Democracy and Youth Participation in Zamfara State

A Case Study of Gusau Local Government Area

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DEMOCRACY AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN ZAMFARA STATE . A CASE STUDY OF GUSAU LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA

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CERTIFICATION

This project by Banazareth Helen (1410206020) has met the partial requirements for the award of Bachelor of Science Degree in Political Science, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to Almighty God the creator of heaven and earth, the One that rules in the affairs of men, for counting me worthy through His mercy, love and divine faithfulness, completing my project.

Moreover, this project is dedicated to my aunty, Mrs. Sarah Okunade which God have used greatly to support me financially, morally and so on to reach this point, may God of heaven reward her abundantly in Jesus name. Amen.

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ABSTRACT

This study was intended to examine democracy and youth participation in Zamfara. This study was guided by the following objectives; to examine the effect of money politics on youth participation in Gusau local government area, to examine the relationship between material well-being and political participation, to know whether there are strategies in encouraging youth participation in Gusau local government area and to determine the relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics. The study employed the descriptive and explanatory design; questionnaires in addition to library research were applied in order to collect data. Primary and secondary data sources were used and data was analyzed using the chi square statistical tool at 5% level of significance which was presented in frequency tables and percentage. The respondents under the study were 100 residents of Gusau local government, Zamfara State Nigeria. The study findings revealed that Zamfarans do not have confidence in their electoral system and that there is a significant relationship between the level of electoral education of youth and the level of their participation in politics; based on the findings from the study, INEC should in collaboration with the government strengthen their electoral system so that youths can have confidence in our electoral system. This singular factor if gotten right would go a long way in making Zamfara youth want to participate in politics.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The Nigerian state assumed a new governance status in 1999 following the demise of authoritarian regime in the country. Military dictatorship was replaced by representative democracy with the hopes and aspirations of good governance much higher than what the seemingly collapsible democratic institutions could fulfill. The source and nature of transition in 1999 was later found to constitute threat to the foundation of democracy and obliterates the current efforts at consolidating democracy.

The reality of the attempts to subvert the concept of democracy to serve the interests of a few, rather than a greater majority, still looms high. The emerging democracy was artificial and reflexive of external imposition. It is a weak democracy that repudiates inalienable ethos of its true identity. Democracy and youth participation are related to good governance.

Democracy is abused good governance becomes elusive and evasive. This is what Darl (2016) describes as "virtual democracy", democracy that shares resemblance with true democracy but lacks basic tenets of democracy. Democracy in Nigeria has three unique features which include: insulation of economic matters from popular participation, manipulation and monopolization of democratic process including the use of violence and electoral fraud to secure legitimacy and peripheral participation of citizens. Surface-level participation does not have far-reaching influence on the outcome of policy choices.

According to Oke (2017) democracy involves the opportunity to participate in decision making in the political process. It repudiates arbitrariness and

authoritarianism. It extols the consent of the governed and it protects human personality and values (Ake, 2015). Democracy, whether liberal, African or modern, includes equal opportunity for all, fundamental recognition of popular sovereignty, representativeness, majority rule, minority rights, popular consultation, right of choice between alternative programmes, consensus on fundamental issues, as well as essentially periodic elections (Oke, 2017). The concept of democracy confers the opportunity to participate in decision making by all.

Democracy here goes beyond opportunity of election. Although, the centrality of elections to democratic process cannot be over-emphasized, democracy is not wholly centered on election. For democracy to evolve good governance, it must be liberal and participatory. In this sense, Liberal democracy entails not only free and fair elections in terms of voting administration, it requires a more comprehensive fairness of political competition embodied in the concept of a just and open competition. In a liberal democracy, the electoral arena is open, and the playing field is reasonably level.

Only in a free society with opportunity of free participation and respects for citizens' rights can good governance be achieved. True democracy places emphasis on freedom, and open competition, popular and meaningful participation, responsiveness, transparency and accountability. Freedom to organise, freedom to protest anti-people policies and freedom to demand and assert citizens' rights and interests, freedom of the press to report, investigate and expose government policies and actions without fear or favour. According to Diamond (2015), "Only in a climate of true political and civil freedom can a country achieve the absolute fundamental condition for development: responsible governmentthat is government that is

committed to the advancement of the public good, rather than the private interests of its own officials and their families and their cronies".

1.2 Statement of the Research

The experience with youths' participation in electoral politics in Nigeria generally and Zamfara state in particular has not been encouraging. Even where development of local participation is an important tool of rural development and where political education in mass participation is a key element of the development strategy, programmes have not developed genuine participation and responsibility among the people. Youths have become recipients of development as if development is something outside their realms of experience and right respectively. There are political, socio-cultural and bureaucratic constraints to youth participation.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the effect of money politics on youth participation in Gusau local government area?
2. Is there any relationship between material well-being and political participation?
3. Are there strategies in encouraging youth participation in Gusau local government area?
4. What is the relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics?

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to consider the nature and extent of youths' participation in a democratic system. This, as noted above, will be carried out by assessing the involvement of the youths in electoral process in Gusau, Zamfara state.

Besides, this research work also aims at achieving other important objectives which are also fundamental to the smooth operations of governance in a democratic set up. The other objectives are enumerated below:

1. To examine the effect of money politics on youth participationin Gusau local government area.
2. To examine the relationship between material well-being and political participation.
3. To know whether there are strategies in encouraging youth participation in Gusau local government area.
4. To determine the relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics.

1.5 Justification of the Research

This research work is significant because it is aimed at explaining youth participation in the context of good governance. This will enable us to appreciate the fact that the formulation of a national agenda through dialogue by all stakeholders is a prerequisite for youth participation.

Participation needs to be part of a broader conceptualization of development, with much more attention to organizational structures and linkages. However, participation has turned into a cliché for those administering development; its values have been overemphasized, while doing little to make it a reality.

1.6 Research Proposition

Hypothesis I

H_o: Money politics has no effect on youth participation in Gusau local government area.

H_i: Money politics has effect on youth participation in Gusau local government area.

Hypothesis II

H_o: There is no relationship between material well-being and political participation.

H_i: There is a relationship between material well-being and political participation.

1.7 Methodology

For this study, the survey research design was adopted. The choice of the design was informed by the objectives of the study as outlined above. This research design provides a quickly efficient and accurate means of assessing information about a population of interest. It intends to study democracy and youth participation in Nigeria.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This project work shall discuss the concept of youth participation, focusing mainly on what it is and what it is not within the African context. The history of Nigeria's politics shall be traced from the colonial era to the present. The gathering of views on the electoral politics shall be restricted to GusauZamfara State with reference to the 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 general elections covering Gubernatorial, House of Assembly and Local Government elections in the state.

1.9 Limitations of study

1. **Financial constraint:** Insufficient fund tends to impede the efficiency of the researcher in sourcing for the relevant materials, literature or information and in the process of data collection (internet, questionnaire and interview).
2. **Time constraint**: The researcher will simultaneously engage in this study with other academic work. This consequently will cut down on the time devoted for the research work.

1.10 Operationalization of Concepts

Democracy: A system of government in which power is vested in the people, who rule either directly or through freely elected representatives. Democracy is an avenue through which members of the society possess the right of choosing their leader through election(Ojo, 2007).

It is imperative to note that in any democratic setting, Nigeria inclusive, good governance, responsive and responsible leadership, efficient and vibrant institutions are essential to the enthronement and consolidation of the system. Good governance is a product of good leaders that are truly and properly elected by the people through a free, fair and transparent election rather than those imposed on the people Adamu(2017)Which is against the laid down rules and regulations of democracy.

Youth: Is the time of life when one is young, and often means the time between childhood and adulthood (maturity). It also defined as "the appearance, freshness, vigor, spirit, etc., characteristic of one who is young. According to Nigerian constitution youth range from age 18 to 30 years.

Participation: The act of taking part in an activity or event.

Youth Participation: Youth participation can be defined as those actions of youth by which they seek to influence or be part of government and politics.

Election: An election is a formal decision making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office.

Popular sovereignty: This means that the supreme power to rule rests with the people (the electorates). The people decide who rules them and under what party or ideological platform. They also hold the authority to change the government in case it fails to live up to expectation.

Popular Representation: As indicated above, the elected government officials hold their mandate at the instance of the people. They are in such position to represent the interest of their people. Popular representation entails the ability of the political representative to serve the interests of his people (constituency) properly.

Popular Participation: without any prejudice to legally tenable limitations to franchise, the expectations in a democracy is that everybody participates in the process of governance. In effect, all citizens are equally stakeholders in the business of governance. Popular participation implies being active in the political process, whether at the leadership or followership level.

Rule of Law: This means supremacy as well as universal applicability of the law. In democracy, the dictates of the regular law must prevail in all circumstances in such a manner that forecloses impunity, arbitrariness and abuse. The law should not be a respecter of individuals no matter one's status or dignity. The 'sacred cow syndrome' and 'double standards' in the application of the law is shunned. In effect, no one is above the law and no one should be seen to be so Adamu (2017).

Civil Liberty: Democracy guarantees basic freedoms and institutionalizes mechanisms for actualizing them. It also puts in place procedures for seeking redress in the event of any violation of these entitlements. In fact, the place of civil rights in a democracy is sacrosanct and pivotal. Some of these rights include: right to life, right to property, freedom of speech, freedom to the press,etc (Okoli and Gusau,2013; Renwick and Swinburn,1980).

1.11 Organization of Chapters

Chapter one of the study lays an introduction for subsequent chapters. Following the background of the study, the problem statement and the objective of the study which

provided basis for the significance of the study and the research proposition were stated. The limitations of this study were also highlighted.

In the literature review as contained in chapter two, works of various authors, international and local journals were reviewed to elicit views on democracy and youth participation in Nigeria.

Chapter three, research methodology, description of population and sampling procedure for data collection were discussed. Methods of questionnaire design, determination of sampling size and questionnaire distribution were also highlighted.

Chapter four was based on analysis of data collected. This chapter was sub-divided into data analysis, hypothesis testing and summary. Percentage table, figure and narration were carefully employed for proper understanding and testing of hypothesis.

Finally, chapter five was divided into summary of findings, recommendation and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives an insight into various studies conducted by outstanding researchers, as well as explained terminologies with regards to democracy and youth participation in Zamfara and Gusau local government in particular.

The chapter also gives a resume of the history and present status of the problem delineated by a concise review of previous studies into closely related problems.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL REVIEW

2.2.1 Democracy as a Concept

The term democracy is derived from two Greek words: demos which means people and kratos which means rule. Literarily, democracy means 'rule by the people' Appadorai (2017) described democracy as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by them. In the ancient states, direct democracy was possible because all adult members of the community could easily take part in decision making. Population growth and expansion in political boundaries have made direct democracy impracticable in the modern political system.

This is the reason why representative democracy has replaced direct democracy in different parts of the world, especially Nigeria and Zamfara in particular. Representative democracy is an indirect democracy where sovereignty is held by the people's representatives. Walter Lanqueur cited in Idowu (2018)pointed out that

although the conditions of modern state make direct participation of all the people in government of the state impossible, the concept of democracy still emphasis the rule of the people. That is, the sovereign power is indirectly exercised by the people through a system of representation.

Consequently, youth participation, particularly in the electoral process, is a fundamental requirement of representative democracy. This is the reason why Appadorai (2017) argued that where, on account of an atmosphere of fear and coercion, people do not feel free to discuss or vote, democracy cannot be said to exist, even though the other political rights are enjoyed by the people. Sovereignty (2015) identified some of there quiets of democratic rule as: at least two party system to give room for freedom of choice; periodic election that is based on universal adult suffrage; just as practice in zamfara and Gusau local government in particular, free and fair election to allow the political party that has the support of the majority to control the machinery of government and civil liberties such as freedom of association, religion, speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

Representative democracy rests on the assumptions that the citizens possess and demonstrate some civic capacities. These civic capacities involve three qualities: intelligence, self-control and conscience. The citizens must be able to understand the interest of the community, to subordinate his own will to the general will and must feel his responsibility to the community and be prepared to serve it by voting(Appadorai, 2017). In the contrary, indolence, in difference and political apathy have hindered the entrenchment and sustenance of representative democracy in Nigeria and Gusau in particular. Falade and Orungbemi (2018)argued that true democratic governance is not ideally practice in Nigeria and including Zamfara. The political culture in Nigeria is characterized by intolerance, intimidation, thuggery,

assassination, bitterness, apathy, indolence, money and ethnic politics. As a result of this, the ingredients of democracy have not been able to thrive after many years of political independence in Nigeria.

2.2.2 Youth participation in Zamfara

Youth participation is the involvement of the citizens in the political system. Eakin cited in Adelekan(2016) described youth 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 (2015) youth 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.

According to Awolowo and Aluko (2017), the essence of youth participation in any society, either civilized or primitive, is to seek control of power, acquisition of power and to influence decision making.

Youth participation is a means of contributing one's quota to the political system and overall development of the nation. Youth participation is one of the fundamental requirements of democratic governance.

This is the reason why Adelekan (2016) 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 youth participation that involves all groups of the society (Arowolo and Aluko,2017).

The extent to which people participate in the political system differ from person to person. Falade(2018) identified six types of political participants. These are: The inactive: These are the people that take no part in any political activity Voting specialists: These are the people that get eagerly engaged only in voting. Besides voting, they are not concerned about other political activities. Parochial participants: These people participate in politics occasionally. They vote or get involved in any other political activity only when it affects their personal interest. The communalist: These are those who get engaged in voting regularly, they also get involved in community affairs but they are not involved in political campaign activities The campaigners: They are actively involved in political campaign but inactive in other community affairs. Complete activists: They are highly involved in all political activities. They actively participate in voting, political campaign, community activities and make contact with public officials.

Some of the factors that determine youth participation are: cultural, economic, political, religious sand educational backgrounds of individuals. Also, the level of political awareness as well as the measure of confidence in the political process determines the extent to which the citizens participate in the political system. In Nigeria, politics is influenced by money, ethnic and religious factors. Since independence in 1960, religious and ethnic politics characterize electioneering process in Nigeria. This is the reason why Albert Legogie, former deputy Senate President, pointed out that it was clear from the trend of the election that there was a big gulf, a

dichotomy between the north and the south and between Christians and Muslims (Adeyemo, 2017). For instance, during the post-presidential election violence in the Muslim dominated northern part of Nigeria, southerners and Christians were attacked and killed while many churches were burnt. Falade, (2017)expressed that politics in Nigeria is regarded as a dirty game and it is practiced with bitterness, hatred, rancor and other associated evils. The outcome of this is that Nigeria is in vicious cycle of political crises and instability.

Deceit and unfulfilled promises by political leaders discouraged a number of Nigerians from participating in election and other political activities. Falade (2018) argued that politicians make series of promises during election campaign. Most of these promises are not fulfilled after they had been voted in to power. As a result of this, some voters loose interest in election. One of the respondents interviewed during the2011 election expressed that "I have come to the sun to suffer even though I am not benefiting anything from the government don't even have confidence in them because they have been failing us generally" (Adelakun,2017).

There is low level of youth participation among the Nigerian citizens. Many Nigerians are in different in political matters. The INEC noted that Nigerians' participation during the general election in 2011 was low including Zamfara in particular. Only 35% of the 70 million registered voters took part in the election while in Gusau only 25% of youth participated. The Fried rich Elbert Stiffing Foundation conducted a research on the2011 election and identified lack of transparent elections, election violence and politicians' non committal to their campaign promises as major reasons for voters' apathy in the country (Odebode, 2015).

The political apathy in Nigeria is based on the twin problems of ignorance and deliberate deception by some politicians. The consequence of this is the in ability of

the masses to have a link between their state of underdevelopment and their non participation in the electoral process (Fabiyi, 2018). In the light of this Falade (2017) concluded that the Nigerian political culture has not given room for the entrenchment and sustenance of true democracy. Awolowo and Aluko(2017) expressed that the low level of youth participation of the Nigerian women is becoming alarming and disturbing.

2.3 DYNAMICS IN YOUTH PARTICIPATION

The present situation in Nigeria has not shown any distinct departure from the period of the First, Second and aborted Third Republic of 1993. There was a stable political condition and security of lives and properties before January and July 1966 that marked the incursion of military in to Nigeria politics. Before the Nigeria independent of 1960, the politicai arrangement favoured competitive politics both at the Federal and Regional level.

As a result of youth participation that favoured competitive politics based on party platform and superiority might especially at the side of Federal Alliance that granted unequivocal support to marginalize other political leaders from various ethnic cleavages contributed to "break – away faction of most of the major political parties of the first Nigeria Republic. The situation continued until the constitution of the second Republic which replaced Republican System of government to presidentalism with such principle of constitutional supremacy. This system breaded new faction of god fatherism to whom the electorate surrender and give solidarity. The innovations which encouraged cross cutting party formation provide incentives for party formation on national character in sharing party and political offices.

The introduction of two party system (in the aborted Third Republic) which seems to have closed the ethnic solidarity in youth participation had subverted to inter – and

intra- party solvocation. This hypothesized indices, might probably account for the unexpected ethnic big- tent parties, Social Democratic Party (SDP)and National Republic Convention (NRC) respectively in the un-celebrated Third Republic. The outlook of the present ruling party that symbolized NPN (2017) had for long time succeeded in its magnanimous incorporation of all diverse ethnic and regional constituencies that make – up Nigeria entity. In 1999, the two political parties of Alliance for Democracy AD and All Progressive party lead by Chief OluFalae demonstrated across- cutting ethnic voting pattern because of national sympathy for June 12 election that presumed to have favoured his geo-political zone, Chief Obasanjo who won the election got minimum support of the votes majority from the North in 27 out of 36 States of the Federation. In his second term, the ruling Party P.D.P had increased on its electoral minimum of 25% by 5 additional States therefore making it a total of 32 out of 36States in Nigeria. The derivatives advantage of this outcome of the election result in 1999 as it was demonstrated earlier by the election of June 12 1993 is that, the age-long desire of Nigeria to have a leader that reflect their ethnic or sectional Kinship had changed and also it make the intension of the Nigeria political actors (both the leaders and the followers) to have a leader who is expected by his action to be committed enough to pursue national interest rather than caring about his ethnic origin.

In the Nigeria subsequent elections, the 2007 Yar'dua/Jonathan connection and 2011(Jonathan/Sambo) that was expected to build-up on the existing foundation by any factor(overt or covert) still manifested in dimensional ethnicity electoral colouration. The principle of zoning as a political phenomenon, its role and significance as it was over whelly pronounced during the Nigeria June 12 political crisis reminds in the pinnacle of political party without hurting such chances of

winning public election. The zoning arrangement as informal means of ethnic accommodation in Nigerian politics since 1979 is otherwise known as power sharing which remained innovative in the political arrangement of that period in question. The arrangement therefore, seeks to distribute balance of opportunity and rotates key governmental and party offices among the nations, diverse ethnic – religious and geo-political constituencies.

Because of mismanagement of this opportunity at the level of elite class, critics alleged that arrangement was fraudulently designed as it favoured one major ethnic group against others.

2.4 YOUTH PARTICIPATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In most cases the attitude of Nigeria leaders, in youth participation demonstrated different kinds of electoral reservations. Youth participation had become a function of social economic status derivation especially in Nigeria that replicated the position of the people's daily prayer which says "our Lord/Father gives us our daily breads..." since youth participation is interpreted to mean what "one will eat and where one will sleep". Youth participation becomes a statistical analysis of political leaders as they allocate scarce resources on both the advantages and disadvantages to "who get what, when and how'. Therefore, citizen had regarded participation in politics (or elections) only as a fortune to human and social development which ought not to be so. Analysts therefore, considered some variables that are connected with allocation of scarce resources, which among many other factors stand in between leadership and followership that was developed on variables at the level of policy implementation which is congruent to cooperation, understanding; and that has exposed the level of compliance by the followers. Policy implementation failure remains one of the hallmarks of publics policies which serves as obstacle to development had

strangulated youth participation at various level of government, in situation by which policy implementation is present, it could give Gusau youths more participation. The inability of most of our political leaders(policy makers) to effectively formulate clear policy out comes, in adequate governance mechanisms and the failure of implementing agents to adequately capture the essence of such implementation because of limited capacity or authority vested them contributes to the failure of many designed policies for developmental projects. In addition, it is not enough to develop goals and objectives for the advancement of society, rather it is the translation of these goals into concrete programmes and projects that could enhance citizens welfare which hitherto increases citizens levels of youth participation.

Associate intricacies towards the actualization and sustainable of meaningful development in Nigeria include unemployment, corruption, favouritism nepotism, prebendalism, impunity and bureaucratic bottle neck. Among these important factors that are essential towards public policy implementations is cooperation; Its impact on the actualization of meaningful development is unquantifiable. Cooperation as one political analyst described it is the interactions among actors aiming at solving public problems by working together rather than by working separately. To facilitate this, variables like resources interdependence, goal congruence and mutual trust should be present. It is by the virtue of this cooperation, development is attainable. It's follows therefore, that the retardation of physical and administrative development in Nigeria arises as a result of the above mentioned social vices which includes lack of cooperation at the level of intra and inter-governmental relation which led to reduction at the level of youth participation. This lack of cooperation probably because of different political parties involving both the States and Federal government, with the persistence high level of political rivalry and national crises

hence, social-economics and infrastructural development at the units (states and local government) of federation reminds stagnation. "Federal government" as Labara Makuthe past Nigeria Minister of information (under President Goodluck Jonathan)defined it when he paid courtesy visit to Osun State a year 2013 said, it is a central of policy making and the subordinate units (local and States) act at the level of policy implementation for meaningful development. However, prior to 2015 election there was high level of hostile relationship that arises as a result of party supremacy: how would the State move forward in carrying out most of their developmental projects? And how would the State execute the Federal government projects (plains and actions)? With this unfolding hostile relationship and apparently federal government inconsistent with the releasing of monthly legitimate State allocation, effective physical development is banned to progress. With the recent political awareness also, such rivalry is bound to boomerang. Good democracy is all about freedom and political equality. However, going by the definition of democracy, if the public office holders (Governor, lawmakers, local Governments chairman and councilors) come together irrespective of their party differences for the interest of the common citizens, it will contribute to the economic well- being of the state and also bring sustainable development for the people of Zamfara state.

From the above it is certain to opine that youth of state form the backbone of its political system and processes. Youth participation in political affairs the state are rules and conduct enshrined in the constitution of the state. The law specified who is eligible to participate on not. Since the invasion and introduction of the democracy in Nigeria, the element and dividend of democracy have been a struggled to achieve. This is simply because the religious values, traditions and doctrines are militating the effective working of democracy. The conventional definition of youth is revolving

around 18 to 30 years old of age. Political participation involvement of the people can include selection or election of political leaders, formulation of politics, community activities and civil management.

In Zamfara state it will befall acious to state that the youth have not been participating in politics. But the question is what kind of political participation? The youth in Zamfara state had majorly been promoters of campaign programmes, political parties programme and also performing the function of voting candidates into offices. But in a real sense, the opportunity to contest for leadership position in the state was not there. Thus, it will not be an over statement to state that the youth in Zamfara state and Gusau local government in particular, have only but a thin line in terms of participation in politics. The youth are also more used as instrument to course political violence in Zamfara state order than contesting for political position. For instance, in 2015 the PDP office along Zaria road/Funtua road was burnt down by some angry youths whom were believed to be from opposition party. Inspire of this, the youth with the context of Zamfara state have been the movers of democratization. Some of these youths are used during elections as returning officers and to conduct voting in the state. As Nigeria preparing for the 2019, the youth in Zamfara state are much more political conscious and are engaging in one party programme or the other to as to facilitate the election.

2.5 DEMOCRACY, YOUTH PARTICIPATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE: THE INTERFACE

Democracy, on its own, does not connote good governance. It is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Deep-rooted and consolidated democracy in form of liberalism or what Cheema and Maguire (2016) call 'maximalist democracy' indeed has been found to be able to engender good governance. According to them, maximalist

democracy encompasses "various rights and liberties that have to be associated with a competitive and inclusive system of government. Diamond (2015), while appraising the maximalist approach of democracy, submits that democracy is a concept that allows for fundamental human rights, broadening youth participation and guaranteeing credible and periodic election.

For democracy to evolve good governance, Linz and Stepan (2016) suggest five inter-related conditions that must exist which include: the rule of law to guarantee citizens' freedoms and independent associational life, functional state bureaucracy which can be used by the democratic government to deliver public good, free and lively civil society, a relatively autonomous and valued political society and an institutionalized economic society.

Youth participation is *sine qua non* to good governance. Youth participation, which includes citizens' involvement in the decision making process, contribution to public debate on national issues and voting, needs to be encouraged. Wider youth participation naturally endows policies that emanate from that process with legitimacy, as people feel sense of belonging and can lay claim of ownership to such policies. Policies are more likely to be sustainable when they receive popular understanding and support, most especially when women, youths and minorities have input into governmental decisions and also be provided with mechanism through which unfavourable policies are contested and protested against. The purpose of broad inclusion of citizens in the policy making arrangement is to create sense of belonging and awareness necessary for the sustainable of policy even if it is a short-term painful policy that will provide long-term reward. This public participation model is potent enough to consolidate democracy and engender good governance.

Governance is good when it is not discriminatory and tends to treat every member of society according to the established norms; laws should be applied to both the haves and the have-nots in the society. Citizens regardless of social status, ethnic origin or sex, should be given unrestrained access to justice and that judiciary, as an arbiter, should be independent and neutral in the interpretation of law and efficient manner. Expectedly therefore, good governance is achievable in the atmosphere of sustenance of the rule of law. Good governance should also focus mostly on results and not processes in order to engender development. It should be measured on government's delivery inputs. That is, good governance is not about budget provisions; it is about actual accomplishment and its good intentions. Good governance is not only critical to development but should also have the capacity to use resources effectively to create wealth and, in addition, induce economic growth and engender sustainable development.

Finally, democracy, youth participation and good governance promote development. Liberal and consolidated democracy puts considerable constraints on the individuals to behave within the confines of the law and also allow the electorate to determine who occupies what position. The institutions of good governance must be funded, staffed, trained, equipped and be made independent in a manner that will investigate, expose, and punish corrupt conduct, and thus vigorously discourage it in the future. Good governance can be enhanced through enhancing the quality of democracy, including the devolution and decentralisation of power and resources, protection of human rights, removal of corruption, speeding up of justice and strengthening electoral commission through viable and sustainable reforms.

2.6 EMPIRICAL REVIEW

Rachman and Kescon (2015) in their studies on leadership styles have identified three broad categories of leadership style as thus, the Autocratic Method, Democratic or participative style and Laissee-faire Style. The United State Army Hand book, 1973 inter changeably named it as Authoritarian or Autocratic, Participative or Democratic; Delegative or Free Reign. Autocratic Method is straight – forward manners that gives directive and orders to follow. In the preferential usage of the Autocratic Method, leader may or may not consult others.

This makes it to be effective especially when quick decision is needed since the leader has the power to give order at will. In this sense, some people tend to perceive of this style as a vehicle for yelling, using demeaning language, and leading by threats and abusing their legitimate power. Otherwise, this is not the authoritarian style usage but "bossing people around" Doclark (2016).Such usage of power has no place in a leader's repertoire. In another perspectives, democratic or participative style of leader encourages a free flow of opinion while it is obvious that leader has the final decision, other followers make their suggestions or views known for possible consideration. The leader has the skill to moderate and direct others. A situation when followers are able to analyze the situation beyond the crises point and determine what needs to be done and how to do it. This is done with certain level of delegated authority in democratic setting also known as representative democracy.

Drawing from the perception of the trio Fafowora (2016), they argued that the major problem that inhabitants of Nigeria society are facing centered principally on both the style of leadership and followership;

Accordingly, this had resulted to enormous political, economic and social instability problems, bribery and corruption also prevailed. The assumption here is that whether

those enormous problems resulted from the problem of leadership or followership. Our regard to this is in the society is that, one person leads, while others follow, and rhetorically, can there be a leader without followers and vice versa. These problems among other shave prompted researchers of this view demonstrated on many intellectual discussions, seminal and paper presentations by those that shared similar or divergent opinion on leadership and followership. There are three major ways of analyzing the problem as conceptualized by the trio (2016) that our major problem revolved round the poor and or bad leadership; that our problem has been that of poor and or bad followership and that our problem has not been either of those two but a combination of both.

Stemming further on their analysis, scholars and experts on political behavior have devoted much time to seeking insights into different theories of leadership style in relation to human behavior and their individual social cultural background. Arriving at this point, analysts suggested that, the beliefs of political leaders shaped their behavior and their relation with other people, their decision on what is good and what is bad and to achieve such unequivocal desire, leaders knows how to manipulate other political system, therefore, subjected many institutions of government to their dictates. By so doing, the beliefs of political leaders are not only product but essential component of all political system. These beliefs that pointed to the nature of reality, essentially which including the meaning and historical dimension as in relation to individual persons in the society, explain the way leaders distributed power, authority, and wealth in political life. Personal interest had been attributed amount those overriding factors that influence the chosen of Nigerian leaders (their predecessors).This was rampant in the era of military and in the contemporary Autocratic democracy.

A military administrator who step-aside was reported in one of the Nigeria's monthly magazines stated that he preferred his former military boss to become the next Nigeria president purposely as he put it "He saved my career(in military) 30 years ago". The election was conducted (with free from fair) and such ex-military boss became the Head of State as earlier predicted. Such attempt of superimposition as many observers of Nigeria political history assumed, was among the reasons which led us to the 30 months civil war. This is an indication that many occurring political events in Nigeria have several reserved presupposition.

From the above literature review most of the scholars fail toadmit and identify factors responsible for lack of youth participation in politics in Zamfara state. Thus, below literature gap revolved around:

i. : Providing a comprehensive research to be explained that youth participation in politics in Zamfara state, Gusau local government in particular is very thin. The research will examine and expose the factors by demonstrating how those factors affect youth participation in politics. These factors aremoney, elite and religion and so on.

ii. The research is premised to identify the percentage or data of youths that participated actively in politics in Zamfara and Gusau local government in particular as it was not identified by many of the scholars above. Also, this work is meant to bridge the gap of lack of literary materials on such issues in Gusau local government.

2.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The need to theorize about the nature of control and the role of leadership in democracy and good governance occasions the study of elites by Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca (Dowse and Hughes, 2016). The elite theory is a philosophical explanation of the role of the leadership in governance as it affects public policy including all socio-economic and political matters. If the formal structures of government are central to explaining 'who gets what, when and how', then the study and relevance of elite in policy process is equally important. Elites dominate the formal institutions of government and are a determining factor in governance and decision making processes. Elites are the decision makers in the society whose power is not subject to control by any other body in the society.

There are varying perceptions on the role of elites in democracy. While some believe that elites are bulwarks of democracy protecting it from the dangers of totalitarianism, the sole source of value and element of democratic consolidation and political stability and constituting integrating force in the society without which it may fall part; others believe that elites are chief threat to the survival of democracy (Dowse and Hughes, 2016). They have exceptional access to key positions in the society and appear to wield control over crucial policies disproportionate to their number and they, to this extent, can understandably be a living contradiction to the notion of democracy. On this philosophical basis, it is assertive that credit of democratic stability and good governance should be given to the elite. Also, blame of democratic failure and bad governance will also be on the elite, since it is central to governance stability or otherwise. It is scientific to study and analyse governance and democratic process in any country using elite theory. Elite theory is premised on a number of assumptions:

1. The society consists of two categories: the selected few, who are capable and, therefore, have the right to supreme leadership; and the vast masses of people who are desired to be ruled;
2. That the majority of human beings are apathetic, indolent and slavishly uninformed about what goes on in the administrative system and permanently incapable of self-government. That is, the elite decides on the structure, the personnel, the process of public policies of the administrative system;
3. Hence, the structure, substance and output of the administrative system may be viewed as the preferences and values of the governing elite (Dowse and Hughes, 2016).

The elite theory postulates that public policy reflects the values and preferences of the elite rather than demands of the masses. The elite consist of those few individuals who wield powers and hold leading positions in the strategic aspects of society. The majority, the masses, only obey and are guided, controlled and governed by the few. Many of the elites do not hold formal or legal authoritative powers but are rather behind the scene, tele-guiding and manipulating overt political and policy actions (Ikelegbe, 1994). It is on the basis of presumptions that the masses are contented and are incapable of challenging the authoritative position of the elite that informs elites' reflection of policy and its processes.

The elite theory directs attention to the source of policy flow and whose interests public policies serve. The theory attempts a realistic explanation of the source of policy by predicating it in the elite rather than the masses. It also explains the nature and source of policies in Zamfara and in Gusau in particular. Various policies in the public service can also be viewed as emanating from the Zamfara elite- the political, administrative and economic leaders. This is contradictory to democratic tenets that

lend credence to participation, openness, accountability and freedom in all spheres of societal life.

Elites are capable of setting the tone of society by coming out with policies of their choice. The level of stability and progress achieved in any society is a function elites' initiatives. The civil unrest experienced in Africa and the advancement of Europe cannot be divorced from the inclusion and activities of elites in these areas. The fact that Nigeria is oscillating between democratic stagnancy and governance backwardness is reflexive of elites' pursuit of personal aggrandizement and promotion of geocentricism rather than altruistic policies, that are nationalistic and 'people centric' in nature. People centric policies are policies that are people-centred, whose objective primarily is designed to engage the citizenry and serve the interest of the people and the community.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the description and discussion on the various techniques and procedures used in the study to collect and analyze the data as it is deemed appropriate.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research designs are often referred to as the structuring of investigation aimed at identifying variables and their relationships to one another. In this study, questionnaire serves as useful guide to the effort of generating data for this study. The survey research design through the administration of questionnaires was used for the study.

For this study, the survey research design was adopted. The choice of the design was informed by the objectives of the study as outlined earlier. This research design provides a quick efficient and accurate means of assessing information about a population of interest. It intends to study.

3.3 AREA OF THE STUDY

Gusau, town is located along Sokoto, Zaria road. It is 176 km from Zaria and 210 km from Sokoto. The town bordered kotorkoshi in Gusau as a Local Government Area is located in Northwestern Nigeria. It is the capital of Zamfara State. The Local Government has an area of 3,364 km² and a population of 383,162 as at the 2006 census and 528,400 in 2016 population projection. Gusau, sits just north of a line drawn from Kebbi to Kano, and the town is located on the main railway between KauraNamoda and Zaria, and it is on a secondary highway between Talata Mafara and Funtua. Sharia practice was first declared in the city in 1999 by the then Governor

Ahmed Sani (YarimanBakura) and is still in force. Gusau, has an Emir which was upgraded from district head Sarkin Katsinan Gusau to Emir. Gusau, is located on the Sokoto River in the savanna region of Nigeria. The river provides access to water supplies during the dry season. Gusau serves as a major industrial center of northern Nigeria. Industries in the city include textile manufacturing, groundnut and tobacco processing, and cotton ginning. The city is active in mining the deposits of gold and diamonds in the surrounding countryside. Gusau is connected by roads and a railroad to other cities in the region. The city is part of the Hausa-Fulani cultural region of northern Nigeria. It has a substantial Muslim population and contains numerous mosques and Muslim organizations. Archaeological evidence suggests that Gusau was occupied by Old Stone Age (37,000-15,000 years ago) peoples and many quartz tools from this period have been found in the area. Gusau previously served as a leper colony. (wikipedia)

The east, Kaura Namoda in the north, Bungudu in the west and Dansadau in the south.(gusau.wordpress.com)The town has two major rivers, river Sokoto to the west and river Gagare to the east. Diplomatically, the town is characterized by high temperature especially during the rainy season. The two major seasons in the town are dry season Bazara and wet season damina. Gusau is presently the headquarter of Zamfara state as well as the headquarter of Gusau local government area(Goldsmith2012).

Historically, Gusau town was established during the jihad of Usmanu Danfodio by Mallam Gambo who migrated with his followers from Yandoto in 1799. He established a new settlement called Yar Gusau on then finger of river Sokoto 25km from Yandoto, east of present day Gusau. The population of Gusau over 500,000 according to 1991 census, but in 2009 census is over 600,000 population. Hausa is the

common language of the people. The three main indigenous tribes are Katsinawa, Zamfarawa and Gobirawa. But because of its cosmopolitan outlook pidgin, Igbo, Yoruba, Tiv, fek and Kanuri are also spoken. Farming has therefore remained the most important occupation for the people of the area. In addition, there are other hand craft industries that include tithing, spinning, weaving, yeing and tanning, leatherwork and wood carving. These occupations are mostly hereditary profession in which milieus specialized(Goldsmith2012).

3.4 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The population of study consists of all youths of Gusau Local Government area of Zamfara state. Zamfara state has a population of 3,278,873 according to the 2006 census and contains fourteen local government areas.

3.5 SAMPLE SIZE AND TECHNIQUE OF THE STUDY

The Convenient sampling technique was used in selecting 100 residents from the entire population. This is chosen due to the financial strength of the researcher coupled with time constraints.

3.6 INSTRUMENT FOR DATA COLLECTION

These are the tools or methods used in getting data from respondents. In this study, Questionnaires are research instruments used. Questionnaire is the main research instrument used for the study to gather necessary data from the sample respondents. The questionnaire is structured type and provides answers to the research questions and hypotheses therein.

This instrument is divided and limited into two sections; Section A and B. Section A will deals with the personal data of the respondents while Section B contains research statement postulated in line with the research question and hypothesis in chapter one.

Options or alternatives are provided for each respondent to pick or tick one of the options.

3.7 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF INSTRUMENT

Reliability means the accuracy of precision of a measuring instrument while validity means the extent to which the research instrument measures what it is supposed to measure. In order to determine the reliability and validity of the study, the test-retest method was used. To have a valid instrument, the questions in the questionnaire will be free from ambiguity (i.e the questions will not be too complex). To have reliable instrument, the questionnaire will be followed with interview of sample of respondents to know whether their view on the subject.

3.8 TECHNIQUES OF DATA ANALYSIS

Having gathered the data through the administration of questionnaire, the collected data will be coded, tabulated, and analyzed according to the research question and hypothesis.

In order to analyze the data collected effectively and efficiently for easy management and accuracy, the simple percentage method was the analytical tools used for this research project and a sample size of one hundred (100) will be represented by 100% for easy analysis of the responses.

Also, Correlation statistical analytical method will be used in the research work. Correlation as a statistical technique is used in testing of hypothesis so as to predict what the relationship between two variables should be. It is used in drawing and reaching conclusion by collecting the observed values from the questionnaire administered to respondents, testing the degree of freedom and carrying out a decision in determining the critical value of the hypothesis.

$$r = \frac{n\pounds X y - \pounds X y}{\sqrt{[n\pounds x^2 - (\pounds x)^2]\,[n\pounds y^2 - (\pounds y)^2]}}$$

Where x = independent factor

y = dependent factor

3.9 SCORING OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Since the research instrument to be used are the questionnaires, it is designed using the like scale method. The questionnaire is designed in the following ways:

i) Yes

ii) No

iii) Don't Know

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of the result obtained from questionnaires. The data gathered were presented according to the order in which they were arranged in the research questions and simple percentage were used to analyze the demographic information of the respondents while the chi square test was adopted to test the research hypothesis.

4.2 Analysis Demographic Data of Respondents

Table 1: Gender of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	65	65.0%	65.0%
	Female	35	35.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table1 above shows the gender distribution of the respondents used for this study. Out of the total number of 100 respondents, 65respondents which represent 65.0percent of the population are male. 35 which represent 35.0 percent of the population are female.

Table 2: Age range of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20-30 years	15	15.0%	15.0%
	31-40 years	10	10.0%	25.0%
	41-50 years	25	25.0%	50.0%
	51-60 years	20	20.0%	70.0%
	above 60 years	30	30.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey. September, 2018.

Table 2 above shows the age grade of the respondents used for this study. Out of the total number of 100 respondents, 15 respondents which represent 15.0 percent of the population are between 20-30 years. 10 respondents which represent 10.0 percent of the population are between 31-40 years. 25 respondents which represent 25.0 percent of the population are between 41-50 years. 20 respondents which represent 20.0 percent of the population are between 51-60 years. 30 respondents which represent 30.0 percent of the population are above 60 years.

Table 3: Educational Background of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	FSLC	20	20.0%	20.0%
	WASSCE/GCE/NECO	25	25.0%	45.0%
	OND/HND/BSC	35	35.0%	80.0%
	MSC/PGD/PHD	15	15.0%	95.0%
	OTHERS	5	5.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 3 above shows the educational background of the respondents used for this study. Out of the total number of 100 respondents, 20 respondents which represent 20.0percent of the population are FSLC holders. 25 which represent 25.0 percent of the population are SSCE/GCE/WASSCE holders. 35 which represent 35.0 percent of the population are OND/HND/BSC holders. 15 which represent 15.0 percent of the population are MSC/PGD/PHD holders. 5 which represent 5.0 percent of the population had other type of educational qualifications.

Table 4: Occupation of Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Civil servants	25	25.0%	25.0%
	Self employed	45	45.0%	70.0%
	Unemployed	30	30.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 5 shows the occupation of respondents used for the study. 25 respondents representing 25.0 perrcent of the population under study are civil servants. 45 respondents representing 45.0 perrcent of the population under study are self-employed. 30 respondents representing 30.0 perrcent of the population under study are Unemployed.

4.3Analysis of Psychographic Data

Table 5: Does monetization of politics have any effect on youth participation in Zamfara state?

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	50	50.0%	50.0%
	No	35	35.0%	85.0%
	Don't Know	15	15.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 5 show the responses of respondents if monetization of politics has any effect on youth participation in Zamfara state.50 of the respondents representing 50.0 percent said Yes that monetization of politics has effect on youth participation in Zamfara state. 35 respondents representing 35.0 percent said No that monetization of politics have no effect on youth participation in Zamfara state. 15 respondents representing 15.0 percent were undecided.

This shows that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that monetization of politics has effect on youth participation in Zamfara state.

Table 6: Is there any relationship between level of education and political participation?

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	68	68.0%	68.0%
	No	22	22.0%	90.0%
	Don't Know	10	10.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 6 shows the responses of respondents if there is any relationship between level of education and political participation. 68 respondents representing 68.0 percent said Yes that there is a relationship between level of education and political participation. 22 respondents representing 22.0 percent said No that there is no relationship between level of education and political participation. 10 respondents representing 10.0 percent were undecided.

This shows that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that there is a relationship between level of education and political participation.

Table 7: Is there any relationship between material well-being and political participation?

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	50	50.0%	50.0%
	No	45	45.0%	95.0%
	Don't know	5	5.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 7 show the responses of respondents if there is any relationship between material well-being and political participation. 50 of the respondents representing 50.0 percent said Yes that there is a relationship between material well-being and political participation. 45 respondents representing 45.0 percent said No that there is no relationship between material well-being and political participation. 5 respondents representing 5.0 percent were undecided.

This shows that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that there is a relationship between material well-being and political participation.

Table 8: Does political socialization improve youth participation?

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	65	65.0%	65.0%
	No	25	25.0%	90.0%
	Don't Know	10	10.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 8 show the responses of respondents if political socialization improves youth participation. 65 of the respondents representing 65.0 percent said Yes that political socialization improves youth participation. 25 respondents representing 25.0 percent said No that political socialization does not improve youth participation. 10 respondents representing 10.0 percent were undecided.

This shows that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that political socialization improves youth participation.

Table 9: Is there relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics?

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	55	55.0%	55.0%
	No	32	32.0%	87.0%
	Don't Know	13	13.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 9 shows the responses of respondents if there is a relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics. 55 of the respondents representing 55.0 percent said Yes that there is a relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics. 32 respondents representing 32.0 percent said No that there is no relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics. 13 respondents representing 13.0 percent were undecided. This shows that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that there is a relationship between electioneering process and youths' participation in politics.

Table 10: Which of the following will enhance youth participation in politics in Zamfara state?

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strengthening our electoral system	25	25.0%	25.0%
	Demonetization of politics	10	10.0%	35.0%
	Creating more political awareness in Zamfara	65	65.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 10 show the responses of respondents on factors that enhances youth participation in politics in Zamfara state. 25 of the respondents representing 25.0 percent said that strengthening our electoral system is a factor that enhances youth participation in politics in Zamfara state. 10 of the respondents representing 10.0 percent said that demonetization of politics is a factor that enhances youth participation in politics in Zamfara state. 65 of the respondents representing 65.0 percent said that creating more political awareness in Zamfara is a factor that enhances youth participation in politics in Zamfara state.

Table 11: Do you think making politics less capital intensive will improve political participation?

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	70	70.0%	70.0%
	No	25	25.0%	95.0%
	Don't Know	5	5.0%	100.0%
	Total	100	100.0%	

Source: Field Survey, September, 2018.

Table 11 show the responses of respondents if making politics less capital intensive will improve political participation. 70 of the respondents representing 70.0 percent said Yes that making politics less capital intensive will improve political participation. 25 of the respondents representing 25.0 percent said No that making politics less capital intensive will not improve political participation. 5 of them representing 5.0 percent were undecided. This shows that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that making politics less capital intensive will improve political participation.

4.4 Test of Hypothesis

Hypothesis I

H_o: Money politics has no effect on youth participation in Gusau local government area.

H_i: Money politics has effect on youth participation in Gusau local government area.

Level of significance: 0.05

Decision rule: reject the null hypothesis H_0 if the p value is less than the level of significance. Accept the null hypothesis if otherwise.

Table 12 Test Statistics

	Money politics has effect on youth participation in Gusau local government area
Chi-Square	105.520[a]
Df	3
Asymp. Sig.	**.000**

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 25.0.

Conclusions based on decision rule:

Since the p-value= 0.000 is less than the level of significance (0.05), we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that money politics has effect on youth participation in Gusau local government area.

Hypothesis II

H_0: There is no relationship between material well-being and political participation.

H_1: There is a relationship between material well-being and political participation.

Level of significance: 0.05

Decision rule: reject the null hypothesis H_0 if the p value is less than the level of significance. Accept the null hypothesis if otherwise.

Table 13 Test Statistics

	There is a relationship between material well-being and political participation.
Chi-Square	70.347[a]
Df	2
Asymp. Sig.	**.000**

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 25.0.

Conclusions based on decision rule:

Since the p-value= 0.000 is less than the level of significance (0.05), we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a relationship between material well-being and political participation.

4.5 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

1. Monetization of politics has effect on youth participation: In situation in which politicians spend much money in purchasing nomination forms in order to participate in politics when they are in office they now used the first years in seeking ways to recover those resources or funds which they used before coming that position. And during the recovery period masses or public suffers because politicians are not

Electoral management should ensure that all segments of the society, including youth are empowered to fully participate in electoral process, such as voters, candidates or officials. Removing existing barriers for youth electoral participation at different levels and in different areas, including the national, legal and political framework.

6. The following will enhances youth participation in politics in Zamfara state

i. Strengthening our electoral system;

ii. Demonetization of politics ;

iii. Creating more political awareness on the politics among youth in zamfara state ;

It shows that creating more political awareness on the politics among youth in Gusau local government area will enhance youth participation in politics. Government could sanitise the environment with political talks through used of mass media, campaigning, so that the citizens can have ideas and knowledge of what is happening in politics and thereby increasing their interest of participation.

7. Making politics less capital intensive secure and improve political participation of youth in Gusau. Electoral body should be able to prevent vote buying during election and provide a specific amount of money for each political party to spend during campaign by so doing, the youth participation /political participation will be more easier for youth to participate.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

From our academic journey, we were able to make the following findings;

- It has been established that there is a significant relationship between political/ electoral education and youth participation in Zamfara state.
- It has proposed a number of strategies to mobilize citizens for increased youth participation and effectiveness in Zamfara state in Gusau local government area.
- It shows that the degree of confidence the people have in Zamfara state electoral system

Findings from the study revealed that Zamfara youth do not have confidence in our electoral system there is a significant relationship between the level of electoral education of Zamfara youth and the level of their participation in politics. It also revealed that the best ways of mobilizing more Zamfara state youth particularly Gusau youth participation are;

- Strengthening our electoral system.
- Equipping our judicial system to act as a check to our electoral system.
- Creating more awareness about political happenings in Gusau and the need for youth to participate effectively.

5.2 Recommendation

As a result of the findings in the study, the following recommendations can be made:

1. Politics should be demonetize (that is the nomination forms should be made affordable) for youths to be able to participate politics.

2. Electoral commission should increase their voter awareness such as campaigns, public announcement, through mass media so that youth can see politics as positive things to do not "dirty game".
3. Political elites should denounce manipulation of voters but to seek for creditable youths who are Nigerians that can work effectively and efficiently for development of Gusau local government area.
4. INEC should in collaboration with the government strengthen our electoral system so that Youths can have confidence in our electoral system. This singular factor if gotten right would go a long way in making youths participate in politics.
5. Our judicial system should check the excesses of our electoral officers and other stakeholders. This will equally increase the confidence of electorates in Zamfara and in turn increase youth participation in Gusau local government area.

5.3 CONCLUSION

No human collectivity can experience any meaningful and sustainable level of progress if it fails to systematically, deliberately, and constructively engage and harness the drive and energy of the youths. It is based on this premises that this study investigated democracy and youth participation in Zamfara. The central concern of this study is to examine the youth political participation in Gusau local government area using variable of voting behaviour, political party membership and engagement in protest and demonstration and to investigate factors that shape the pattern of the youth political behaviour in the state. The study of the youth political participation has gained more research attention in the developed democracies and factor of the life cycle and

generational effect had been found to be a major determinant of the level of participation in that part of the world. However, the unstable Nigerian democratic system over the year has just made the study of this distinct group political engagement a new area of research. The period effect of colonialism, military authoritarianism, with poor political socialization limits the participation only to political elites who also control the state's resources.

One of the goals that characterized this research is to divert from previous methods of studying youth political participation basically on electoral violence to the use of quantitative method in investigating their political participation based on variables o voting, party attachment/membership and engaging in protest and demonstrations. The second objective is proposed a number of strategies to mobilize citizen for increased youth participation and effectiveness in Gusau.

In a nut shell, participation of youth encourages them to become active members of the society and democratic agents. By involving and empowering young brains through the political process, they tend to develop important skills, improve self-confidence and some sense of belonging in governance while taking home a greater understanding of governance that is important in both newly formed and well-established democracies.

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APPENDIX

Department of Political Science,

Faculty of Management and Social Science,

Federal University Gusau, Zamfara

State-Nigeria.

Dear Respondent(s),

I am a final year student in the above named department and institution. Embarking on a research titled; Democracy and Youth Participation in Zamfara State;A Case Study of Gusau Local Government Area of Zamfara. This is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of B.Sc in political Science. Please, kindly assist by ticking the correct or appropriate option(s) against any of the questions provided. And probably fill the spaces, where necessary. Meanwhile, your responses will be treated confidentially and only useful for the purpose of this study.

Thanks

Banazareth Helen.

QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTION: Please ensure to complete the questionnaire by ticking the correct answer(s) from the options where necessary

SECTION A: Personal Information/Data

1. Gender
   a) Male ( )
   b) Female ( )
2. Age-Range ( )
   a) 20-30 ( )
   b) 31-40 ( )
   c) 41-50 ( )
   d) 51-60 ( )
   e) Above 60 ( )
3. Educational qualification
   a) FSLC ( )
   b) WAEC/SSCE/NECO ( )

c) BSC/HND/OND ( )

d) MSC/PHD/MBA/PGD ( )

e). Others

4. Year in Zamfara state

a) 0-2yrs ( )

b) 3-5yrs ( )

c) 6-8yrs ( )

d) 9-11yrs ( )

e) 11-13yrs ( )

f) Above 13yrs ( )

SECTION B

QUESTIONS ON DEMOCRACY AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA

5. Does monetization of politics have any effect on youth participation in Zamfara state?

   a) Yes ( )

   b) No ( )

   c) Don't Know ( )

6. Is there any relationship between level of education and political participation?

   a. Yes ( )

   b. No ( )

c.Don't Know ( )

7. Is there any relationship between material well-being and political participation?

   a. Yes ( )

b. No ( )

   c. Don't Know ( )

8. Does political socialization improve youth participation in politics?

   a. Yes ( )

   b. No ( )

   c. Don't Know ( )

9. Which of the following will enhance youth participation in politics in Zamfara state

   i. Strengthening our electoral system ( )

   ii. Demonetization of politics ( )

   iii. Creating more political awareness on the politics among youth in Zamfara ( )

10. Do you think making politics less capital intensive is more secure to improve political participation?

   a. Yes ( )

   b. No ( )

   c. Don't Know( )

11. In your own ways, suggest ways of improving youth participation in politics

_____

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