the outcomes of elections on the continent. The peculiar socioeconomic realities of the continent mean that the youth stage often stretches to mid-thirties and early forties, leaving little or no time for the network building required for political success.

This practice of excessive respect for elders is uniform throughout Africa. Sesanti (2010, p. 347) argues that across the length and breadth of the continent, respect is a key part of national culture; difference lies in the degree to which actions are regarded as respectful or disrespectful. He further posits that this has unfortunately led to the abuse of authority by elders on the continent. Citing the example of so-called respect in the profession of journalism, he contends that ethics has been relegated to the background. This is because of the fear of being labelled disrespectful for exposing the ills of national leaders even when they are proved to have been in the wrong. Okigbo (1994, p. 17) contends that such unnecessary respect within the field of journalism has dire consequences, not just to the profession, but to society at large because the journalistic tenet of social responsibility is sacrificed to that of veneration.

Cultural barriers aside, there is also the challenge posed by money. Shulika, Muna and Mutula (2013) studied the impact money had on the electoral process in Kenya and concluded that money was a major deciding factor in electoral success. Electoral outcomes, especially in the context of African democracies, have frequently been influenced by the wealth of the candidate(s) or their parties. This is not a new phenomenon, given that rulers and contenders for public office have throughout history leveraged power through the wealth they own or control.

Equally, the economic strength of their political base gives them an edge over rivals, competitors, and detractors. The modern political landscape is replete with political systems in which rulers and governing bodies across continents – monarchs, military dictators, elected heads of state, and legislatures – rely on their economic and financial influence, whether ill-gotten or legitimately accumulated, to gain access to and/or maintain political power (Shulika, Muna & Mutula, 2014).

Another major challenge militating against the involvement of youth in mainstream politics is the structure of the continent's political parties. Akande (2000) defines political parties as organizations or a coalition of individuals and groups whose commonality is their shared political beliefs, ideologies and orientations. They are also usually united by their quest to control government and the apparatus of administrative power within a state. Akande further posits that political parties serve two subordinate goals. First, they are agents of political socialization by helping to spread and deepen political culture and principle. Second, they help to mobilize and aggregate the choices available to the electorate. Akande presents an idealised definition of political parties that in practice is not typical in Africa. According to Olaiya (2014), political parties have not only become outlets for a display of ethno-religious bigotry in most African states, they have also successfully relegated the youth to the background. It is common to find youth wings formed as addendums to mainstream parties in most political parties in Africa, with the youth becoming a kind of pseudonym for foot soldiers or political thugs.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A number of theories have been put forward to shed light on the possible relationship that exists between social, cultural and economic indices and youth political participation. Among many existing theoretical explanations for youth political participation, the most evolved, and frequently referenced include social inclusion theory and relational leadership model. These theories give both contextual and individual-level explanations for youth political participation, in connection to the broader society. This study therefore adopts these two theories to explain the possible relationship between social, cultural, and economic variables and youth political participation.

Social Inclusion Theory

This study adopts the Social Inclusion theory, to explaining the possible relationship between social, cultural and economic variables (such as religion, family, income, unemployment, respect for elders, culture etc) and youth political participation in Kwara state. The social Inclusion theory became popular in the early 1970s, the concept of social inclusion emerged in response to the crisis of the welfare state in Europe, which had an increasing impact on the analysis of social disadvantages in Europe over the last couple of decades, although, the term social inclusion had come into widespread in the 1960s when social exclusion became the subject in France. It was later in 1970s and 1980s that the term social inclusion was adopted in other European States as a policy discourse as opined by Rawal (2008). Scholars (such as Room, 1995; Brien and Penna, 2007) see the emergence of social inclusion as a social discourse due to its root in the functionalist theory of Emile Durkheim who was concerned with how social order and stability will be maintained in a society. The scholars added that the theory became prominent in Europe due to the failure of social, economic, and political institutions to make positive impact in the lives of socially disadvantaged group in the society.

The social inclusion theory suggests that everyone within the society has the right of social citizenship. The extent of social inclusion calls on the responsibility of society to ensure opportunity for all. This includes equal access to the labour market, to education, to health care, to the judicial system, to rights and to decision-making and participation (Saraceno, 2007). Saith (2001) and Lenior (1974) were among the early scholars who used the theory to explain the marginalization of those who were not protected by the modern welfare state and seen as social misfits, and this added to the growing social instability in social relations in the state. In the explanations of Francis (2002) and Rawal (2008), social exclusion remains a process through

which individuals or groups are wholly or partially sidelined from full participation in the society within which they live. Francis (2002) also believed that both individuals and groups as possible victims of social marginalization when they are deprived of participating in the socio, political and economic activities.

The main thrust of the social Inclusion theory is the deprivation and marginalization in the society arising from social inequality in power relations as it affects both the individuals and state. Such marginalization often results in more complexity, social disorder and instability, as those who are excluded from economic and political participation, and access to human rights often intensify agitations for inclusion in the state activities, thereby generating violence and social disorder in the state.

This theory has however been criticized for emphasizing too much on social disorder and instability as major consequences of social exclusion. Yet, this theory still stands the best approach to this study as it recognizes the exclusion of certain individuals or groups in political participation.

In the view of applying this theory, the youths are essential to successful political development. Without given total consideration to youth, it is assumed that the society may experience social disorder and instability. It is incontrovertible that the result of youth marginalization in politics may include political violence, killings, and abuse of human rights in Kwara State, with its attendant implications for the citizens and the state. Therefore, the state should assign roles and responsibilities to all citizens irrespective of age, gender, religion, race and other socio, cultural and economic variables that might play an important role in youth low political participation in Kwara State. The socio, cultural and economic indices capable of limiting youth participation in politics should be worked on to upgrade the status of the youths in Kwara State.

The Relational Leadership Model Theory

The relational leadership model is the second theory to be considered in this study. The framework is derived from the works of Hosking, Dachler and their colleagues like Fineman and Morley. The variant used here is a triangulation of the expositions by Uhl-Bien (2006), Komives, Lucas and McMahan (2007).

According to Komives, S. R., Lucas, N., & McMahon, T. R. (1998) Relational leadership focus on five primary components:

- Purpose: Having a common set of values and vision to move an initiative forward
- Empowerment: Sharing power with others to embrace what they have to offer
- Inclusivity: Welcoming and open to diverse points of view and diverse identities
- Process-Orientation: The focus is on the group and how the group works together

Relational leadership model focuses on the relational processes by which leadership is produced and enabled. Hogg (2005) in Uhl-Bien (2006) observed that leadership is a relational term—it identifies a relationship in which some people are able to persuade others to adopt new values, attitudes and goals, and to exert effort on behalf of those values, attitudes, and goals. Thus, relational leadership is a social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e. evolving social order) and change (i.e. new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviors, ideologies, etc.) are constructed and produced.

Komives, Lucas and McMahan (2007) viewed leadership as a relational and ethical process of people working together attempting to accomplish positive change. They explained that relational leadership involves five components, namely: purpose, inclusive, empowering, ethical

and process. Thus, a relational understanding, Holmberg (2000) cited in Uhl-Bien (2006) noted is an opportunity to focus on processes in which both the actor and the world around him or her are created in ways that either expand or contract the space for possible action. This Model sees leadership as the process by which social systems change through the structuring of roles and relationships. The structure(s) in any society is a product of leadership relationships envision as appropriate to existing condition(s). In this way, we become more consciously disposed to influencing the structure rather than only it influencing us (Murrell, 1997 cited in Uhl-Bien, 2006). The model provides a frame of reference or an approach to leadership in contemporary society and organization (Komives, et al, 2007).

In application to this study, the framework captures the need for government intervention to expand and make the political space in the country open and inclusive through the instrumentality of the law and policies that seek to accommodate young people in elective positions, decision-making process and public administration in Kwara State. It explains how age limits to elective offices and absence of independent candidacy interact in the electoral process to produce leaders in the state and limit the opportunity of the youths in the political process. Therefore, the quest by young people is for dynamism and flexibility on these existing conditions and structures to accommodate positive changes that will expand participation in the political space in Kwara State. It transcends more than just the leader-follower exchange relationship as observed by Murrell (1997) in Uhl-Bien (2006); it involves, instead, introduction of new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviors, ideologies, etc, by the young people that have a greater population of the country into leadership and governance.

2.3 Empirical Studies

Review of related empirical studies is necessary for congruency to identify specific gap which other research studies have filled and the intended contribution of the study to existing gap in knowledge. Nigerians must not relent in their oars to continuously search for better means to enhance youth political participation in our society since it has been highly acknowledged to result in national development.

Umoh and Sunday (2018) undertook a study titled “youth perception of politics and electoral behaviour in Nigeria with focus on Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Eket in Akwa Ibom State”. The study was basically anchored on the argument that lack of understanding of the concept of politics remains the driving force behind electoral misconduct among youths. The major objective of the study was to create a nexus between wrong perception of the concept of politics among youth and their behaviour during the electoral process. To achieve this, a combination of historical, descriptive and survey methods were adopted to generate both existing and statistical data. Empirically-driven qualitative and quantitative analyses resulted in study findings. The study drew out a sample size of 399 by adopting the Taro Yamane method. The study found that wrong definition of politics, ignorance and the trajectory of socio-economic realities, particularly, unemployment were central to youth deviant behaviour during the electoral process. The study was minimizes its scope to electoral behavior and how youth behave politically during electoral process in Akwa Ibom state. A wide was created as there are other segments of political participation that the study did not touch. The current study therefore intends to fill this gap by assessing the possible factors affecting youth political participation in Kwara state.

Ekpe, Mohamad, Mat and Simpong (2016) carried out a study titled “Social Political Influence and Youth’s Leadership in Malasia: A Conceptual Model Extending TPB”. The study

sought to investigate the possible reasons why most Malaysian youths have low participation in leadership activities in their communities. A question was raised whether could it be socio-cultural influence or political-legal factors? The study aimed to extend the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) to accommodate these factors noticed in Malaysian context. To seek answers to the above question, this study adopted a survey (questionnaire) and a proportionate stratified random sampling method to collect data from youths in universities, polytechnics, secondary (cluster/special) schools in Malaysia peninsula. Data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, multiple and hierarchical regression methods. The study found that social influence and public policy could have profound influence on youth leadership participation in Malaysia. The study basically focused on Malaysians. The current study tends to focus on the Nigerian youth. Though limited studies have looked at youth's political involvement (Aminu, 2012; Ozor & Nwankwo, 2008); however, there exists scarcity of studies that examined socio-cultural and economic factors and youth's political participation especially in Kwara state. This study sets to fill this gap by studying the influence of socio-cultural and economic factors on youth's political participation in Kwara State.

Omode and Ojibara (2017) undertook a study titled "Youth and Political Participation in Kwara State, Nigeria". The study was set to examine the Youth Political Participation in Nigeria, focusing on Kwara State as a case study within the period of 2011 and 2015. The study adopted quantitative method of research based on the three variables of voting behaviour, party membership/attachment and protests or demonstration. A well structured, closed and open-ended questionnaire was used as the major instrument and it was administered on 350 respondents in six (6) local government of the state, two per senatorial districts in the state selected through a combination of simple random and quota sampling techniques. The questionnaires were

administered to people between the age brackets of 18-35. Data gathered in their study were analyzed using percentile, bar charts, tables and logistic regression model. Their findings revealed that Kwara youth are likely to engage in conventional mode of participation than unconventional mode of participations with variations. Voting in general election is the prefer pattern of conventional participation. It was also revealed that apart from age, local government of residence, years of residing in the local government, level of education, marital status, and occupation have a significant influence on youth political participation in Kwara State. The study covered the period between 2011 and 2015. The current study intends to come up with a law-like result that could be generalized for the whole state by drawing up a proper research procedure for collection and analyzing data about youth political participation in the Kwara State House of Assembly within the period of 2011 and 2019.

Ogbeide(2013) undertook a study titled “Youths’ Violence and Electoral Process in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic, using a case study of Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria”. The study examined youths' violence and electoral process in Nigeria’s fourth republic as an ugly phenomenon and its implication for democracy in Ota, Ogun State of Nigeria. Using survey method, through the administration of questionnaires to youths’ in Ado-Odo, Ota, a simple random sampling technique was used to choose 472 respondents as the sample size out of 500 copies of questionnaire that were administered to the respondents to achieve the objectives of the study. The study established youths’ violence does have a significant effect on the electoral process in Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria. The study concluded that most youths’ that are perpetrators of electoral malpractices are unemployed, uneducated and idle, that is why they are bamboozled to beat up political opponents and people sympathetic to them. The current study therefore intends to study the correlation between socio-cultural and economic variables and youth political participation in Kwara state.

2.5 Appraisal of Literature Reviewed

This review has discussed and examined the influence of socio-cultural and economic variables on youth political participation. These factors as seen in the study of Omede and Ojibara (2017) include age, local government of residence, years of residing in the local government, level of education, marital status, and occupation. Adeleke (2017) observed that cultural barriers are wittingly or unwittingly experienced within the political terrain, resulting in a burgeoning population of youth without political pedigree. Given the complex nature and cost of electioneering in Africa, it becomes very daunting for the youth with a culturally and economically repressed mindset to break into political leadership.

From the literature reviewed above, it is axiomatic to note that scanty studies have been done to determine the effects of socio-cultural and economic variables such as religion, culture, income, family background, educational background on youth political participation in Kwara State House of Assembly. Therefore this study intends to fill this knowledge gap hence the justification of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focus on the research methodology. It discusses various sub-headings. Thus, this research work will be based on facts, ideas, and logical thoughts.

3.1 The Study Area

Kwara State was carved out of the former Northern region on 27th May 1967 by the then regime of General Yakubu Gowon. At its creation, the state was made up of the former Ilorin and Kabba provinces of the then Northern region and was initially named the West Central state but later changed to “Kwara”, a local name for the River Niger. Kwara state and its capital “Ilorin” occupies 36,825 square kilometer. Kwara state is bounded in the North by Niger state, in the South by Oyo, Osun and Ekiti states, in the East by Kogi state and in the West by Benin republic.

Like in several other states in Nigeria, youth’s active political participation in Kwara state seems to be low. Young people are often excluded or overlooked as political candidates in Kwara state. Politics is typically regarded as a space for politically experienced men, and while women are often disadvantaged in accumulating experience to run for office, young people are systematically marginalized because of their young age, limited opportunities, and projected lack of experience. These reasons coupled with other various socio-economic factors, youth in Kwara state are finding it difficult to take leading roles in Kwara politics. This informs why this study settles down to assess the major factors affecting youth’s political participation in Kwara politics.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is a plan or strategy to use to achieve the expected results in any research work. There are different types of research designs depending on the nature of a study. The study would employ a quantitative research design which would basically use a non-experimental research design. This is otherwise known as survey research design. The adaptation of survey research design in this study enables the researcher to seek for numerical data to discover the causal relationship between socio, cultural and economic variables and youth political participation in

Kwara State. The researcher attempts to establish if there is a relationship between two or more variables without influencing or manipulating any of the variables and by administering some reliable and valid questionnaire in a simple with the preexisting conditions. The independent and dependent variables are socio, cultural and economic factors (such as educational qualification, religion, culture, income, family background and so on) and youth political participation which were all separately measured with each variable scale on the data collection techniques to achieve its objective in the target region for the study. This method was used because of its usefulness in describing variables, and its flexibility, thus; it is relatively efficient to use, when gathering large amount of data by administering the questionnaire.

3.3 Population of the Study

The population of study comprises of all males and females who are between the age of 18 and 35 and who can participate in politics. According to the National Population Commission of Nigeria (2020) and National Bureau of Statistics (2020), the total population of youths between the ages of 18 to 35 in all the sixteen local government areas in Kwara state is **688,828**.

3.4 Sample and Sampling Technique

The whole population cannot be put under study. It is in this sense that a sample size of 399.9 (approximately 400) respondents was being drawn from the study population. The Taro Yamen formula was used to determine the sample size. The formula goes thus $n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$ Where N is the population (688,828 is the number of youth between the ages of 18 to 35 in Kwara state)

1 = is the constant

e = is the degree of error expected

n = is the sample size.

$$688,828 / 1 + 688,828 (0.05)^2$$

$$688,828 / 1 + 688,828 \times (0.0025)$$

$$688,828 / 1 + 1,722$$

$$688,828 / 1.722 = 399.9$$

$$n = 400.$$

From the calculation above the sample size for this study is 400.

3.5 Data Collection

The table below shows the calculations according to each local government area and senatorial district.

Table 3.1 The Population of the Sixteen Local Government Areas of Kwara State

S/N	LOCAL GOVERNMENT	TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF YOUTHFUL POPULATION (18-35)	STATISTICS OF SAMPLES %	NUBBERS OF QUESTIONNAIRE
1.	ASA	124,668	33,648	19.5	19
2.	BARUTEEN	206,679	57,905	33.7	34

3.	EDU	201,642	57,684	33.6	34
4.	EKITI	54, 399	15,515	9	9
5.	IFELODUN	204, 975	56,709	33	33
6.	ILORIN EAST	207, 462	63,193	36.6	37
7.	ILORIN SOUTH	209, 251	67,194	39	39
8.	ILORIN WEST	365, 221	112,198	65.3	65
9.	IREPODUN	147, 594	41,679	24.3	24
10	ISIN	59, 481	16,572	9.6	10
11	KAIMA	124, 015	36,545	21.2	21
12	MORO	108, 715	30,516	17.4	17
13	OFFA	88, 975	25,675	15	15
14	OKE-ERO	56, 970	15,120	8.8	9
15	OYUN	94, 454	27,349	15.8	16
16	PATEGI	110, 852	31,326	18.2	18
	TOTAL	2,365,353	688,828	400	400

Source: National Population Commission and National Bureau of Statistics (2020)

Table 3.1 shows that we have a total number of 2,365,353 people living in Kwara State and about 688,828 numbers of youthful population living in Kwara State, according to the National Population commission and National Bureau of statistics (2020), it further states the percentage of samples allotted to each local government area. The table also shows the numbers of each local government youthful population and the numbers of questionnaire administered to each local government based on the percentage of the sample size of each local government areas of the State.

Table 3.2 The Population of the Three Senatorial District Areas of Kwara State

s/n	Senatorial district	Total population	Number of youthful population (18-35)	Statistics of samples	Numbers of questionnaire
1.	Kwara south	706,848	198619	115.6	116
2.	Kwara north	751,903	213,976	124.2	124
3.	Kwara central	906,602	276,233	160.2	160
	Total	2,365,353	688,828	400	400

Source: National Population Commission and National Bureau of Statistics (2020).

3.5 Instrumentation

Questionnaires would be used as the main instrument of data collection. Gall, Borg & Gall (2003) observed that questionnaires give detailed answers to complex problems and therefore, are most effective. The use of questionnaires is also a popular method for data collection in deduction because of the relative ease and cost-effectiveness with which they are constructed and administered. Questionnaires give a relatively objective data.

The instrument for the data collection would be a set of structured questionnaire titled “Socio-cultural and Economic Factors and Youth Political Participation Questionnaire” (SEFYPPQ).

The questionnaire would consist of two parts (A and B). Part A would contain the demographic variables about the respondents such as gender, religion, educational status and family background. Part B would contain items that would be used in eliciting information from

the respondents concerning the study. Part B would be further divided into five sections. Each section would be drawn in line with the hypotheses of the study. The section one would elicit information on respondents' rating on family background, the section two would elicit information on respondents' rating on religion, the section three would elicit information on respondents' rating on educational background, the section four would elicit information on respondents' rating on culture and the last section would elicit information on respondents' rating on financial status.

The instrument would be structured on a five-point Likert-type scale of Strongly Agreed (SA), Agreed (A), Undecided (U), Disagreed (D) Strongly Disagreed (SD). Nominal values would be assigned to the options as follows:

Strongly Agreed	-	5
Agreed	-	4
Undecided	-	3
Disagreed	-	2
Strongly Disagreed	-	1

3.6 Validation of Research Instrument

The term validity indicates the degree to which an instrument measures the construct under investigation. For a data collection instrument to be considered valid, the content selected and included must be relevant to the need or gap established. The research instrument would be reviewed for validity by various groups of people who included the researcher's peers, and supervisors at the Kwara State University, Malete. These groups are expected to check the instruments independently to ascertain whether they could solicit the right information as per expectations according to the research topic. Views on the content and structure would be incorporated in the final draft of the instrument. This is procedural in ascertaining the content

validity of research instrument so as to ensure the instrument solicit the right information for the given study. Face validity of the research instrument would ensure by seeking advice from the supervisors and the department of research at the Kwara State University, Malete on how they would be structured.

3.7 Reliability of Research Instrument

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define reliability as a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. An instrument is reliable when it can measure a variable accurately and obtain the same results over a period of time. However, reliability in research is affected by random errors. The pre-test helped the researcher identify the most likely source of errors and hence respond to them before the actual study. Test re-test method was used to pilot the questionnaires using ten respondents in Ogbomosho, which did not form part of the sample of the study. Reliability of questionnaires measured by Pearson's Correlation Coefficient is 3.05. This implies that the instrument is reliable.

3.8 Administration of Research Instrument

After the approval of the research instrument by the research supervisors, 400 copies of the research instrument were distributed online through the use of google form. The prevalence of Covid-19 restricted the researcher from distributing the questionnaires physically.

3.9 Procedures of Data Analysis

Data was analyzed using (statistical packages for the social sciences) SPSS 22.0 after the data were consistently and carefully checked to ensure accuracy and prevention of errors. Also, descriptive statistics such as frequency, mean, standard deviation and variance were used to describe the participant's information. The reliability analysis of the study instrument was

confirmed and reported as local reliabilities for future references. Chi square was employed for testing the formulated hypotheses.

The chi-square (χ^2) formula;

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{f_o - f_e}{f_e}$$

Where f_o = is the Frequency Observed

f_e = Frequency Expected

The observed chi-square for each of the tabulated data will be compared with the expected chi-square and the table value of the degree of freedom is determined by (r-1) (c-1) alpha level (0.05). In the test of the hypotheses the following are used;

H_o = Null Hypothesis

H_1 = Alternative Hypothesis

Where H_o is a hypothesis of a complete opposite of our basic assumption and H_1 is used to control and study all calculation that would be directed to H_o . The formula is;

$\chi^2 > \chi^2_{0.05} = H_0$ is rejected.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Madges (2006) argues that ethical research is considered as one that “does not harm” and gives informed consent and respects the rights of individuals being studied. Ethical issues would form an important component throughout this study. It would be vital for the researcher to give a serious thought to ethical aspects in every stage of this study. Therefore, in this study the researcher shall duly inform the respondents in the study that their participation was voluntary. This is in line

with Trochim (2006) who argued that voluntary participation requires that respondents in the study are not coerced into participating in the research. The researcher would also protect their confidentiality and identity through use of numbers in line with Punch (2003) who alluded that the participants should remain anonymous throughout the study. The purpose of the study shall be fully explained to them in advance. Informed consent would be obtained from all the respondents in answering the questions. The researcher would be open and honest in dealing with them. Those respondents who may want to withdraw from the study would be allowed to do so to avoid involuntary responses. Last but not least, the researcher shall avoid information plagiarism and fraud through acknowledgement of all sources that shall be used in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results, tests the formulated hypotheses, and discusses of findings. The study assessed the factors affecting youth political participation in Kwara State. Four research questions were raised and answered. The data were analyzed using simple percentage statistical method. The results are presented below: The sample size for the study is 400.

4.1 Demographic Data of the Respondents.

4.1.1 Distribution of Respondents by Senatorial Districts.

Table 4.1: Distribution of Respondents by Senatorial Districts.

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Kwara Central	160	40
Kwara North	124	31
Kwara South	116	29
Total	400	100

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The table shows that total of 160 people makes up the respondents for the survey study are resided in the Kwara Central senatorial district. About 124 of the respondents are resided in the Kwara North, while 116 of the respondents are from the Kwara South Senatorial District. Most of our respondents are from the Kwara Central, this explains the dominance of the Kwara Central Senatorial District in terms of population and commerce.

4.1.2 Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	283	70.8
Female	117	29.2
Total	400	100

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The table 2 shows the distribution of the respondent by gender. It is shown that 283 (70.8%) respondents are male, while 117 (29.2%) of the respondents are female. This is to say that majority of the respondents are male. This may be necessitated by the fact that women are largely sidelined in politics.

4.1.3 Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

Table 4.3: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Single	264	66
Married	133	33.3
Divorced	3	0.7
Widowed	0	0
Total	400	100

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 3 shows that majority of the respondents are single as 264 of the respondents claimed to be single. It is depicted that 133 respondents are married, while just 3 of the respondents had divorced.

4.1.4 Distribution of Respondents by Age

Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18 – 20	72	18
21 – 30	183	45.75
31 - 35	145	36.25
Total	400	100

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 4 shows the distribution of the respondents by age. About 72 (18%) respondents are between 18 to 20 years old. It is also seen that 183 respondents are between 21 to 30 years old,

while 145 respondents are between 31 to 35 years old. Most of the respondents are between the 21 to 30 years old, which indicates the respondents are far beyond adolescence stage.

4.1.5 Distribution of Respondents by Occupation

Table 4.5: Distribution of Respondents by Occupation

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Students	101	25.25
Unemployed	57	14.25
Self – employed	99	24.75
Private firm employee	88	22
Government employee	55	13.75
Total	400	100

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 5 shows the occupation of the respondents. It is gathered that 101 respondents are still students. Those who do not have job are about 57 which are 14.25% of the respondents. The

result also shows that 99 of the respondents are self-employed. About 88 of the respondents are employees in private firms, while 55 of the respondents are government employees.

4.1.6 Distribution of Respondents by Educational Background

Table 4.6: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Background

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Pre- SSCE	0	0
SSCE-WAEC	11	2.75
OND	31	7.75
HND/BSC	307	76.75
Others	51	12.75
Total	400	100

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 6 above shows that 11 (2.75%) of the respondents have SSCE-WAEC certificate, about 31 of the respondents have OND certificate. Those who have HND/BSC certificate are 307 (76.75%), while 51 respondents claimed to have other certificates. The result shows that majority of the respondents have either HND or BSC or about to obtain either of the two.

4.1.7 Distribution of Respondents by Religion

Table 4.7: Distribution of Respondents by Religion

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Islam	271	67.75
Christianity	120	30
Traditional Religion	9	2.25

Total	400	100
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Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 7 shows that majority of the respondents are Muslims as 271 (67.75%) of the respondents claimed to be practicing Islam. Those who practice Christianity among the respondents are 120, while just 9 of the respondents are traditionalists.

4.2 Findings on Research Question One: this session aims to introduce the views of my respondents on the assessment of cultural factors on youth inclusion in Nigerian Politics, however in answering the first research question which is: To what extent do cultural factors affect youth Political Participation in Kwara State? The views of my respondents are has follows.

Table 4.8: Cultural factors and youth political participation

S/N	Items	SA	%	A	%	U	%	D	%	SD	%
1.	Youth respect for elders has a significant effect on their political participation.	58	14.5	249	62.25	42	10.5	37	9.25	14	3.5
2	Youth religious beliefs affect their active participation in politics.	67	16.75	200	50	88	22	32	8	13	3.25

3.	Cultural attitudes and stereotypes encourage youths to participate in politics	34	<i>8.5</i>	59	<i>14.75</i>	84	<i>21</i>	188	<i>47</i>	35	<i>8.75</i>
4.	Most youths have the cultural beliefs that elders should take up political responsibilities.	47	<i>11.75</i>	189	<i>47.25</i>	81	<i>20.25</i>	59	<i>14.75</i>	24	<i>6</i>
5.	Most youths do not see themselves capable and responsible to participate in politics.	47	<i>11.75</i>	186	<i>46.5</i>	80	<i>20</i>	49	<i>12.25</i>	38	<i>9.5</i>

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 8 shows the responses of the respondents on the extent to which cultural factors affect youth political participation in Kwara state. From the table, it is shown that 58 respondents strongly agreed, 249 agreed, 42 did not decide, 37 disagreed and 14 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths have respects for elders in political activities. The result also shows that 67 respondents strongly agreed, 200 agreed, 88 did not decide, 32 disagreed and 13 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths have strong religious beliefs. It is also obtained that 34 respondents strongly agreed, 59 agreed, 84 did not decide, 188 disagreed and 35 strongly disagreed that cultural attitudes and stereotypes encourage youths to participate in politics. The table also depicts that 47 respondents strongly agreed, 189 agreed, 81 did not decide, 59 disagreed and 24 strongly disagreed that most youths

have the cultural beliefs that elders should take up political responsibilities. Lastly, the results show that 47 respondents strongly agreed, 186 agreed, 80 did not decide, 49 disagreed and 38 strongly disagreed that most youths do not see themselves capable and responsible to participate in politics.

Findings on Research Question Two: this session aims to introduce the views of my respondents on the assessment of social factors on youth inclusion in Nigerian Politics, however in answering the second research question which is: To what extent do social factors affect youth Political Participation in Kwara State? The views of my respondents are as follows.

Table 4.9: Social factors and youth political participation

S/N	Items	SA	%	A	%	U	%	D	%	SD	%
1.	Nigerian youths are social.	119	29.75	202	50.5	45	11.25	22	5.5	12	3
2	Nigerian youths lacks interest in Political activities	102	25.5	209	52.25	47	11.75	29	7.25	13	3.25
3.	Nigerian youths are socially influenced by peer pressure.	112	28	202	50.5	46	11.5	29	7.25	11	2.75
4.	Nigerian youths have access to social and political information.	51	12.75	129	32.25	67	16.75	130	32.5	23	5.75

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 9 shows the responses of the respondents on the extent at which social factors affect youth political participation in Kwara state. According to the result, 119 respondents strongly agreed, 206 agreed, 45 did not decide, 22 disagreed and 12 strongly disagreed that majority of Nigerian youths are social. It is also reveal that 102 respondents strongly agreed, 209 agreed, 47 did not decide, 29 disagreed and 13 strongly disagreed that majority of Nigerian youths relate and spend time with people. It is also gathered that 112 respondents strongly agreed, 202 agreed, 46 did not decide, 29 disagreed and 11 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths are socially influenced by peer pressure. Lastly, the result reveals that 51 respondents strongly agreed, 129 agreed, 67 did not decide, 130 disagreed and 23 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths have access to social and political information.

Findings on Research Question Three: this session aims to introduce the views of my respondents on the assessment of economic factors on youth inclusion in Nigerian Politics, however in answering the third research question which is: To what extent do economic factors affect youth Political Participation in Kwara State? The views of my respondents are as follows.

Table 4.10: Economic factors and youth political participation

S/N	Items	SA	%	A	%	U	%	D	%	SD	%
1.	Nigerian youths are financially stable.	12	3	34	8.5	61	15.25	178	44.5	115	28.75

2	Nigerian youths' population are well educated.	12	3	138	34.5	139	34.75	95	23.75	16	4
3.	Youths in Nigeria are gainfully employed.	9	2.25	39	9.75	60	15	170	42.5	122	30.5
4.	Government economic policies favors the youths.	8	2	34	8.5	63	15.75	200	50	95	23.75
5.	Nigerian youths have access to financial resources such as loans and grants.	57	14.25	96	24	61	15.25	115	28.75	71	17.75

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The table 10 shows the extent at which economic factors affect youth political participation in Kwara state. The results show that 12 respondents strongly agreed, 34 agreed, 61 did not decide, 178 disagreed and 115 strongly disagreed that majority of Nigerian youths are financially stable. It is also shown that 12 respondents strongly agreed, 138 agreed, 139 did not decide, 95 disagreed and 16 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youth's population are well educated. About 9 respondents strongly agreed, 39 agreed, 60 did not decide, 170 disagreed and 122 strongly disagreed that youths in Nigeria are gainfully employed. Also, 8 respondents strongly agreed, 34 agreed, 63 did not decide, 200 disagreed and 95 strongly disagreed that government economic policies favor the youths. Lastly, 57 respondents strongly agreed, 96 agreed, 61 did not decide, 115 disagreed and

71 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths have access to financial resources such as loans and grants.

Findings on Research Question Four: this session aims to introduce the views of my respondents on the level of youth inclusion in Nigerian Politics, however in answering the fourth research question which is: What is the level of youth Political Participation in Kwara State? The views of my respondents are as follows.

Table 4.11: Level of youth political participation

S/N	Items	SA	%	A	%	U	%	D	%	SD	%
1.	Youths participate in campaign, rallies, and political mobilization.	52	<i>13</i>	261	<i>65.25</i>	39	<i>9.75</i>	36	<i>9</i>	12	<i>3</i>
2	Nigerian youths come out and vote during election day.	39	<i>9.75</i>	184	<i>46</i>	106	<i>26.5</i>	60	<i>15</i>	11	<i>2.75</i>

3.	Nigerian youths contest for political positions.	3	<i>0.75</i>	95	<i>23.75</i>	94	<i>23.5</i>	165	<i>41.25</i>	43	<i>10.75</i>
4.	Nigerian youths are mostly given political appointments.	5	<i>1.25</i>	89	<i>22.25</i>	92	<i>23</i>	172	<i>43</i>	42	<i>10.5</i>

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

The Table 11 reveals the perception of the respondents on the level of youth political participation in Kwara state. According the results, 52 respondents strongly agreed, 261 agreed, 39 did not decide, 36 disagreed and 12 strongly disagreed that youths participate in campaign, rallies and political mobilization. It is also seen that 39 respondents strongly agreed, 184 agreed, 106 did not decide, 60 disagreed and 11 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths come out and vote during election's day. The table also reveals that 3 respondents strongly agreed, 95 agreed, 94 did not decide, 165 disagreed and 43 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths contest for political positions. Lastly, the results depict that 5 respondents strongly agreed, 89 agreed, 92 did not decide, 172 disagreed and 42 strongly disagreed that Nigerian youths are mostly given political appointments.

4.3 Testing of Hypotheses.

Hypothesis One

H₀: There is no significant relationship between cultural factors and youth political participation.

H₁: There is a significant relationship between cultural factors and youth political participation.

Table 4.3.1. OBSERVED FREQUENCY TABLE (F₀)

Variables	Strongly Agreed	Agree	Undecided	Strongly Disagreed	Disagreed	Total
18 - 20	19	20	21	7	5	72
21 – 30	24	116	27	12	4	183
31 – 35	4	50	32	30	29	145
Total	47	186	80	49	38	400

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

{

$$X^2 = \frac{F_o - F_e}{F_e} \Bigg\}^2$$

Fe

Degree of freedom = Df

$$df = (R-1) (C-1)$$

$$(3-1) (5-1)$$

$$2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$df = 8$$

$$\alpha = 0.05$$

$$X^2 = 91.68$$

$$\infty = 15.507$$

$$X^2 = 91.68$$

At 0.05 level of significance and at degree of freedom df equal to 8, the chi-square calculated value of 91.68 is greater than the critical value 15.507. The value therefore is significant and falls within the rejection area. We therefore reject H_0 and accept H_1 . This means that there is a significant relationship between cultural factors and youth political participation in Kwara state. For details of this analysis (See **Appendix 2**).

Hypothesis Two

H_0 : There is no significant relationship between social factors and youth political participation.

H_1 : There is a significant relationship between social factors and youth political participation.

Table 4.3.2. OBSERVED FREQUENCY TABLE (F0)

Variables	Strongly Agreed	Agree	Undecided	Strongly Disagreed	Disagreed	Total
18 - 20	11	21	13	16	11	72
21 – 30	24	72	33	51	3	183

31 – 35	16	36	21	62	9	145
Total	51	129	67	130	23	400

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{\{F_o - F_e\}^2}{F_e}$$

Degree of freedom = Df

$$df = (R-1) (C-1)$$

$$(3-1) (5-1)$$

$$2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$df = 8$$

$$\alpha = 0.05$$

$$X^2 = 47.29$$

$$\alpha = 15.507$$

$$X^2 = 47.29$$

At 0.05 level of significance and at degree of freedom df equal to 8, the chi-square calculated value of 47.29 is greater than the critical value 15.507. The value therefore is significant and falls within the rejection area. We therefore reject Ho and accept H1. This means that there is a significant

relationship between social factors and youth political participation in Kwara state. For details of this analysis (See Appendix 3)

Hypothesis Three

H0: There is no significant relationship between economic factors and youth political participation.

H1: There is a significant relationship between economic factors and youth political participation.

Table 4.3.3. Observed Frequency Table (F0)

Variables	Strongly Agreed	Agree	Undecided	Strongly Disagreed	Disagreed	Total
18 - 20	4	6	16	24	22	72
21 – 30	30	51	23	47	32	185
31 – 35	23	39	22	44	17	145
Total	57	96	61	115	71	400

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

$$X^2 = \left\{ \frac{F_o - F_e}{F_e} \right\}^2$$

Fe

Degree of freedom = Df

$$df = (R-1) (C-1)$$

$$(3-1) (5-1)$$

$$2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$df = 8$$

$$\alpha = 0.05$$

$$X^2 = 29.03$$

$$\alpha = 15.507$$

$$X^2 = 29.03$$

At 0.05 level of significance and at degree of freedom df equal to 2, the chi-square calculated value of 29.03 is greater than the critical value 15.507. The value therefore is significant and falls within the rejection area. We therefore reject H_0 and accept H_1 . This means that there is a significant relationship between economic factors and youth political participation in Kwara state. For details of this analysis (See **Appendix 4**).

Hypothesis Four

H_0 : There is no significant improvement in the level of youth political participation in Kwara state.

H_1 : There is a significant improvement in the level of youth political participation in Kwara state.

Table 4.3.4.

Observed Frequency Table (F0)

Variables	Strongly Agreed	Agree	Undecided	Strongly Disagreed	Disagreed	Total
18 - 20	1	22	15	25	9	72
21 – 30	2	56	42	61	22	183
31 – 35	2	11	35	86	11	145
Total	5	89	92	172	42	400

Source: Field Data Obtained, 2020

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{\{F_o - F_e\}^2}{F_e}$$

Degree of freedom = Df

$$df = (R-1) (C-1)$$

$$(3-1) (5-1)$$

$$2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$df = 8$$

$$\alpha = 0.05$$

$$X^2 = 38.22$$

$$\infty = 15.507$$

$$X^2 = 38.22$$

At 0.05 level of significance and at degree of freedom df equal to 2, the chi-square calculated value of 38.22 is greater than the critical value 15.507. The value therefore is significant and falls within the rejection area. We therefore reject H_0 and accept H_1 . This means that there is a significant improvement in the level of youth political participation in Kwara state. For details of this analysis (See Appendix 5).

4.4 Discussion of the Findings

The study aimed at studying the cumulative factors that may hinder youth political participation in Kwara state. It is found that cultural, social, and economic factors all affect youth political participation.

4.4.1 Discussion of Findings on Cultural Factors and Youth Political Participation

The first result indicated that cultural factors limit youth political participation. Kwara state is a state where the youths seem to have respects for the elders in political activities, according to K Olaniyi (2017) he stated that, the elderly are sacredly respected, this shows that youth in the state hold their elders in a very high esteem and respects them to the fullest, in kwara state there is a conscious attempt by parents and caregivers to instill the culture of politeness and respect for elder, which has been inculcated into the up bring of a child this in turns goes a long way in the aspect

of respect for the elders and youth giving maximum respect to older political actors in the state. This is further supported by taking a critical look at how the respondents from across the 16 local government of the state responded to the set questions more than 65% of the respondents agreed that the youth have respects for elders while about 67% believed that the youth have strong religious believes, this further attest to the fact that religion and culture are inseparable in kwara state, all of this in turn contributed to the relationship between culture, religion and the low level of youth involvement in politics especially in kwara state.

Our finding on cultural factors and youth political participation was in line with the assertion made by Adeleke (2017) that cultural barriers are wittingly and unwittingly experienced within the political terrain, resulting in a burgeoning population of youth without political pedigree, more often than not cultural stereotypes do not encourages the active participation of youth in politics, and the fact that majority of the Nigerian youth have the cultural believes that elders should take up political responsibilities and majority of the Nigerian youth do not see themselves capable to take up political responsibilities according to my respondent.

However it is important to also note that a few percentage of my respondent also Disagree that youth does not have respect for elders, and this could not be far fetched from the results of the last general election conducted in the state, some of my respondent argued that the voting pattern of the Nigerian youth do not portray that the youth have respect for elders in the state. Likewise looking at the percentage of respondent that disagreed to the fact that elders should take up Political responsibility, about a few of my respondent believes that youth should take up political responsibilities and this is not farfetched from the pattern of the results from the last general elections in Kwara State, where we have some very young parliamentarian in the State House of assembly.

4.4.2 Discussion of Findings on Social Factors and Youth Political Participation

Another major finding of the study is that social factors also militate against effective participation of the youths in Kwara politics. Even though the respondents believed that majority of Nigerians youth are social, they were still of the view that youths are greatly influenced by peer influence and are yet to achieve the level of inclusion required to gain representation in politics. In this case, someone whose friends lack the basic understanding of the benefits of involving in the policy and programmes of the governments may also choose not to involve in politics. This finding is in line with Sesan's (2013) assertion that political decisions are greatly influenced by peer influence especially among the youths.

Another major findings is that majority of the Nigerian youth lacks interest in politics, and it should be noted that peoples interest plays a crucial role in any political activity according to the respondents more than 70% of the youthful population are not even interested in politics this account for the reasons why older politicians recruits youths as tugs to disrupt election activities stealing of ballot boxes and instigating electoral violence, until the youthful population of Kwara and Nigeria at large shows genuine interest in the political process of our dear country just like our founding fathers In Nigeria, for example the activities of Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Tafawa Balewa, Ahmadu Bello and Samuel Akintola among many others in their 20s and 30s are legendary. Some of these youths are reputed for the formation of political parties such as the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), which was the first political party in Nigeria, the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP), and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). These young Nigerians each used the media to speak against the evils of

colonialism and demanded independence. Nnamdi Azikiwe, for instance, was reputed for the use of his newspaper, the West African Pilot.

Through these avenues, they created awareness of the evils that foreign domination posed to the country and, despite various constitutional reforms, these young people demanded independence. Their tenacity and determination eventually saw the country gaining independence from British colonial rule on 1 October 1960.

In the years after independence, particularly during the military era, young people opposed and fought gallantly against the profligacy and high-handedness of the military regimes of Yakubu Gowon and Olusegun Obasanjo, and during the brutal and inglorious regimes of Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha in the 1980s and 1990s an entire generation of youth and student organizations formed under umbrella organizations such as the National Association of Nigerian Students, the Campaign for Democracy, the Civil Liberties Organization and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. These took the struggle to the streets of major cities across the country.

The opposite is the case with this present generation of youth, all that this generation of youth is concerned with is sitting and watching tv following reality tv shows like the popular (Big brother) show and ignoring our political systems, despite the fact that we have one of the most powerful tool in this generation which is the “Internet” the Nigerian youthful population has failed to take fully the advantage of this powerful tool for Nation Building.

Even though we have some very few youthful population taking advantage of the internet to press for nation building and to participate in the Political activities of the state, a very good

example is the very recent protest by the Nigerian youth against The Nigerian Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) it further shows how important the social media is and how the youth can take advantage of it, majority of the youthful population as failed to effectively explore our youthfulness in positive ways, which in turns excludes us from the political circle.

4.4.3 Discussion of Findings on Economic Factors and Youth Political Participation

The third finding indicates that there is a significant relationship between economic factors and youth political participation in Kwara state. Despite growing evidence of youth activism and mobilization, Nigerian youths have yet to achieve the level of inclusion required to gain representation in politics. Leadership deficits, money politics, poor internal democracy among the older parties and an absence of a strategic political agenda pose ongoing barriers to young people playing a role in national development. This result is supported by Shulika, Muna and Mutula (2013) who both argued that money poses a lot of challenges to the youths when it comes to participating in politics. In their study, they found and concluded that money was a major deciding factor in electoral success. Electoral outcomes, especially in the context of African democracies, have frequently been influenced by the wealth of the candidate(s) or their parties.

Looking at the pattern of responses by the respondent, it will be observed that majority of Nigerian youth are too poor to participate in politics, considering the fact that Africa's political history is not complete without appreciating the roles that youths played in achieving their countries' independence. In the years leading to independence, youths were the driving force behind the nationalist activities that led to the dismantling and eventual overthrow of colonialism and the colonial masters. Despite this, the role of youths in African politics has received less than commensurate attention it is observed that 70% of the respondent are not financially stable,

majority of the youth are not gainfully employed and more than 60% of the respondent are not having access to financial resources, and considering the high capital intensiveness of the African politics especially in Nigerian Politics, it requires someone that is financially stable to participate in politics.

This studies further finds out that majority of the respondents are not stable, and they will rather participate in voting rallies and campaign by this process they will be compensated by the older politicians.

Poor funding and high costs of nomination forms for various offices remain a major obstacle to youth representation in politics. In the run up to the 2019 general election, the cost of nomination forms was as high as 45 million naira for Presidential aspirants, 22.5 million for governorship aspirants, 7 million for the Senate and 3.8 million for the House of Representatives. Few Nigerian youths are financially capable to pay these sums and, since donors and godfathers usually prefer older men whom they believe have the chances of winning, young people are naturally disenfranchised. Thus, while in theory they are Not Too Young to Run, in practice, the youth find themselves Too-Poor-To-Run.

4.4.4 Discussion of Findings on the level of improvement in youth Political Participation

one of the major findings under this section is that Kwara youth engages in conventional mode of participation than unconventional mode of participations which includes Voting in general, election, campaign, rallies and political mobilization which is the prefer pattern of conventional participation. According to the respondent more than 70% of the youths come out and participate in campaign, rallies, and Political mobilization while more than 50% of the youths come out and vote during Election day, it is however important to note that according to my findings, the major

reasons why youths participate actively in conventional mode of participation which includes, campaign, rallies, political mobilization and even voting during election is majorly because of the monetary compensated by older politician, my findings also shows that majority of the youths are used as tugs to disturbs electoral process in favor of the older politicians

The study also found that there is a slight level of improvement in youth political participation, looking at the Kwara state 9th Assembly compared to the 8th Assembly in Kwara state. The 9th Assembly is now headed by a 34-year-old speaker, Honorable, Salihu Yakubu-Danladi. See Table 4.3.5.

However despite the slight level of improvement we are still not satisfied looking at the population of youth in kwara state and the role they play in our society there is need to give the youth a chance in the kwara state political space, in the kwara state 9th assembly we have just 3 Honorable members which falls under the age bracket of the youth, while in the 8th assembly we have no youth as a member of the 8th assembly.

Table 4.3.5.

Member of Kwara State 9th Assembly

S/N	Name of Members of the Parliament	Constituency	Age
1	Salihu Yakubu Danladi	Ilesha/Gwanara	34
2	Hon. Adetiba Olanrewaju	Oke – Ero	42
3	Hon. Magaji Abubakar	Ilorin Central	52
4	Hon. Yusuf Atoyebi Musa	Odo-Ogun	42

5	Hon. Bello John Olarewaju	Lanwa-Ejidongari	58
6	Hon. Jimoh Ali Yusuf	Ilorin East	39
7	Hon. Owolabi Olatunde Razaq	Share/Oke-Ode	34
8	Hon. Babatunde Paku	Ipaye/Malete/Oloru	52
9	Hon. Aliyu Wahab Opakunle	Afon	54
10	Hon. Abdulgafar Olayemi Ayinla	Ilorin North West	29
11	Hon. Awodiji Omatayo Felix	Irepodun	59
12	Hon. Ojo Olayiwola Oyeboode	Oke-Ogun	43
13	Hon. Yusuf Gbenga	Essa/Shawo/Igboidun	Not stipulat ed
15	Hon. Abdullahi Danbaba	Kaiama/Wajibe/Kemanji	40
16	Hon. Ahmed Saidu Baba	Gwanabe/Adena/Bani/Gwaria	45
17	Hon. Awolola Olumide Ayokunle	Isin	46
18	Hon. Mohammed Salihu	Okuta/Yashikira	47
19	Hon,. Ganiyu Salahu	Omupo	42
20	Hon. Ndamusa Guyegi	Edu	58
21	Hon. Ambali Olatunji Ibrahim	Owode/Onire	52
22	Hon. Popoola .S. A.	Balogun/Ojomu	47
23	Hon. Abolarin Ganiyu Gabriel	Ekiti	42

24	Hon. Hassan Abdulazeez Elewu	Ilorin South	51
25	Hon. Ahmed Saidu Rufai	Pategi	40

Source: Kwara state House of Assembly

Table 4.3.6

Members of Kwara state 8th Assembly

S/N	Name of Members of the Parliament	Constituency	Date of Birth	Age
1	Dr. Ali Ahmed	Ilorin South	Not stipulated	-----
2	Hon. Amosa Mohammed Mobolaji	Afon	March 2, 1957	61
3	Hon. Okedare Mathew	Lanwa/Ejidongari	October 10, 1962	56
4	Hon. Shuaib Ahmed AbdulKadir	Patigi	January 4, 1966	52
5	Hon. Babaoye Olaitan Mathew	Irepodun	June 16, 1968	50
6	Hon. Afolayan Musa Moses	Oke – Ero	August 13, 1956	62

7	Hon. Muhammed Ba' Aziki Sulaimon	Gwanabe/Adena/Bani/Gwaria	March 15, 1973	45
8	Adebayo Babatunde Mohammed	Ipaye/Malete/Oloru	January 3, 1959	59
9	Hon. Emmanuel Folorunsho Abodurin	Isin	February 5, 1953	65
10	Hon. Adamu Usman	Okuta/Yashikira	April 4, 1978	40
11	Hon. AbdulRafiu AbdulRahman	Ilorin North West	February 5, 1963	55
12	Hon. Popoola Saheed Adeleke	Balogun/Ojomu	January 17, 1971	47
13	Hon. Abdullahi Taiwo AbdulRasheed	Owode/Onire	September 29, 1971	47
15	Hon. Ahmed Ibn Mohammed	Kaiama/Wajibe/Kemanji	November 11, 1979	39
16	Hon. Adams Aliyu Ishiaku	Edu	March 27, 1960	58
17	Hon. Kamal Oyekunle Fagbemi	Oke-Ogun	April 28, 1963	55
18	Hon. Moshood Olarewaju Bakare	Omupo	May 7, 1974	44
19	Hon.,. Sikirat Anako	Odo-Ogun	1952	66
20	Hon. Hassan Oyeleke	Essa/Shawo/ Igboidun	October 1962	56
21	Hon. Umar Muhammed Gunu	Ilesha/Gwanara	August 15, 1954	64
22	Hon. AbdulKadir Segilola Ramat	Ilorin Central	September 17, 1968	50
23	Hon. Felicia Ebun Owolabi	Ekiti	January 3, 1956	62
24	Hon. Jimoh Akanni AbdulRaman	Share/Oke-Ode	March 27, 1957	61
25	Hon. Ibrahim Aishat Bodunrin	Ilorin East	January 2, 1965	53

Source: Kwara state House of Assembly (2019)

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

The following results were obtained:

There is a significant relationship between cultural factors (such as respect for elders, adherence to religious values etc) and youth political participation in Kwara state. The result of the tested hypothesis showed that the chi-square calculated value of 91.68 is greater than the critical value 15.507 which means that cultural factors play significant role in deterring the rate at which the youths participate in politics.

The second result indicated that there is a significant relationship between social factors and youth political participation in Kwara state. The chi-square calculated value of 47.29 which is greater than the critical value 15.507 substantiates the finding.

The third finding in this study is that there is a significant relationship between economic factors and youth political participation in Kwara state. The chi-square calculated value of 29.03 is greater than the critical value 15.507.

Lastly, the study found that there is improvement in youth political participation in Kwara State this is evident in the 9th Assembly unlike what transpired in the 8th Assembly, and this could be supported by the chi-square calculated value of 38.22 which is greater than the critical value of 15.507, which means there is an improvement in the level of youth political participation in kwara state.

5.2 Conclusion

From the foregoing, it can be rightly observed that culture, society, and economy are deciding factors in politics. These factors have determined greatly the manner and level at which the youths participate in politics. Obviously, the youths in Kwara state find it difficult to serve in strategic political offices. Religious interpretations coupled with adherence to cultural values have been used to minimize youth political participation. In some cases, lack of finance, job and security also deter the youths from participating in politics. As rightly discovered, youth political participation could facilitate adequate development and growth but there is limit to which the youths have involved in politics across the globe. Therefore, it is necessary to note that youth

political participation should be enhanced and allowed. Ways to enhancing youth political participation are recommended below.

5.3 Recommendations

It will only take a consciously determined effort of the Nigerian government to be truly committed to pursuing the course of youth political participation rather than mere political aggrandizement. In order to achieve the goal of improved youth political participation, the following policy recommendations are suggested. Based on the findings of the study

5.3.1 Recommendation One

- i. Youth should be lure by the society through various civil society enlightenment and awareness campaign in encouraging youth to participate actively in political meeting and discussions within the community and the society at large while certain percentage should be left for youth to occupy as regards to appointment/nomination of aspirant candidates of political parties for an elective position.
- ii. There is need for a change of Values reorientation by the Youth and the general society at large, the views of the society about the youth must be viewed differently, the society must start taking the youth seriously and must see the youth as a catalyst for positive change in our Political system.
- iii. The government should partner with youth movements and civil society to embark on aggressive awareness and enlightenment campaign towards changing the societal perception that elders only should take up political responsibilities
- iv. Traditional ruler and religious leaders should always speak in support of youthful participation in politics

- v. The politics of God fathers should be eradicated in other to give the youth a chance

5.3.2 Recommendation Two

- vi. Nigerian youth should come up with a youthful agenda by exploring the advantages of the social media.
- vii. The Nigerian youth should engage the government positively through the use of the social media to vehement campaign against youth subordination, discrimination and stigmatization by older politician.
- viii. The education of the youthful Population is important to destroy inferiority complex and give aspiring youth the courage and confidence to compete we older political actors.
- ix. Youth should also be more interested in politics and elections, joining political parties standing for elections, speak out in support of youth participation in politics anywhere the role of youth in national development is being discussed.
- x. Nigeria Youth should explore their social prowess in other to come up with a youthful political party

5.3.3 Recommendation Three

- xi. Another way to improve the level at which the youths participate in politics is by providing job opportunity. It is discovered in the study that lack of money is a barrier to youth political participation. In this sense, provision of jobs is seen as a reasonable way to enhance youth political participation.
- xii. For the Nigerian youth to be truly and genuinely empowered there is need for them to be economically independent. This can be done by ensuring access to business capital,

- extension, and other business development services for youth entrepreneurs by deliberate government policy and programs. For as long as the economic independence of youth remains unrealizable, for so long will the discrimination of youth in participating in the process of governance continue.
- xiii. Government should come up with meaningful Economic Policies that will favor the youth and grant them access to economic resources

5.3.4 Recommendation Four

- xiv. The governments at all levels should prioritize all youth related issues. It is when these issues are well resolved that the youths will actively utilize their full capacity to bring about political and economic development.
- xv. Civic organizations, research institutions and government ministries should consider conducting a deeper examination of why youths are politically marginalized important and where these gaps occur and propose legal and social remedies to help close the gap.
- xvi. The Ministry of Youth and sport development and other government machinery for youth advancement and development should be strengthened. The ministry should be equipped with modern information storage and research facilities to investigate and document the situation of youth.
- xvii. Our Constitution should be deliberate, it is not enough to reduce the age limitation to political offices but also to introduce a certain percentage of youth representation in government.
- xviii. There is also the need for adequate protection of youth's economic, social, and political rights through the institutionalization of rule of law and constitutionalism. Civic society

organizations can also be instrumental to the protection of youth's economic, social, and political rights.

- xix. The Government must curb the culture of Electoral violence and the use of youth as political thugs and gangsters during after and before elections.
- xx. Lastly, the creation of a political environment supportive of and conducive for youth Political participation should be a major concern for the government.

5.4 Limitations to the Study

All research projects have limitations and the present one is of no exception; therefore, the limitations are stated below.

- The study was only carried out in Kwara State. As such the result cannot be generalized for the entire Nation at large.
- Access to Data serves as a Major Challenge, the research relies on the Data gotten from the National Population Commission and National Bureau of Statistics (2020).
- The study consisted of just four hundred (400) participants, which seems to be far from the number of youths in Kwara State.

- The study focused on cultural, social, and economic factors leaving out other factors like environmental factors as well as other major predictors.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

This study investigated into the level of youth political participation in Kwara State. In view of this, further research may be carried out in other states to determine the level of youth political participation. While this study focused on cultural, social, and economic factors, further research can investigate the influence of demographical and psychosocial factors that may affect youth political participation in Nigeria.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Politics and Governance
College of Humanities Management and
Social Sciences
Kwara State University
Malete, Kwara State,
Nigeria.

Dear Respondent,

My name is Towoju Adedoyin John a Master's student of Political Science with Matriculation Number 18/27/MPS004 in the Department of Politics and Governance College of Humanities Management and Social Sciences Kwara State University, Malete. I am carrying out a research work on the Quest for Youth Inclusion in Nigerian Politics A case Study of the Kwara State House of Assembly (2011-2019).

Consequent upon the above, I am assuring you that information provided by you is confidential and will strictly be used for only academic purpose alone, I will be glad if my request is given a formidable consideration.

Yours faithfully

Towoju Adedoyin J.

08168582876

SECTION A: Respondent's Personal Profile

1. Gender: Male () Female ()
2. Marital Status: Single () Married, (), Divorced (), widowed ()
3. Age: 18 - 20 (), 21 – 30 (), 31-35()
4. Kwara South () Kwara Central () Kwara North ()
5. Occupation: Student () Unemployed () self-employed () private firm employee () government employee ().
6. Educational Background: Pre SSCE (), SSCE/WAEC (), NECO/OND (), HND/BSC () others ().

7 Religion: Islam () Christianity (), African traditional religion ().

Instruction: Please tick [√] in the column for each item in section B to D below to indicate your rating of the extent at which each factor affects youth political participation in Kwara State using the following:

SA - Strongly Agreed = 5

A - Agreed = 4

U - Undecided = 3

D - Disagreed = 2

D - Strongly Disagreed = 1

CULTURAL FACTORS AND YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

S/N	SECTION B: CULTURAL FACTORS	SA	A	U	D	SD
1	Nigerian youths have respects for elders in Political activities.					
2	Nigerian youths have strong religious beliefs.					
3	Cultural attitudes and stereotypes encourage youths to participate in politics.					
4	Most youths have the cultural beliefs that elders should take up political responsibilities.					

5	Most youth do not see themselves capable and responsible to participate in politics.					
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SOCIOL FACTORS AND YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

S/N	SECTION C: SOCIAL FACTORS	SA	A	U	D	SD
6	Majority of Nigerian youths are social.					
7	Nigerian youths lacks interest in Politics					
8	Nigerian youths are socially influenced by peer pressure.					
9	Nigerian youth have access to social and political information.					

ECONOMIC FACTORS AND YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

S/N	SECTION D: ECONOMIC FACTORS	SA	A	U	D	SD
10	The majority of Nigerian youths are financially stable.					
11	Nigerian youth population are well educated.					

12	Youths in Nigeria are gainfully employed.					
13	Government economic policies favors youth.					
14	Nigerian youths have access to financial resources such as loans and grant.					

ASSESSMENT ON THE LEVEL OF YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

S/N	SECTION E: ASSESSMENT ON THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION	SA	A	U	D	SD
15	Youths participate in campaign, rallies and political mobilization.					
16	Nigerian youths come out and vote during election day.					
17	Nigerian youths contest for political positions.					
18	Nigerian youth are mostly given political appointments.					

Appendix 2

CHI-SQUARE CALCULATION TABLE (X2)

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	(Fo-Fe)²	$\frac{((Fo-Fe))^2}{Fe}$
19	8.4	10.54	111.09	13.1314
20	33.48	-13.48	181.71	5.4274
21	14.4	6.6	43.56	3.025
7	8.82	-1.82	3.31	0.3755
5	6.84	-1.84	3.38	0.4949
24	21.50	2.5	6.25	0.2907
116	85.1	30.9	954.81	11.2198

27	36.6	-9.6	92.16	2.5180
12	22.41	-10.41	108.36	4.8357
4	17.38	-13.38	179.02	10.3005
4	17.03	-13.03	169.78	9.9695
50	67.42	-17.42	303.45	4.5009
32	29	3	9	0.3103
30	17.76	12.24	149.81	8.4356
29	13.77	15,23	231.95	16.8448
Total				91.6812

$$Df = (r-1) (c-1)$$

$$Df = (3-1) (5-1)$$

$$Df = 2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$Df = 8$$

$$X^2 \propto 2$$

$$X^2 = 0.05 (8)$$

APPENDIX

Appendix 3

CHI-SQUARE CALCULATION TABLE (X2)

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	(Fo-Fe)²	<u>((Fo-Fe)²</u> Fe
11	9.18	1.82	3.3124	0.3608
21	23.22	-2.22	4.9284	0.2122
13	12.06	0.94	0.8836	0.0732
16	23.4	-7.4	54.76	2.3401
11	4.14	6.86	47.059	11.3670
24	23.33	0.67	0.4489	0.0192
72	59.01	12.99	168.7401	2.8595
33	30.65	2.35	5.5225	0.1801
51	59.47	-8.47	71.7409	1.2063
3	10.52	-7.52	56.5504	5.3755
16	18.48	-2.48	6.1504	0.3328
36	46.76	-10.76	115.77	17.1268
21	24.28	-3.28	10.758	0.4431
63	47.125	15.875	252.0156	5.3478
9	8.33	0.67	0.4489	0.0538
Total				47.2982

Df = (r-1) (c-1)

Df = (3-1) (5-1)

$$Df = 2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$Df = 8$$

$$X^2 \propto 2$$

$$X^2 = 0.05 (8)$$

APPENDIX

Appendix 4

CHI-SQUARE CALCULATION TABLE (X2)

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	(Fo-Fe)²	<u>((Fo-Fe)²</u> Fe
4	10.26	-6.26	39.187	3.8194
6	17.28	-11.28	127.23	7.3633
16	10.98	5.02	39.11	3.5628
24	20.7	3.3	10.89	0.5260
22	12.78	9.22	85.008	6.6516
30	26.07	3.93	15.4449	0.5924
51	43.92	7.08	50.1264	1.1413
23	27.9	-4.9	24.01	0.8605
47	52.61	-5.61	31.47	0.5982
32	32.48	-0.48	0.2304	0.0071
23	20.66	2.34	5.4756	0.2650
39	34.8	4.2	17.64	0.5068
22	22.11	0.11	0.0121	0.0005
44	41.68	2.32	5.3824	0.1291
17	25.73	-8.73	76.2129	3.0123
Total				29.0363

Df = (r-1) (c-1)

Df = (3-1) (5-1)

$$Df = 2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$Df = 8$$

$$X^2 \propto 2$$

$$X^2 = 0.05 (8)$$

APPENDIX

Appendix 5

CHI-SQUARE CALCULATION TABLE (X2)

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	(Fo-Fe)²	<u>((Fo-Fe)²</u> Fe
1	0.9	0.1	0.01	0.01111
22	16.02	5.98	35.76	2.232
15	16.56	-1.56	2.4336	0.1469
25	30.96	-5.96	35.5216	1.1469
9	7.56	1.44	2.0736	0.2742
2	2.28	-0.28	0.0736	0.0343
56	40.71	15.29	233.78	5.7426
42	42.09	-0.09	0.0081	0.00019
61	78.69	-17.69	312.93	3.9768
22	19.21	2.79	7.7841	0.4052
2	1.8125	0.1875	0.0351	0.0193
11	32.26	-21.26	451.98	14.010
35	33.35	1.65	2.7225	0.0816
86	62.35	23.65	559.32	8.9706
11	15.22	-4.22	17.8084	1.1700
Total				38.2221

Df = (r-1) (c-1)

Df = (3-1) (5-1)

$$Df = 2 \times 4 = 8$$

$$Df = 8$$

$$X^2 \propto 2$$

$$X^2 = 0.05 (8)$$

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