



**UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA**

***POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN THE NIGERIA NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY***

**ONYEWUCHI CHINEDU ONYENACHI**

**FEM 2018 26**



**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN THE NIGERIA NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY**

By

**ONYEWUCHI CHINEDU ONYENACHI**

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,  
in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science**

**April 2018**

## **COPYRIGHT**

All material contained within the thesis, including without limitation text, logos, icons, photographs, and all other artwork, is copyright material of Universiti Putra Malaysia unless otherwise stated. Use may be made of any material contained within the thesis for non-commercial purposes from the copyright holder. Commercial use of material may only be made with the express, prior, written permission of Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Copyright © Universiti Putra Malaysia



## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved parents, Mr. Nathaniel Okechukwu Onyewuchi [and Mrs. Rita Adaure Onyewuchi. My siblings: Ijeoma, Nkeiru, Nnaemeka, Chibuike, Chukwueke and my husband, Nsini for their unflinching support throughout my studies.



COPYRIGHT UPM

Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN THE NIGERIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

By

**ONYEWUCHI CHINEDU ONYENACHI**

**April 2018**

**Chairman : Professor Zaid Ahmad, PhD**  
**Faculty : Human Ecology**

This study intends to explore youth political participation in Nigeria through the National Assembly and the obstacles that limits them from fully participating in the political processes of the nation. Specifically, it explores four research questions: How do you appraise the level of youth political participation and their awareness of politics in the country? What are the obstacles to youth political participation in the National Assembly? How can youth participation in the national parliament be improved upon? How can an effective model for youth political participation be established? Qualitative research approach using case-study method from a critical research perspective was used for this study. Data collection methods include in-depth interviews, observations and archival records. The interviews were conducted with 11 key informants across three categories of participants. The findings revealed that there is low youth political participation in the country. Their voices are largely silent in party politics and decision making. They are also challenged by their socioeconomic status, godfather issues, expensive nomination tickets, all which affects youth participation. Hence, the study recommends an elimination of these barriers and the adoption of an effective model of political participation for equitable representation of the Nigerian youth through active participation in the National Assembly and in politics generally.

Keywords : Participation, Youth, Politics, National Assembly, Constitution, Nigeria

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sains

## **PENGLIBATAN BELIA DALAM POLITIK DI PERHIMPUNAN NASIONAL NIGERIA**

Oleh

**ONYEWUCHI CHINEDU ONYENACHI**

**April 2018**

**Pengerusi : Profesor Zaid Ahmad, PhD**  
**Fakulti : Ekologi Manusia**

Kajian ini berhasrat meneroka belia penyertaan politik dalam Nigeria melalui Perhimpunan Kebangsaan dan halangan yang membatasi mereka dari mengambil bahagian sepenuhnya dalam proses politik Negara. Khususnya, untuk meneroka empat soalan penyelidikan: Bagaimana anda menilai tahap pemuda penyertaan politik dan kesedaran mereka mengenai politik di negara ini? Apakah halangan untuk penyertaan politik pemuda di Perhimpunan Kebangsaan? Bagaimana penyertaan belia dalam parlimen Negara diperbaiki? Bagaimanakah model berkesan untuk penyertaan politik belia diwujudkan? Pendekatan penyelidikan kualitatif menggunakan kaedah kajian kes dari kritikal perspektif penyelidikan telah digunakan untuk kajian ini. Kaedah kutipan data termasuk wawancara mendalam, pemerhatian dan rekod arkib. Wawancara itu adalah dijalankan dengan 11 kunci pemberi maklumat dalam tiga kategori peserta. Penemuan mendedahkannya ada belia yang rendah penyertaan politik dalam negara. Suara mereka agak senyap dalam politik parti dan membuat keputusan. Mereka juga dicabar oleh status sosioekonomi mereka, isu godfather, tiket penamaan mahal, semua yang mempengaruhi penyertaan belia. Oleh itu, kajian itu mencadangkan penghapusan halangan ini dan penggunaan suatu model penyertaan politik yang berkesan untuk perwakilan yang saksama daripada belia Nigeria melalui penyertaan aktif dalam Perhimpunan Kebangsaan dan dalam politik pada umumnya.

Kata kunci : Penglibatan, Belia, Politik, Perhimpunan Nasional, Perlembagaan, Nigeria

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank Almighty God for his grace, guidance and wisdom throughout the duration of this study. I am sincerely grateful and appreciative of the service rendered by many people who contributed in various capacities to the successful completion of this research.

First and foremost, I thank my supervisor, Prof. Zaid Ahmad of the Faculty of Human Ecology, UPM for his immense contribution towards the successful completion of this research. The door to Prof. Ahmad's office was always open whenever I had any question about my research or writing. He consistently allowed this research to be my own work, but steered me in the right direction whenever he thought I needed it.

I also say big thank you to my co-supervisor, Prof. Jayum Anak Jawan, for his critical analysis of this work. I am grateful to him for his valuable time, corrections and suggestions. He was always ready to go through my work and give prompt feedback. Equally, I am grateful to all the lecturers that taught me during my sojourn at UPM, particularly Dr. Zatul.

My studies would have been lonely without the encouragement and support from friends and family. I therefore acknowledge all bonds of friendship built/kindled during the course of this academic pursuit. Specifically, I want to express my gratitude to my cousin, Ifeanyichukwu Onwuchekwa, who stood by me and supported me. May God bless you all.

My special thanks to my loving parents, Mr. Nathaniel Okechukwu Onyewuchi for the love, trust and support. And to my wonderful mum, Mrs Rita Adaure Onyewuchi, I am forever grateful for your support and ceaseless prayers. You both toiled day and night to make me what I am today. To my sisters, Ijeoma, Nkeiruka and my brothers, Nnaemeka, Chibuike, Chukwueke, words fail me to express my profound appreciation to my ever supportive family, your encouragement and the love you showered on me. I love you all, you rock.

Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my sweetheart, my husband, Nsini Anselem Eyo. I appreciate your unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout the process of researching and writing this thesis. I love you.

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of the Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

**Zaid Ahmad, PhD**

Professor  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Chairman)

**Jayum A. Jawan, PhD**

Professor  
Faculty of Human Ecology  
Universiti Putra Malaysia  
(Member)

**ROBIAH BINTI YUNUS, PhD**

Professor and Dean  
School of Graduate Studies  
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

## Declaration by graduate student

I hereby confirm that:

- this thesis is my original work;
- quotations, illustrations and citations have been duly referenced;
- this thesis has not been submitted previously or concurrently for any other degree at any institutions;
- intellectual property from the thesis and copyright of thesis are fully-owned by Universiti Putra Malaysia, as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- written permission must be obtained from supervisor and the office of Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research and innovation) before thesis is published (in the form of written, printed or in electronic form) including books, journals, modules, proceedings, popular writings, seminar papers, manuscripts, posters, reports, lecture notes, learning modules or any other materials as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- there is no plagiarism or data falsification/fabrication in the thesis, and scholarly integrity is upheld as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) and the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012. The thesis has undergone plagiarism detection software

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Name and Matric No: Onyewuchi Chinedu Onyenachi, GS41246

## Declaration by Members of Supervisory Committee

This is to confirm that:

- the research conducted and the writing of this thesis was under our supervision;
- supervision responsibilities as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) were adhered to.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Chairman  
of Supervisory  
Committee:

Professor Dr. Zaid Ahmad

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Member  
of Supervisory  
Committee:

Professor Dr. Jayum A. Jawan

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	i
<b>ABSTRAK</b>	ii
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	iii
<b>APPROVAL</b>	iv
<b>DECLARATION</b>	xiv
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	xii
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	xiii
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>	
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Historical Background	4
1.2 Nigeria Youth, Elections and Constitution	7
1.3 Definitions of a Youth	10
1.4 Problem Statement	13
1.5 Research Questions	15
1.6 Objectives of the Study	15
1.7 Significance of the Study	15
1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study	17
1.9 Conceptual Definition of Terms	17
1.10 Summary	18
<b>2 LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>20</b>
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 Political Participation	20
2.3 Environmental Factors	22
2.3.1 Youth Political Participation Globally	22
2.3.2 Nigerian Youth and Level of Political Participation	25
2.3.3 Society and Youth Political Awareness	29
2.3.4 Influence of Mass Media on the Youth	31
2.4 Socio-Economic Factors	35
2.4.1 Unemployment and Youth Political Participation	35
2.4.2 Nigeria Middle Class and Youth Political Participation	39
2.5 Political Factors	42
2.5.1 Nigerian Political Parties and the Youth	42
2.5.2 Political Influence and Impact on Participation	45
2.5.3 Citizen Participation	48

2.6	Participatory Democratic Theory	50
2.7	Conceptual Framework	51
2.8	Summary	52
<b>3</b>	<b>METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>53</b>
3.1	Introduction	53
3.2	Research Design	53
3.3	Target Population	55
3.4	Data Collection Method	57
	3.4.1 In-depth Interview	58
	3.4.2 Secondary Data	59
3.5	Sample/Informant Selection	59
	3.5.1 Politically Active Youth	60
	3.5.2 Party Executives	60
	3.5.3 Expert Views	61
3.6	Justification for the Selection	61
	3.6.1 Experience	61
	3.6.2 Age	62
	3.6.3 Education	62
	3.6.4 Sex	62
3.7	Data Analysis	62
3.8	Triangulation	64
3.9	Pilot Study	64
3.10	Validity	65
3.11	Reliability	65
3.12	Ethical consideration	65
3.13	Summary	66
<b>4</b>	<b>RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS</b>	<b>67</b>
4.1	Introduction	67
4.2	General Background of Informants	67
4.3	The Findings of the Study/Discussions of Themes	68
	4.3.1 Low Level of Youth Political Participation	69
	4.3.2 Obstacles to Youth Political Participation	74
	4.3.3 Improving Youth Political Participation	81
4.4	Observations	82
4.5	Archived Documents	82
4.6	Model for Effective Youth Political Participation in Nigeria	83
4.7	Summary	85
<b>5</b>	<b>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</b>	<b>86</b>
5.1	Introduction	86
5.2	Summary of Findings	86
5.3	Implications of Findings	88
	5.3.1 Theoretical Implications	89
	5.3.2 Practical Implications	90

5.4	Limitations of the study	92
5.5	Conclusion	92
5.6	Recommendations	94
<b>REFERENCES</b>		96
<b>APPENDICES</b>		119
<b>BIODATA OF STUDENT</b>		156



## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	Percentage Distribution of Youth (18-35) by Age Group and Sex	4
1.2	Result of 2015 Nigeria General Elections	9
1.3	Constitutional Youth Age of 18 – 35 years	9
1.4	Political Parties Youth Age of 18 – 40 years	10
1.5	Youth Age across the Globe	11
1.6	United Nations Document on Youth Age	12
2.1	Unemployment rate	36
2.2	Euromonitor International from national statistics/UN Data for 2020	39
3.1	List of Informers	57
4.1	Distribution of Informants in Various Categories	68

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1 : Some Factors Accounting for Differences in Political Influence	47
2.2 : Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation	49
3.1 : Research Methodology	55
4.1 : Youth Political Participation	84



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities
CAPASSE	Cognitive Aspect of Political Awareness in Social Study Education
CMHA	Canadian Mental Health Association
HND	Higher National Diploma
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
NASS	National Assembly
NANS	National Association of Nigerian Students
NBA	Nigerian Bar Association
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPC	National Population Commission
NWNA	No Woman Need Apply
NYM	Nigerian Youth Movement
NYP	Nigerian Youth Parliament
TYD	Thailand Youth Development Act
YDP	Youth Development Plan
UNHDR	United Nations Human Development Report
YIAGA	Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The importance of active youth participation in politics for the building of strong democracy has been the subject of much debate amongst scholars and policymakers in both developed and developing countries in recent years (Forbrig, 2005a, 2005b; Iyengar & Jackman, 2004; O'Donoghue, Kirshner, & McLaughlin, 2002; Sloam, 2007). Surveys such as that conducted by the UNDP (2013), have shown that a fifth of the world's population is made up of predominantly young people between the ages of 15 and 25 years old. However, despite the overwhelming global youth population, scholars have observed that there is a decline and apathy in young people participation in electoral processes, party membership and governance particularly in established democracies (Henn, Weinstein, & Forrest, 2005; Henn, Weinstein, & Wring, 2002; D. Marsh, O'Toole, & Jones, 2006; Sloam, 2007, 2008, 2011). While these youth are often involved in informal, politically relevant processes, such as activism or civic engagement, they are not formally represented in national political institutions such as parliaments and many of them do not participate in elections (Iyengar & Jackman, 2004; UNDP, 2013).

This apathy towards politics has led to many researches in the last decade by different political analysts to understand this social phenomenon (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002; Mair & Van Biezen, 2001; D. Marsh et al., 2006; Norris, 2002; Stoker, 2006; Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005). In most cases, it was revealed that disillusioned by the adults' long term political culture of ignoring them (Agbaje & Adejumobi, 2006), the sit-tight attitude of politicians and lack of adequate funding to play in the political arena, the youths shun formal politics (Adichie, 2011).

These findings from many predominantly quantitative studies of youth political participation, have however been negated in recent studies. As contrary to earlier researches in this area, it has been found that youth are not apolitical as previously thought, instead they are really interested in political matters, and do support the democratic process (Harris, Wyn, & Younes, 2010; Sloam, 2007; Youniss et al., 2002). However, they feel a sense of anti-climax having voted for the first time, and are critical of those who have been elected to positions of political power (Henn et al., 2002), mostly because their voices are not heard, as such they feel disenfranchised from the political process (Harris et al., 2010) particularly, as their votes do not count (Agbaje & Adejumobi, 2006). Based on this, the youth are opting more for the unconventional mode of participation rather than the known traditional mode.

This trend is not limited to western world or developed countries as researches in Nigeria on youth political participation has validated the fact that, despite the provision in the Nigerian Constitution giving youth the ample opportunity to vie for

elective post into the highest decision making arm of government – the Nigeria National Assembly (NASS), the reality on ground is different. Investigations have shown low participation of Nigerian youth in this arena with the sector being dominated largely by older men and women of an average age of between 45 to over 70 years (INEC, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015; NASS, 2007 2011 2015). The 70 million youth populations (NBS, 2012) are not given adequate representation in the decision making and leadership of the country. Many are deterred by the bottlenecks like access to fund, issues of godfathers or patron-client relationship (Animasawun, 2013; Collier, 2010; Onwudiwe, Kew, & Sklar, 2006) and exorbitant party nomination cards used as criteria to vie for elective posts (Avosuahi, 2014; Gaskia, 2014). Politics in Nigeria being an elitist game (Nolutshungu, 1990; Omodia, 2010), it takes those in the high income bracket and sometimes those with high education to play real politics in the country. The hegemonic hold of some powerful people in the society on electoral matters and elective posts have also placed a stranglehold on political interference and barred the youth from active political participation which has led to the retrogressing participation of Nigerian youth in politics. As Adichie (2011) pointed out, despite the fact that about 70% of Nigeria's population is under 35 years, spanning over a period of time, there is has been a political culture of ignoring the youth, who themselves feel disconnected from the political process.

Therefore, like the post-communist democracies and established democracies in which youths tend to distance themselves from traditional forms of political participation due to the fact that they feel alienated from formal decision making (Forbrig, 2005a; O'Donoghue et al., 2002), same rule applies to the Nigerian youths. There is this general belief that their votes do not count and so many shun active political participation. However, tired of long years of misrule, bad leadership, mismanagement of the economy, endemic corruption, poverty, inadequate educational facilities, poor health care, unfulfilled electoral promises; Nigerian youth are coming out of their shell and becoming sensitive to political participation and the need for their voices to be heard through representation in elective posts. Recent studies have shown that more youths are participating in politics and going a step further by actually vying for elective posts. In a sense one can say, there is a new awakening, a reborn of political interest and participation in the minds of the Nigerian youth.

Nevertheless, a growing awareness of political processes notwithstanding, the number of youth in active political institutions such as parliament remains relatively small and even smaller is the youth actually given the mandate by their various parties to contest for elections. Varied reasons ranging from incompetence on the part of the youth, lack of political know-how, and lack of adequate fund to the inability to adequately represent the people have been ascribed to this. It is this small number of full-time politically active youth that interests the researcher, because there is the distinct possibility that this group will continue to grow in numbers if given the right incentives and enabling laws to participate fully in governance. Currently, although the three major political parties in the country: PDP, APC, APGA have well-developed youth wings, these are more or less like ceremonial

offices as they are not really allowed to play prominent roles in elections. To a large extent, youth are deterred to participate fully in politics due to exorbitant cost of nomination tickets, issue of 'god fatherism' (Adeoye, 2009; Olarinmoye, 2008; Omotola, 2007), ethnicity (Joseph, 2014; Beshiru Salawu, 2010; B Salawu & Hassan, 2011), inadequate education among others. And by inadequate education here means that youth are not properly tutored on political knowledge and leadership qualities.

Since the transition to democracy in 1999, the number of youth in the National Assembly (parliament) and even the state assemblies has not shown any significant improvement. In contrast to the 1999 elections of which 58 thousand Nigerian youth were registered to vote, the number rose by only 5 per cent to 61 thousand voters for the 2003 elections, and by 6.3 per cent to 62 thousand voters for the 2007 general elections (INEC, 2010). While some of these political parties have improved their youth party wings by actually having offices for them and appointing heads to run them, the supposed heads are really not youth themselves considering their ages (Ibeh, 2014; Ukaibe, 2015). This fact became more evident post Nigeria general elections and appointment of ministers. The ministerial list had 21 nominees which consist of three women, four former senators and five former governors with an average age of 53, which is clearly outside the purview of the legal youth bracket of 18-40 years (Ukaibe, 2015). No youth was appointed or made it into the politically appointed posts despite the huge support they gave to the present government which led to its winning the election.

The central goal of this thesis therefore, is to explore through qualitative research approach using case study method from a critical research perspective, the obstacles that inhibits full-time politically active youth from seeking elective posts in the national parliament and being part of the decision making process in government. The researcher is interested in how the youth wing of political parties are structured along party lines, the mechanisms (which includes the laws/constitution), such that the interests of the youth are preserved, empowered and given the necessary leverage to participate in decision making. This investigation and analysis of the underlying socioeconomic, political eco-system and cultural causes of the problem is designed to result in action to address the problem of low youth participation in the national parliament of the country comprising of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Whilst a number of quantitative research studies have looked at the low participation of youth in politics particularly in developed countries (Forbrig, 2005b; Henn & Foard, 2013; Henn et al., 2005; Henn et al., 2002; D. Marsh et al., 2006; Sloam, 2007), this research intends however to focus primarily on politically active Nigerian youth who are members of political parties using qualitative approach. Although some research has been carried out on youth participation in politics in the country, so far there have been few empirical investigations into the hindrances politically active youth in Nigeria face in seeking political posts into the national parliament.

This study will fill this gap. Despite the low levels of youth political involvement in elective posts, it is also necessary to explore approaches toward identifying and mitigating bottlenecks that hamper youth participation in decision-making platforms at local, regional and national levels. The local and state parliaments are outside the scope of the study but the findings from this study can be replicated on both platforms since they operate with same constitution. Youth already involved in politics should be empowered and encouraged to work effectively within political parties, political institutions and to engage in political processes by giving competent and capable youth who can run for political offices the opportunity to do so. The study will allow for analysis around: political participation and trust in political institutions in the country. These findings will provide important background for identifying national-level entry points for engaging young people in democratic governance activities as well as add to the existing body of knowledge on this issue.

The purpose of this study therefore is to explore the constraints and bottlenecks that prevent already politically active youth from being given the opportunity to vie for elective positions through nomination by their parties into the National Parliament. And based on this, recommendations will be made on ways to tackle the issues for equitable representation of the Nigerian youth in governance.

The introductory chapter of this study will discuss the Historical Background on youth political participation in Nigeria, the Problem Statement, Objectives of the Study with emphasis on the General Objectives and Specific Objectives, Significance of the Study, Scope and Limitations of the Study, Participatory Democratic Theory, Conceptual Definition of Terms and the Summary.

## 1.1 Historical Background

Statistics from the National Baseline Youth Survey (2012) estimate the population of Nigerian youth (15 – 35 years) to be 64 million where female population are 51.6 percent and male 48.4 percent of the population. In spite of this data, youth are often excluded from national and international decision-making structures that affect them (NBS, 2012).

**Table 1.1 : Percentage Distribution of Youth (18-35) by Age Group and Sex**

<b>AGE GROUP</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
18-20	49.2	50.8
21-25	44.9	55.1
26-30	45.6	54.4
31-35	49.1	50.9
<b>National</b>	47.2	52.8

(Source : National Bureau of Statistics, 2012 National Baseline Youth Survey)

‘Youth participation also called youth involvement, has been used by government agencies, researchers, educators, politicians and others to define, examine and explore the active engagement of young people in government, community development and economic activity (Forbrig, 2005a; Henn & Foard, 2013; Henn et al., 2005; Henn et al., 2002; Iyengar & Jackman, 2004; Kovacheva, 2005; D. Marsh et al., 2006; O'Donoghue et al., 2002; Sloam, 2007).

In 1975, the National Commission on Resources for Youth in the United States defined youth participation as the involvement of youth in responsible, challenging action that meets genuine needs, with opportunities for planning and/or decision-making affecting others in an activity whose impact or consequences is extended to others – that is, outside or beyond the youth participants themselves. Other desirable features of youth participation are provision for critical reflection on the participatory activity and the opportunity for group effort toward a common goal. Conversely in 1995, the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) established a definition of meaningful youth participation as: “meaningful youth participation involves recognizing and nurturing the strengths, interests, and abilities of young people through the provision of real opportunities for youth to become involved in decision that affect them at individual and systemic levels.”

All over the world, liberalization from tyrant leaders and oppressive laws have been fought against by mostly youth leaders. A case in point is the Arab youth uprising in 2011 which revolutionized the political scenery in that region. The youth in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya frustrated by long years of authoritarian rule, poverty, political suppression, economic mismanagement, unemployment, social injustices among others fought back against their oppressors (Babatunde, 2015; Robbins, 2017). Another example is the Hong Kong youth mass pro-democracy sit-ins in 2014 called the ‘Umbrella Revolution’. The youth were protesting for more political freedom and full democracy. They demanded for the right to nominate and pick their own head of the Hong Kong government without interference from the Chinese Communist Party (Kaiman, 2014; Ortmann, 2015). Nigeria is no exception. Nigeria’s liberation struggle from colonialism to gaining independence was championed by the heroic acts of Dr. Herbert Macaulay, Ernest Ikoli, Chief H O Davis, J C Vaughan, Oba Samuel Akinsanya, Dr.Nnamdi Azikiwe, Tafawa Balewa, and Obafemi Awolowo among others who were at their youthful age during that period. This feat was aided in no small measure by the formation of the first national party the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) in 1934 founded by J.C. Vaughn, Ernest Ikoli, H.O. Davies, and Samuel Akinsanya. The NYM primary objectives among other things were to strive for national unity and kick against tribal and ethnic discrimination among the tribes in Nigeria. The efforts of these youths led to Nigeria’s independence in 1960 and paved way for democracy in the country in the 80s and 90s. As the (NBS, 2012) elucidated, young people have been in the forefront of good governance and fight for credible leadership in the country since the restoration of democracy.

Women participation in politics has also not been at par with that of their male counterparts as evidenced by the number of women in politics and the positions they occupy in governance. Nwogu and Wariboko (2015, p.2) citing (Eyinade, 2010) observes that, “in Nigeria, politics is presumed to be a man’s turf, where No Woman Need Apply (NWNNA) – an unspoken slogan reminiscent of the discrimination against Irish nationals in 19th century Britain.”

The discovery of oil popularly known as the ‘oil boom’ days saw most of the leaders more interested in accumulating wealth than in nation building. The enormous money coming in from the oil sector did not match the social and economic development of the country. In spite of the oil discovery, over 70 percent of Nigerians lived on less than a dollar a day, 43 percent lack sanitation and clean water, and mortality rate is among the highest in the world, (Gary & Karl, 2003). The oil boom days in Nigeria herald the entrance of corruption and waste into the country leading to long run of poor economic performance (Sala-i-Martin & Subramanian, 2003). The Dutch disease which reared its head from the 1974 to 1982 saw the decline in agriculture, the main means of export and sustenance to the country. This led to the drop in oil prices in 1982, while the country witnessed rise in inflation, debt and the dwindling of foreign exchange (Pinto, 1987).

Faced with unemployment, poor education, inadequate health facilities, lack of affordable housing, poverty etcetera, youth participation in political institutions, electoral processes, party membership and decision making dwindled and has impacted on nation building and political transformation of Nigeria. The unending crises and deprivation of political participation of youths in Nigeria since 1999 is a major test on its democracy, as all efforts to ensure that youths are given their right place in the political dispensation has proved abortive (Adichie, 2011; Ujunmwangho & Urhoghide, 2013).

Nigeria has deep-seated political issues fuelled majorly by clever and elite politicians who use religious bigotry, illiteracy, tribal sentiments, and unemployment to further divide the country along ethnic lines, thereby maintaining their stranglehold on power (Hunwick, 1992; Joseph, 2014; Olarinmoye, 2008; Omotola, 2009; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005; Beshiru Salawu, 2010; B Salawu & Hassan, 2011). Youth easily influenced due to poverty, lack of education, inexperience and unemployment, are coerced through money and other incentives to act as political thugs to these politicians. Furthermore, some politicians became tyrannical and form youth gangs and killer squad against their perceived rivals or opposition (Adeoye, 2009; Agba, Coker, & Ogaboh, 2010).

Some scholars hold the belief that the lack of political ideologies or political will to fall back on as a motivational force in politics and governance is behind dearth of youth participation in politics (Joseph, 2014; Omotola, 2009; Beshiru Salawu, 2010). Overtime, majority of the people have come to rely less and less on transparency during elections. Questions like why participate in politics when their votes are not

counted? The candidate of their choice not allowed to emerge or their opinions taken into considerations? Leaders are more or less imposed on the people through selection, rigging, insider dealings, international politicking and hegemonic group. The 2015 General elections which held so much promise for the youth inclusion in decision making, sadly ended with no noticeable appreciation of the number of youth in elective posts (Abimboye, 2015; Lunn & Harari, 2014). Once more, the youth voices will not be heard and decisions will be made on their behalves. These are all the challenges that the youth have to battle with and win to be included in politically transforming the country.

Recently however, there has been an awakening of the youth interest in politics in the country, with the youth increasingly coming out from the shadows to join mainstream politics. Through advocacy groups like the Spaces for Change, G-49, Youth Ballot Evolution (YBE), and many others, youth seek representation in government, taxing government and various political parties for at least 30% youth inclusion in politics and decision-making (EU-OECD, 2014; Gbemisola, 2014; Metuh, 2014). In a century where youth are becoming more politically aware, it behooves various governments to garner this huge demographic bloc to play active role in the country's politic arena and contribute to developmental issues.

It was based on dearth of youth in decision making and the negative use of their strength in politics that led to the launch of Nigeria Youth Parliament in August 25, 2008 by the late President Umaru Musa Ya'Adua with the singular objective of preparing Nigerian youth in decision making process while permitting them adequate representation in governance (Ayansina, 2015). The success and election of Mhairi Black, the 20-year-old Britain's youngest lawmaker during UK 2015 Elections is something that should be replicated across Africa and Nigeria in particular (McKirdy, 2015).

It is appalling and of grave concern that Nigeria blessed with huge natural and human resources cannot harness these advantages properly to the benefit of its citizens. With an overwhelming youth population, the scope and reach with what it can achieve in real terms is enormous. As such in keeping with the current world happenings of seeing more youth in high positions of authorities from Presidency, to Governorship, to Parliament, it is time for the Nigerian youth to be given the mantle of authority to contribute to nation building.

## **1.2 Nigeria Youth, Elections and Constitution**

Despite the over 70 million youth population (NBS, 2012; NPC, 2017), statistics from the two most recent elections reveals that the trend of inequitable representation of youth in the highest legislative arm of government since the inception of democracy in the country has continued (INEC, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015; NASS, 2007 2011 2015). From the aforementioned statistics, in the 2011

General Elections, out of the 109 senate members, only one youth made it into the Senate and 11 youth out of 360 for this period made it into the House of Representatives. The 2015 General elections which held so much promise for the youth inclusion in politics following several agitations and campaigns by the youth for more inclusion in governance, sadly ended with no noticeable appreciation of the number of youth in elective posts.

The revised Nigerian National Youth Policy (2009) defines youth as males and females between 18 and 35 years. But for a more inclusive term particularly for elective posts, political parties in the country tend to describe youth as young persons between the ages of 18 and 40 years. The reason is not farfetched as the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (Section 65, 106, 131 & 177) pegs the statutory age to contest for the post of President at 40 years (Section 131 (b); Governorship, 35 years (Section 177 (b); Senate 35 years (Section 65 (a); House of Representative 30 years (Section 65 (b); House of Assembly 30 years (Section 106 (b); for Local Government Chairman and Counsellorship, 30 and 25 years respectively. Going by the country's political parties' definition of youth, it means young people are eligible to contest for all elective posts in the country. However, in spite of this provision in both the country's and political party's constitutions, the number of youth in both the Senate and House of Representatives continues to be low. This begs the question on why youth participation in both chambers is on the periphery despite well-established youth wings in the political parties. Political party youth wings that are supposed to be nurtured and groomed to produce future leaders and political actors are often overlooked in preference for the older and more established politicians.

This fact was buttressed in the 2015 Youth Candidacy Report in General Election as published by the Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement (YIAGA). This independent report revealed that out of a total of 746 senatorial candidates nationwide, a total of 150 (20%) youth candidates between the ages of 25 and 40 years entered the contest. However, following the Nigeria Electoral Act (2003) guidelines, only 73 youth candidates who represent 10 percent of the total figure emerged. Further verification resulted in the disqualification of 27 young people representing four percent youth candidates; and this was based on age aggregate of 25 - 34 which fell outside the purview of the required constitutional age to contest for Senate. This left only 46 (six percent) youth aspirants who had just turned the acceptable age of 35 years at the time of the election.

On the other hand, in same 2015 election, a total of 1774 House of Representatives' candidates emerged nationwide, out of which 328(18%) youth candidates joined the race. While 285(16%) of them who cut across the six geo-political zones qualified to contest, 41(2.3%) candidates were dropped based on constitutional age which ranged between 20 and 29.

**Table 1.2 : Result of 2015 Nigeria General Elections**

Year (2015)	Total Candidates (Adults/Youths)	Total No. of Youth (25-40 yrs) Contestants	Qualified to Contest (Youth)	Disqualified from Contest (Youth)	Won
Senatorial Contest	746	73	46	27	0
House of Representatives Contest	1774	326	285	41	4

Author's construct with figures from YIAGA, 2015 Youth Candidacy Report in General Election

The disparity between adult and youth contestants can be seen from the tables 'Constitutional Youth Age of 18 – 35 years and 'Political Parties Youth Age of 18 – 40 Years', as a comparison of the constitutional youth age of 18 – 35 years and the political parties youth age of 18 – 40 years showed that zero percent youth made it into the 2011 Senate house as against one percent in 2015. While in 2011, less than 1.1 percent got elected into the lower house for the constitutional age and 12 percent for the political parties youth age. From the aforementioned, it can be verified that the numbers and percentage of youth at the highest levels of decision making have not shown any appreciable change and there are no noticeable sign that things will improve in the nearest future without requisite action from both party leaders and youth themselves. The challenges facing the youth ranging from education, political knowledge, party laws, and the deep-seated prejudice that the youth lack the ability to rule not having exhibited any leadership quality to engender such faith in their capabilities. As such, they cannot be trusted or given the mandate to participate in politics or be elected into the National Assembly (NASS).

**Table 1.3 : Constitutional Youth Age of 18 – 35 years**

Year	NASS	Total No. of Members	No. of Youth (18 – 35yrs)	No. of Adults	Percentage (%)
2011 (7 <sup>th</sup> Assembly)	Senators	109	1	108	0.91%
	House of Representatives	251	11	240	4.38%
2015 (8 <sup>th</sup> Assembly)	Senators	109	0	109	0%
	House of Representatives	360	4	356	1.11%

Author's construct (Extracted from <http://www.nassnig.org/mp/assembly/7> and [http://www.inecnigeria.org/?page\\_id=70](http://www.inecnigeria.org/?page_id=70))

**Table 1.4 : Political Parties Youth Age of 18 – 40 years**

Year	NASS	Total No. of Members	No. of Youth (18 – 40yrs)	No. of Adults	Percentage (%)
<b>2011 (7<sup>th</sup> Assembly)</b>	Senators	109	2	107	1.8%
	House of Representatives	360	40	320	11%
<b>2015 (8<sup>th</sup> Assembly)</b>	Senators	109	1	108	0.91%
	House of Representatives	360	44	316	12%

Author's construct (Extracted from <http://www.nassnig.org/mp/assembly/7> and [http://www.inecnigeria.org/?page\\_id=70](http://www.inecnigeria.org/?page_id=70))

Footnote: Nigeria operates bicameral legislature; the Senate (Upper House) and House of Representatives (Lower House) established under section 4 of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution. The Senate is made of 109 Senators, 3 each drawn from the 36 States of the Federation and 1 representing the Federal Capital Territory. House of Representative is composed of 360 members' elected based on proportional representation of population of each of the 36 States of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory (NASS, 2015).

### **1.3 Definitions of a Youth**

Encarta (2009) defines youth as a “time when somebody is young: the period of human life between childhood and maturity”. This somewhat vague description was however given more definitive boundary by the United Nations (1981; 1999; 2000), who for statistical purposes defined youth as a person between the ages of 15 and 24 years. It was however quick to point out that the designation of youth is subject to change from one country to another and from region to region based on parameters like changes in demographic, financial, economic and socio-cultural backgrounds. The Commonwealth (2013) on the other hand, classified youth as ages between 15 and 29 years.

Consequent on the Commonwealth definition of youth, in some of the Asian countries, China and the National Youth Policy of India (2014) youth were also designated as those aged 15 to 29. However, the National Youth Council Singapore defined youth as 15-35 years; in the Youth Law of Indonesia (2009) youth were classified as 16-30 year-olds; Thailand Youth Development Act (2007) and the Youth Development Plan (2012) pegged its own as 18-25 years. And for Malaysia, 1997 National Youth Development Policy defined youth as 15 to 40 years.

Meanwhile, in Africa, the African Youth Charter at its 17th Ordinary Session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government held in Banjul in the Gambia on August 2, 2006 defined youth or young people as persons between the ages of 15 – 35 years. Countries in Africa have however had to make their definitions on youth age based on individual differences and their own peculiarities. For countries like Uganda, its National Youth Council Statue 1993 defines a youth as between ages 18 and 30 years; Tanzania classified its own as between 15 and 35 years; and the National Youth Policy of South Africa (2009 – 2014) (Africa, 2009 - 2014), defines youth as any persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years.

**Table 1.5 : Youth Age across the Globe**

<b>ORGANIZATION/COUNTRY</b>	<b>ACT</b>	<b>YOUTH AGE (Years)</b>
<b>United Nations</b>	United Nations (1981; 1999; 2000)	
<b>Commonwealth</b>	Commonwealth (2013)	15 – 29
<b>China</b>		15 – 29
<b>India</b>	National Youth Policy of India (2014)	15 – 29
<b>Singapore</b>	National Youth Council Singapore	15 - 35
<b>Indonesia</b>	the Youth Law of Indonesia (2009)	16-30
<b>Thailand</b>	Thailand Youth Development Act (2007) and the Youth Development Plan (2012)	18-25
<b>Malaysia</b>	National Youth Development Policy (1997)	15 - 40
<b>Africa</b>	African Youth Charter	15 – 35
<b>Uganda</b>	National Youth Council Statue (1993)	18 – 30
<b>Tanzania</b>		15 – 35
<b>South Africa</b>	National Youth Policy of South Africa (2009 – 2014)	14 – 35
<b>Nigeria</b>	Nigerian National Youth Policy	18 – 35

Author's Construct

**Table 1.6 : United Nations Document on Youth Age**

<b>Entity/Instrument/ Organization</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Reference</b>
UN Secretariat/UNESCO/ILO Statistics	Youth: 15-24	UN Instruments,
UN Habitat (Youth Fund) 21	Youth 15-32	Agenda
UNICEF/WHO/UNFPA	Adolescent: 10-19, Young People: 10-24, Youth: 15-24	UNFPA
UNICEF /The Convention on Rights of the Child	Child until 18	UNICEF
The African Youth Charter Union, 2006	Youth: 15-35	African

(Source : UN Youth, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf>)

On its part, the Nigerian National Youth Policy, specified that the youth shall include all males and females aged 18 – 35 years, who are citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This premise it argued was based on the late maturity of the Nigerian youth due to the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions of the society and “a time in life when most young people are going through dramatic changes in their life circumstances as they move from childhood to adulthood,” (NYP, 2009, Pg. 6). Nevertheless, political parties in the country in a broader definition of youth and to ensure more participation had extended the youth age. As noted in the constitution of the two prominent political parties in the Nigeria, the People’s Democratic Party, PDP and the All Progressive Party, APC they defined youth as young persons between the age of 18 and 40 years. Consequent on this and taking into consideration the social, cultural, psychological, demographic and economic state of the Nigerian youth, this study will adopt the parties’ definition of youth as persons between the ages of 18 to 40 years. This will allow for a clearer portray of the low representation of youth at the National Assembly despite provision for them at both the country and political parties constitution. And this therefore will form the base rock for subsequent discussion of youth political participation in the nation’s parliament in this thesis.

## 1.4 Problem Statement

The Nigerian National Assembly has been dominated for over 30 years since the return of democracy in 1999 by same cycle of former and old politicians with little or no youth participation in governance. These politicians fail to take into account the fact that for effective democracy, every strata of the society need to be involved in the decision making. Currently, youth involvement in the nation's parliament is low averaging between zero and five percent (YIAGA, 2017). However, until the youth are given the opportunity to be fully involved in the decision making process particularly on issues that affect them, they will not be able to contribute their quota to nation building (Dike & Dike, 2017). Therefore, the obstacles that limits youth from fully participating in politics and seeking elective posts in the nation's parliament should be tackled for inclusive governance.

The marginalization of the youth in the political process of Nigeria represents a significant lapse in its democratic set up (Amzat & Abdullahi, 2016). Presently, the political scene is manned by the same sit-tight and money bag politicians who have taken over the political arena of the country and refused to allow politically active youth to contribute their quota to nation building by playing prominent roles in governance (Achebe, 1984; Agbaje & Adejumobi, 2006; Gbemisola, 2014; Ukiwo, 2003; Wahiu, Lappin, & Khadiagala, 2017). Hence, the number of active youth in party membership, elective posts and particularly in national parliament has remained low. And even smaller are the youth actually given the mandate by their various parties to contest for elections (IDEA, 2016). Unfortunately, these recycled politicians have done little to nothing to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the country (Adichie, 2011; Gbemisola, 2014; Uzunmwangho & Urhoghide, 2013).

It was the low involvement of youth in decision making that prompted the late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua to inaugurate the Nigerian Youth Parliament (NYP), in August 25, 2008 shortly after his administration took over in 2007 (NYP, 2018). The central objective was to prepare the youth in decision making process while permitting them adequate representation in governance. Despite this laudable effort to engender more youth participation, the outcome of recent elections has shown that the goal of the NYP has not yielded the desired results. It is preposterous to note that from 2008 to date, the representation of youth in the national parliament has not risen to any appreciable level. This is attributable to the herculean obstacles that deter most youth to become actors in this arena (Adetula, 2015; Asaju, Arome, & Anyio, 2014; Stratmann, 2017). However, in order to attain the much desired goal of transforming the nation, Nigeria needs the participation of its youth in the highest decision making body of the nation to bring in the vibrancy, vigor, energy and drive needed to deal with the quagmire of recycled politician (Adegbami & Uche, 2016) and boost the socio-political development of the country (Amzat & Abdullahi, 2016).

This cycle of non-inclusion as noted by some scholars can be attributable to the fact that the youth do not have a platform and a voice to move for change on issues that concern them (Meagher, 2014; Sloam, 2014). However, a lot of barriers to their participation do exist, such as legislative age which limits their opportunities to qualify for public office (NYP, 2009, Pg. 6; Stockemer & Sundström, 2018), godfather issues (Olaniyi, 2018; Osayi, 2015; Sule, Sani, & Mat, 2018), funding (Stratmann, 2017), political party structures to mention but a few.

Democracy has often been described as a game of numbers (Szpiro, 2010) and given that the youth have the numerical advantage, based on the (NBS, 2012; Onyekpe, 2007) report, this disenfranchisement speaks volume on the kind of participatory democracy being practiced in the country. Where youth are relegated to the background and adequate citizen participation in politics is jettisoned. Rather than become political actors, youth tend to be used more as political thugs and opposition tools during elections to rig and achieve the political goals of their godfathers after which they are quickly discarded (Agba, 2011; Agba et al., 2010). The alienation of the youth from active participation can be clearly seen in the way the country politics has evolved post-independence till date. Buttressing this, Adichie (2011) noted that politics in the country has been largely non-ideological from the military dictatorship era. Rather than focusing on ideas, politicians are more concerned with who will pump in the most money and acquire the most assets. Hence, gratifications are given in the form of cash to local leaders, bags of rice to women groups, and lots of promises made to win over the people. However, the study opined that with youth participation in politics, there will be more seriousness on the part of politicians.

Thus, it is only right that youth are made part of the decision making and become agents of change that will put in place policies that would address vital youth issues such as unemployment, access to qualitative education, adequate social facilities among other necessities (Enueme & Onyene, 2010; Gbemisola, 2014; Metuh, 2014). This fact is also buttressed by the international community which has recognized the importance of youth participation in politics and views it as a positive force for transformative social change (EU-OECD, 2014; UNDP, 2013). If the older politicians and by extension the political elite continue to ignore the youth, it will have adverse effect in the future as youth restiveness will escalate (Chikwe & Augustus-Daddie, 2018; Enueme & Onyene, 2010), the expected outcome of transforming the country will not be realized, and the cycle of corruption (Akanle & Adesina, 2015; Eke & Tonwe, 2016), wastage, poor infrastructure (Bello-Schünemann & Porter, 2017) will continue (Omotola, 2007, 2009). The Arab youth uprising should serve as a cautionary measure to the older politicians (Abdih, 2011; Filiu, 2011; Lynch, 2013).

Therefore a qualitative research study using case-study method from a critical research perspective (Merriam, 2002, 2009, 2014) was used to explore the bottlenecks that inhibit full-time politically active youth from seeking elective posts in the nation's parliament and the challenges those that signify interest face in their

drive to become part of the decision making. Based on the information garnered, recommendations will be proffered that will become a working document on how these constraints can be eliminated and ensure more youth participation in politics.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. How do you appraise the level of youth political participation and their awareness of politics in the country?
2. What are the obstacles to youth political participation in the National Assembly?
3. How can youth participation in the national parliament be improved upon?
4. How can an effective model for youth political participation be established?

### **1.6 Objectives of the Study**

The study objectives are:

1. To ascertain the level of youth political participation and awareness in Nigeria
2. To explore the constraints to active youth political participation in the National Assembly
3. To appraise processes to improve youth participation in the national parliament
4. To create a model for effective youth political participation

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

Currently, political participation in Nigeria is manned by the older people (Adibe, 2015; Gbemisola, 2014). The youth are relegated to the background and are lacking in elective posts where their voices will help tackle issues concerning youth as well as nation building. The national parliament as asserted by the country late President Musa Yar'Adua lacks adequate youth participation and representation in decision making; hence the establishment of the youth parliament in 2008. This above all is to absolve youth from manipulation by the older politicians, who use them only as political thugs. As the President emphasized, the participation of youth in the nation's parliament, will bring in more depth to the political institutions and impact on the quality of democratic governance in the country.

This fact is buttressed in a study conducted by the United Nations in (2003; 2005; 2013; 2015) on Global Situation of Youth. From the study, it was shown that about 85 per cent youth live in developing countries with 60 per cent in Asia. The report further noted that the total population between 1980 and 1995 of young people has

dropped everywhere except in Africa. Politics being a game of number (Szpiro, 2010), this means that the high population of youth (Onyekpe, 2007) living in Africa should be empowered to participate in decision making for equitable representation of power; sadly this is not the case as what is obtainable is low representation in political participation.

Basically, the older politicians neglect the contribution of youth in decision making and nation building (Agbaje & Adejumobi, 2006; Forbrig, 2005b; O'Donoghue et al., 2002) this can have adverse effects on the polity in the long run if adequate steps are not taken to correct this phenomenon. The issue of low youth participation in politics in the country became very serious and critical in the build-up to the 2015 general elections and post-election. Just like the previous elections, despite all promises made prior to the elections, there was no equitable representation of the youth in the national parliament. And subsequent appointment of ministers by the Buhari-led government did not see any youth emerge. This is viewed by majority of the youth as a major setback to the nascent democracy and renegeing on pre-election agreement. This led to the Youth Leader for the ruling party, All Progressive Congress (APC), Dasuki Jalo, blaming the president of failure to carry youth along in his administration thereby perpetuating the era of 'use and dump' of the youth in politics (Nwabughio, 2015).

The All Progressive Congress (APC), party which won the 2015 general election with massive support from the youth, had prior to the election promised a fair inclusion of youth in the administration. This is a party that fronts 'Social Democracy Change' as its ideology. In spite of this, the nation once more is witnessing the youth being ostracized from political involvement and being elected into political post of their choice and the sit-tight attitude of politicians which has led to the constant recycling of political leaders. The long promised pact to allow credible, capable youth was not realized. The youth with the numerical strength that should give them the necessary leverage to be adequately represented in governance, view this as social injustice. More so, youth known for their vibrancy, energy and radical approach to issues will bring in the needed impetus to transform the political scenery of the nation. Therefore, the difficulties to active youth participation in decision making at the highest echelon of governance need to be eliminated for effective and adequate representation of youth as well as the holistic transformation of the nation. This study as a result is geared to explore this gap and come up with practical solutions that will boost more youth participation in decision making.

The study will add more contributions to the existing body of knowledge in the academic sectors which can boost the awareness of the policy makers, political parties and youth for sustainable development and governance.

Finally, it is anticipated that this study will assist political parties, policy makers and successive governments in reviewing the existing laws/policies that limits youth political participation in the nation's parliament.

## 1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study is bounded in politically active Nigerian youth and it is focused on their participation in parliament. Specifically, it seeks to explore low youth participation in the Nigeria National Assembly with reference to political institutions, electoral processes, party membership and governance. Based on this, a qualitative empirical study will be carried out in order to identify the reasons behind low youth representation in the nation's Senate and House of Representatives.

Although government has made effort to increase youth participation in parliament by creating a national youth parliament in 2008 (NYP, 2018), still this has not bridged the gap of getting more youth into the highest decision making arm of the country. The voices of the youth are still silent particularly on issues that affect them. Rather, the democratic setting is still being controlled by same cycle of former and old politicians who have done little to nothing to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the country (Adichie, 2011; Gbemisola, 2014; Uhunmwuango & Urhoghide, 2013). Youth are relegated to the back burner in policy making and feel marginalized. As such there is need to assess the various constraints that limits politically active youth from participating in decision making and being part of transforming the nation polity.

In addition, the study will examine party policies in relation to political parties, the legislative age as laid out in the constitution and other relational issues that impact on youth participation in politics in the country. The study will center on youths who are active members of political parties. The reason being that this set of actors is better grounded in politics, having the requisite knowledge, education, drive and passion needed to play in this turf. Following this, youth from the youth wing of the country's major political parties, party chieftains, academicians, youth political organizations, archival records and field observations will be used as study population.

However, potential constraints is envisaged in the area of resources, time and availability of the interviewees which may possibly hinder smooth process of data collection as they are located in different parts of the country. This will necessitate travelling all over the country to meet them and hold the interviews. Hence, the researcher will be constrained to work within the schedule of the interviewees which will impinge on duration of the study.

## 1.9 Conceptual Definition of Terms

**Nigerian Youth :** National Youth Policy (2009) states, “the youth shall comprise of all young males and females aged 18 – 35 years, who are citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.”

**Political participation :** Verba, Schlozman, Brady, and Brady (1995, Pg. 38) define political participation as “activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies.”

**Political party :** Hofmeister and Grabow (2011, Pg. 11) citing (Downs, 1957) explains, “A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election”.

## 1.10 Summary

Statistics indicates that youth make up a large share of the world’s population. Yet, despite this overwhelming global youth population, empirical evidence reveals a noticeable decline and apathy in young people participation in electoral processes, party membership and governance (Henn et al., 2005; Henn et al., 2002; D. Marsh et al., 2006; O’Neill, 2007; O’Toole, 2003; O’Toole, Lister, Marsh, Jones, & McDonagh, 2003; Quintelier, 2007; Sloam, 2007). While these youth are often involved in informal, politically relevant processes, such as activism or civic engagement, they are not formally represented in national political institutions such as parliaments and many of them do not participate in elections (UNDP, 2013).

In Nigeria particularly, with over 70 million youth population (NBS, 2012) about 90 percent of this group which make up two third majority of the population are not involved in decision-making and leadership of the country. Many are deterred by the bottlenecks like access to fund, unemployment (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2006; Zakaria, 2006), issues of godfathers and exorbitant party nomination cards used as criteria to vie for elective posts (Avosuahi, 2014; Gaskia, 2014). Growing awareness of political processes notwithstanding, the number of youth in active political institutions such as parliaments still remains relatively small and even smaller is the youth actually given the mandate by their various parties to contest for elections. It is this small number of full-time politically active youth that interests me, because there is the distinct possibility that this group will continue to grow in numbers if given the opportunity and enabling laws to participate fully in governance.

Currently, although the three major political parties in the country: PDP, APC, APGA have well-developed youth wings, these are more or less like ceremonial offices as they are not really allowed or well equipped to play prominent roles in decision making through vying for elective posts. Since the transition to democracy in 1999, the number of youth in elective posts has not shown any significant improvement. This is a serious predicament and setback to true democracy which is against ostracizing any group in the society from fully participating and becoming political actors. Thus, political parties must go beyond expressions of good will by

establishing youth wings and be proactive to address the non-inclusion of politically active youth in decision making.

The present situation in the country is that, the Nigerian political scene is manned by the same sit-tight and money bag politicians who have taken over the political scene and refused to allow politically active youth to contribute their quota to nation building by playing prominent roles in governance (Achebe, 1984; Agbaje & Adejumbi, 2006; Ukiwo, 2003).

Youth political participation in decision making in Nigeria can be described as a critical evaluation of the reasons behind low number of youth in decision making in Nigeria. In this context, youth participation means involving the youth in decision-making processes on issues that affect them, as well as entrusting them with the knowledge and skills necessary for them to effectively and meaningfully participate in governance and nation building.

Based on this, the thesis objectives is to explore and understand through obtaining qualitative information from key informants, the obstacles to youth participation in decision making in Nigeria. The objectives of the thesis are: to explore the constraints to active youth political participation in politics, to evaluate factors that influence youth political participation and to appraise the perception of youth on politics. Basically, the major aim of this study is explore possible ways to tackle the issues associated with the low participation of politically active youth in politics and proffer the solutions to them at the end of the research.

To achieve this, a qualitative research approach is proposed for this study using case study method from a critical research perspective. Data collection techniques include in-depth interviews, focused group discussion, field notes from observations and archival records/documents. The interview data will be collected from three categories of informants that represent the bounded territory of the study area. They include national youth leaders, youth political organizations, youth contestants, party leaders and expert views.

## REFERENCES

- Abdih, Y. (2011). Arab Spring: Closing the Jobs Gap. High youth unemployment contributes to widespread unrest in the Middle East *Finance & Development*. *Finance & Development (International Monetary Fund)*, Giugno.
- Abdu, S. D., Mohamad, B., & Muda, S. (2017). *Youth Online Political Participation: The Role of Facebook Use, Interactivity, Quality Information and Political Interest*. Paper presented at the SHS Web of Conferences.
- Aberbach, J. D., & Rockman, B. A. (2002). Conducting and coding elite interviews. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 35(4), 673-676.
- Abimboye, M. (2015). Give youth more slots in governance, Commonwealth group tells Buhari. Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/180498-give-youth-more-slots-in-governance-commonwealth-group-tells-buhari.html>
- Abonu, D., Agunlade, F., & Yunusa, B. (2013). Assesment of Political Awareness Among Students of Social Studies in Nigerian Secondary Schools for Citizenship. *International Journal of education research*, 1, p1-10.
- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. (2003). Political origins of dictatorship and democracy. *Manuscript, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, January*.
- Achebe, C. (1984). *The trouble with Nigeria*: Heinemann.
- Adebayo, A. A. (2013). Youths' unemployment and crime in Nigeria: A nexus and implications for national development. *International journal of sociology and anthropology*, 5(9), 350.
- Adegbami, A., & Uche, C. I. (2016). 'Despotic democrats' versus good governance: challenges of administration of Nigeria's fourth republic. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 50(4), 195-210.
- Adenrele, R., & Olugbenga, M. (2017). An assessment of citizens' level of political participation and civic competence.
- Adeoye, O. A. (2009). Godfatherism and the future of Nigerian democracy. *African Journal of political science and international relations*, 3(6), 268-272.
- Adetula, V. (2015). *Godfathers, Money Politics, and Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Focus on the 2015 Elections*. Paper presented at the a Two-Day National Conference on The.
- Adibe, T. (2015). A member of the National Youth Council of Nigeria (NYCN), Nigeria: 'Parties Shouldn't Appoint Elders Into Youth Positions'. Retrieved December 22, 2015 <http://allafrica.com/stories/201507201410.html>

- Adichie, C. N. (2011). A Nigerian revolution: The political awakening of my country's young people could transform Nigeria's rotten democracy. from The Guardian  
[http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/mar/16/nigerian-revolution-young-people-democracy?CMP=tw\\_t\\_gu](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/mar/16/nigerian-revolution-young-people-democracy?CMP=tw_t_gu)
- Adisa, W. B. (2014). The Middle Class and Political Transformation In Nigeria: An Appraisal Of The Role Of ASUU and NBA. *European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 10*(28).
- Africa, N. Y. P. o. S. (2009 - 2014). Retrieved from <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/MediaLib/Downloads/Home/Publications/YouthPublications/NationalYouthPolicyPDF/NYP.pdf>
- Agba, M. S. (2011). Political Thuggery and Democratic Dividends in Nigeria: An Empirical Study. *Higher Education of Social Science, 1*(1), 58-65.
- Agba, M. S., Coker, M. A., & Ogaboh, A. A. (2010). Political Thuggery and Democratic Dividends in Nigeria. *International Journal of Public Administration, 33*(4), 192-199.
- Agbaje, A., & Adejumobi, S. (2006). Do votes count? The travails of electoral politics in Nigeria. *Africa Development, 31*(3), 25-44.
- Ajufo, B. I. (2013). Challenges of youth unemployment in Nigeria: Effective career guidance as a panacea. *African Research Review, 7*(1), 307-321.
- Akanle, O., & Adesina, J. (2015). Corruption and the Nigerian development quagmire: Popular narratives and current interrogations. *Journal of Developing Societies, 31*(4), 421-446.
- Akeju, K. F., & Olanipekun, D. B. (2014). Unemployment and economic growth in Nigeria. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development, 5*(4), 138-144.
- Alesina, A., & Giuliano, P. (2011). Family ties and political participation. *Journal of the European Economic Association, 9*(5), 817-839.
- Alfa, M., & Marangos, J. (2016). An empirical appraisal of the role of money in Nigerian politics. *International Journal of Economic Policy in Emerging Economies, 9*(1), 65-88.
- Alhojailan, M. I. (2012). Thematic analysis: A critical review of its process and evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences, 1*(1), 39-47.
- Aljazeera. (2014). Nigerian youth demand #30PercentOrNothing. Retrieved May 12, 2017 <http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/201408292044-0024114>
- Almond, G., & Verba, S. (1963). The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five countries. *Princeton: Princeton university.*

- Amaefule, E. (2018). 152 million Nigerians live on less than \$2/day –AfDB. *Punch Newspaper*. Retrieved from <http://punchng.com/152-million-nigerians-live-on-less-than-2day-afdb/>
- Amzat, J., & Abdullahi, A. A. (2016). Youth and political change in Nigeria: historical note and critical discourse. *AFFRIKA Journal of Politics, Economics and Society*, 6(2), 119-137.
- Anastas, M. (1988). For sensitive research studies, one-to-one interviews work best. *Bank Marketing*, 20(7), 18-22.
- Angweh, A. (2014). The Nigerian Youths, The Internet And The Brewing Revolution. Retrieved October 22, 2015 <http://abusidiqu.com/nigerian-youths-internet-brewing-revolution-aver-angweh/>
- Animasawun, G. A. (2013). Godfatherism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: The Pyramid of Violence and Political Insecurity in Ibadan, Oyo-State, Nigeria. *IFRA-Nigeria e-papers series*(27).
- Antonius, R. (2003). *Interpreting quantitative data with SPSS*: Sage.
- APA. (2008). Open-ended Question. Retrieved May 28, 2018 <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/open-ended-question.html>
- Ar, Z. (2013). Malaysian youth not active in politics, global survey shows. *Malaymail*. Retrieved from <https://www.malaymail.com/s/533167/malaysian-youth-not-active-in-politics-global-survey-shows>
- Aragon, S. (2015). Youth Voting: State and City Approaches to Early Civic Engagement. Education Trends. *Education Commission of the States*.
- Arinze, O. M., & Oliver, N. (2016). Politics of Impeachment in Nigeria: A Discourse on Causes and Implications for Democratic Consolidation. *Journal of Policy and Development Studies*, 10(1), 48-56.
- Aristotle. (1962). *Politics*: Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Asaju, K., Arome, S., & Anyio, S. F. (2014). The rising rate of unemployment in Nigeria: the socio-economic and political implications. *Global Business and Economics Research Journal*, 3(2), 12-32.
- Avosuahi, S. H. (2014). The Youths and Future Of Nigeria's Politics. Retrieved November 6, 2015 <http://leadership.ng/opinions/411587/the-youths-and-future-of-nigerias-politics>
- Ayoade, J. A. (2006). Godfather politics in Nigeria. *Money, politics and corruption in Nigeria*, 78-87.

- Babatunde, A. O. (2015). Youth uprising and the quest for political reform in Africa: Issues and challenges. *African Security Review*, 24(2), 107-121.
- Bailey, M. (2004). The Two Sides of Money in Politics: A Synthesis and Framework. *Election Law Journal*, 3(4), 653-669.
- Bakker, T. P., & de Vreese, C. H. (2011). Good news for the future? Young people, Internet use, and political participation. *Communication Research*, 0093650210381738.
- Banfield, E. C. (1961). *Political influence*: Transaction Publishers.
- Bank, S. (2014). Rise of the Middle Class in Sub-Saharan Africa: 2014 Report. Retrieved from <https://blog.standardbank.com/node/61428>
- Barber, B. (1984). Strong democracy: Participatory democracy for a new age. *Berkley & Los Angeles*.
- Bariledum, K. (2013). Political elites and the challenges of national development: The Nigeria experience. *European Scientific Journal, ESJ*, 9(31).
- Barnes, S. H., & Kaase, M. (1979). *Political action. Mass participation in five western democracies*. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association.
- Barney, G. (1992). Basics of grounded theory: Emergence vs. forcing. *Mill Valley, CA*.
- Barney, G. (2002). *Constructivist grounded theory?* Paper presented at the Forum qualitative sozialforschung/forum: Qualitative social research.
- Bello-Schünemann, J., & Porter, A. (2017). Building the future Infrastructure in Nigeria until 2040.
- Bello, G. (2017). *Nigeria's Population Now 182 million-NPC*. National Population Commission, Nigeria Retrieved from <http://population.gov.ng/nigerias-population-now-182-million-npc/>.
- Bessant, J. (2004). Mixed messages: youth participation and democratic practice. *Australian journal of political science*, 39(2), 387-404.
- Birdsall, N., Graham, C., & Pettinato, S. (2000). *Stuck in the Tunnel: Is Globalization Muddling the Middle Class?* Retrieved from
- Birt, L., Scott, S., Cavers, D., Campbell, C., & Walter, F. (2016). Member checking: A tool to enhance trustworthiness or merely a nod to validation? *Qualitative Health Research*, 26(13), 1802-1811.
- Booth, J. A., & Seligson, M. A. (1978). *Political Participation in Latin America* (Vol. 1): Holmes & Meier.

- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*: sage.
- Boyd, N. (2013). An introduction to qualitative data analysis. *Thematic analysis*.
- Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation. *American Political Science Review*, 89(02), 271-294.
- Bratton, M. (2008). Vote buying and violence in Nigerian election campaigns. *Electoral studies*, 27(4), 621-632.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*: Sage.
- Burnard, P., & Morrison, P. (1994). Self-disclosure and nursing students: the replication of a Jourard study. *International journal of nursing studies*, 31(2), 194-200.
- Butler, D., & Stokes, D. (1969). *Political change in Britain: Forces shaping electoral choice*.
- Cammaerts, B., Bruter, M., Banaji, S., Harrison, S., & Anstead, N. (2016). Participation of Youth in Elections: Beyond Youth Apathy *Youth Participation in Democratic Life* (pp. 49-82): Springer.
- Caramani, D. (2008). *Comparative politics*: Oxford University Press.
- Caramani, D. (2011). *Comparative politics*: Oxford University Press.
- Checkoway, B., Allison, T., & Montoya, C. (2005). Youth participation in public policy at the municipal level. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 27(10), 1149-1162.
- Chidiebere, O.-N., Iloanya, K., & Udunze, U. (2014). Youth unemployment and entrepreneurship development: Challenges and prospects in Nigeria. *Kuwait Chapter of the Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 4(4), 20.
- Chidinma, E. (2017). Oduduwa Republic: Yoruba Groups Declares Secession From Nigeria, Demands Own Nation. Retrieved from <https://buzznigeria.com/oduduwa-republic-yoruba-secession/>
- Chigunta, F. (2017). Entrepreneurship as a Possible Solution to Youth Unemployment in Africa. *Laboring and Learning*, 433-451.

- Chikwe, G. C., & Augustus-Daddie, J. (2018). Sustainable Curbing Of Youth Restiveness In IMO State: The Strategic Role Of Entrepreneurship Development. *Archives of Business Research*, 6(3).
- Coleman, J. S. (2015). *Education and Political Development.(SPD-4)* (Vol. 4): Princeton University Press.
- Collier, P. (2010). *The plundered planet: Why we must--and how we can--manage nature for global prosperity*: Oxford University Press.
- Conge, P. J., Barnes, S. H., Kaase, M., Nelson, J. M., Booth, J. H., Seligson, M. A., . . . Booth, J. H. (1988). The concept of political participation: Toward a definition: JSTOR.
- Connolly, W. E. (1969). *The bias of pluralism*: Atherton Press.
- Cresswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2006). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*: SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*: Sage publications.
- Croft, S., & Hassan, O. (2015). Understanding the Arab spring *Why the Social Sciences Matter* (pp. 161-175): Springer.
- Dahl. (1984). *Modern Political Analysis* (Fourth Edition ed.): Yale University, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632
- Dahl, R. (1976). *Modern Political Analysis* (Vol. Fourth edition). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632
- Yale University, Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Dahl, R. A. (1961). *Who Governs. New Haven: Yale Univer-sity Press. DahlWho Governs.*
- Dahl, R. A. (1994). A democratic dilemma: system effectiveness versus citizen participation. *Political science quarterly*, 23-34.
- Dahl, R. A. (2005). *Who governs?: Democracy and power in an American city*: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, R. A. (2006). *A Preface to Democratic Theory, Expanded Edition*: University Of Chicago Press.

- Delta, N. (2017). Niger-delta activist flays arrest youths military operatives. *Vanguard*. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/01/n-delta-activist-flays-arrest-youths-military-operatives/>
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*: Sage.
- Dey, I. (2003). *Qualitative data analysis: A user friendly guide for social scientists*: Routledge.
- Dike, V. E., & Dike, N. I. (2017). Youth Development and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: Assessment and Intervention Strategies. *Asian Journal of Education and Training*, 3(1), 30-42.
- Dimitrova, D. V., Shehata, A., Strömbäck, J., & Nord, L. W. (2014). The effects of digital media on political knowledge and participation in election campaigns: Evidence from panel data. *Communication Research*, 41(1), 95-118.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. NY: Harper.
- Dzur, A. W. (2012). Participatory democracy and criminal justice. *Criminal Law and Philosophy*, 6(2), 115-129.
- Easterly, W. (2001). The middle class consensus and economic development. *Journal of economic growth*, 6(4), 317-335.
- Eden, K., & Roker, D. (2002). *'... Doing Something': Young People as Social Actors*: National Youth Agency Leicester.
- Eke, S. J., & Tonwe, D. A. (2016). Address Causes not Symptoms: Engaging the Festering Culture of Impunity from the Dimension of Fragility in Nigeria. *African Studies*, 75(1), 133-152.
- Elo, S., Kääriäinen, M., Kanste, O., Pölkki, T., Utriainen, K., & Kyngäs, H. (2014). Qualitative content analysis: A focus on trustworthiness. *Sage Open*, 4(1), 2158244014522633.
- Emmenegger, P., Marx, P., & Schraff, D. (2017). Off to a bad start: Unemployment and political interest during early adulthood. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(1), 315-328.
- Enueme, C., & Onyene, V. (2010). Youth Restiveness in the Niger Delta of Nigeria: Implication for education and Leadership. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 18(2), 286-296.
- EU-OECD. (2014). Youth Inclusion Project 2014-2017. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/dev/inclusivesocietiesanddevelopment/youth-inclusion-project-2014-2017.htm>

- Eyinade, A. (2010). Women and participation in Nigeria: The imperative of empowerment. *African Executive: Centre For International Private Enterprises (CIPE)*, 295.
- Ezike, O. M., Nwafor, K. A., & Imeazue, A. G. (2017). Facebook Political Campaign And Its Effect On The 2015 Governorship Election In Ebonyi State. *International Journal of Communication*, 19(1).
- Fabiyi. (2009). (2009) Aparthy of Nigerian Voters Worrisome- Iwu. *Punch Newspapers*, 17 (20) 583.
- Falade. (2007). The Role of Social Studies Education in Inculcating Democratic Ideals in Nigeria. *Ife Journal of Theory and Research in Education* 10 (1) 16-23.
- Falade. (2015). Political Participation in Nigerian Democracy: A Study of Some Selected Local Government Areas in Ondo State, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science Research*, 14(8).
- Filiu, J.-P. (2011). *The Arab revolution: ten lessons from the democratic uprising*: Oxford University Press.
- Flanagan, C. A. (2013). *Teenage citizens: The political theories of the young*: Harvard University Press.
- Forbrig, J. (2005a). Introduction: democratic politics, legitimacy and youth participation. *Revisiting youth political participation*, 7.
- Forbrig, J. (2005b). *Revisiting youth political participation: challenges for research and democratic practice in Europe*: Council of Europe.
- Gary, I., & Karl, T. L. (2003). *Bottom of the barrel: Africa's oil boom and the poor*: Catholic Relief Services.
- Gaskia, J. (2014). The Condition Of Youth In Nigeria And The Urgent Imperative For Political Action. Retrieved November 6, 2015 from Sahara Reporters <http://saharareporters.com/2014/08/12/condition-youth-nigeria-and-urgent-imperative-political-action-jaye-gaskia>
- Gbemisola, A. A. (2014). Youth Inclusion In Politics: Focus On Nigeria. Retrieved December 21, 2015 <http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/155881/1/youth-inclusion-in-politics-focus-on-nigeria.html>
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Veenstra, A., Vraga, E., & Shah, D. (2010). Digital democracy: Reimagining pathways to political participation. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 7(1), 36-51.

- Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups. *British dental journal*, 204(6), 291.
- Halai, A. (2006). Ethics in qualitative research: Issues and challenges. *EdQual A Research Programme Consortium on Implementing Education Quality in Low Income Countries. EdQual Working Paper Number, 4*, 1-12.
- Harris, A., Wyn, J., & Younes, S. (2010). Beyond apathetic or activist youth 'Ordinary' young people and contemporary forms of participation. *Young*, 18(1), 9-32.
- Hart, R. A. (1992). *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship. Innocenti Essays No. 4*: ERIC.
- Hartley, J. (2004). *Case study research. In Catherine Cassell & Gillian Symon (Eds.), Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* London: Sage.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*: Oxford University Press.
- Hauben, M. (2011). Participatory Democracy: From The 1960s and SDS Into The Future Online. *The Amateur Computerist*, 2.
- Hauptmann, E. (2001). Can less be more? Leftist deliberative democrats' critique of participatory democracy. *Polity*, 397-421.
- Heale, R., & Forbes, D. (2013). Understanding triangulation in research. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, ebnurs-2013-101494.
- Held, D. (1996). 1987. *Models of democracy*: Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Henn, M., & Foard, N. (2012). Young people, political participation and trust in Britain. *Parliamentary affairs*, 65(1), 47-67.
- Henn, M., & Foard, N. (2013). Social differentiation in young people's political participation: the impact of social and educational factors on youth political engagement in Britain. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(3), 360-380. doi:10.1080/13676261.2013.830704
- Henn, M., Weinstein, M., & Forrest, S. (2005). Uninterested youth? Young people's attitudes towards party politics in Britain. *Political Studies*, 53(3), 556-578.
- Henn, M., Weinstein, M., & Wring, D. (2002). A generation apart? Youth and political participation in Britain. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 4(2), 167-192.
- Hibbing, J. R., & Theiss-Morse, E. (2002). *Stealth democracy: Americans' beliefs about how government should work*: Cambridge University Press.

- Hilmer, J. D. (2010). The state of participatory democratic theory. *New Political Science*, 32(1), 43-63.
- Hofmeister, W., & Grabow, K. (2011, Pg. 11). *Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies*: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- Huntington, S. P. (1993, Pg. 14). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century* (Vol. 4): University of Oklahoma press.
- Hunwick, J. (1992). An African case study of political Islam: Nigeria. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 143-155.
- Ibeh, N. (2014). Nigerians condemn APC for electing 52-year-old Youth Leader. *Premium Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/163003-nigerians-condemn-apc-electing-52-year-old-youth-leader.html>
- IDEA. (2016). Lowering the age limit to increase youth participation in politics. Retrieved July 31, 2017 <http://www.idea.int/news-media/news/lowering-age-limit-increase-youth-participation-politics>
- Idowu, S. O. (2017). *Implementation of the Nigerian civic education curriculum to develop effective citizenship in young learners: stakeholders perspectives*. Brunel University London.
- Ilcheva, M. (2010). Political Participation. *Accessed July, 26, 2014*.
- INEC. (2003, 2007, 2011, 2015). Retrieved April, 2015 <http://www.inecnigeria.org/>
- InvestorWords. (2018). Model. Retrieved June 11, 2018, from WebFinance, Inc. Read more: <http://www.investorwords.com/5662/model.html#ixzz5I8qzbJSI>
- Inyang. (2017). Nigerian Senate passes 'Not Too Young To Run' bill. *Daily Post*. Retrieved from <http://dailypost.ng/2017/07/26/nigerian-senate-passes-not-young-run-bill/>
- Islam, M. S. (2013). Quota versus merit: from affirmative action to meritocracy.
- Iwilade, A. (2015). Oil, Youth, and Networks of the "Unconnected" in Nigeria's Niger Delta. *Society & natural resources*, 28(11), 1203-1215.
- Iwilade, A. (2017). Slipping through the net: everyday agency of youth and the politics of amnesty in Nigeria's Niger Delta (2009–2015). *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 1-18.
- Iyengar, S., & Jackman, S. (2004). *Technology and politics: Incentives for youth participation* (Vol. 24): CIRCLE.
- Jacobs, S. (2015). How big really is Africa's middle class? . *African Business Magazine*.

- Jennings, M. K., & Niemi, R. G. (2015). *Political character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and schools*: Princeton University Press.
- Jolaade Omede, A., & Ojibara, I. I. (2017). Youth and Political Participation in Kwara State, Nigeria *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences, VIII. 1-39*
- Jorgensen, D. L. (1989). *Participant observation*: Wiley Online Library.
- Joseph, R. A. (2014). *Democracy and prebendal politics in Nigeria* (Vol. 56): Cambridge University Press.
- Ju, C. (2017). Toward an Inclusive Democracy: The Positive Impact of Preregistration Laws on Youth Voter Turnout. *Chicago Policy Review (Online)*.
- Julius-Adeoye, R. (2017). The Nigeria-Biafra war, popular culture and agitation for sovereignty of a Biafran nation. *ASC working paper*.
- Kaiman, J. (2014). Hong Kong's umbrella revolution - the Guardian briefing. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/30/sp-hong-kong-umbrella-revolution-pro-democracy-protests>
- Kaufman, A. S. (1960). Human nature and participatory democracy. *Responsibility: NOMOS III, New York: Lieber-Atherton, 277*.
- Kayode Mustapha, L., Olanrewaju Gbonegun, V., & Lasisi Mustapha, M. (2016). Social Media Use, Social Capital, and Political Participation among Nigerian University Students. *Tripodos*(39), 127-143.
- Kenya, T. R. o. (2012). *Elections Act*. The National Council for Law Reporting with the Authority of the Attorney-General Retrieved from <http://www.parliament.am/library/norelectoral%20law/kenya.pdf>.
- Kornbluh, M. (2015). Combatting challenges to establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Qualitative research in psychology, 12*(4), 397-414.
- Kovacheva, S. (2005). Will youth rejuvenate the patterns of political participation? *Revisiting youth political participation, 19*.
- Kovacic, M., & Dolenc, D. (2018). Youth participation in Eastern Europe in the age of austerity *Young People Re-Generating Politics in Times of Crises* (pp. 375-394): Springer.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews- An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Larreguy, & Marshall. (2016). The effect of education on civic and political engagement in non-consolidated democracies: Evidence from Nigeria. *Review of Economics and Statistics*(0).

- Lee, N.-J., Shah, D. V., & McLeod, J. M. (2013). Processes of Political Socialization A Communication Mediation Approach to Youth Civic Engagement. *Communication Research*, 40(5), 669-697.
- LeVan, A. C. (2015). Parallel institutionalism and the future of representation in Nigeria. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 33(3), 370-390.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry* (Vol. 75): Sage.
- Lofland, J., & Snow, D. (2005). A., Anderson, L., and Lofland, L., H. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*.
- Lopez-Calva, L. F., Rigolini, J., & Torche, F. (2016). Is there such thing as middle class values? Class differences, values and political orientations in Latin America. *Journal of Globalization and Development*, 7(2).
- Lou, H. (2015). Beyond member-checking: A dialogic approach to the research interview. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 38(1), 23-38.
- Lunn, J., & Harari, D. (2014). Nigeria 2015: analysis of election issues and future prospects. *Economic Indicators*, 2, 14.
- Lynch, M. (2013). *The Arab uprising: The unfinished revolutions of the new Middle East*: PublicAffairs.
- Madland, D. (2011). The Middle Class Grows the Economy, Not the Rich. Retrieved from <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/news/2011/12/07/10773/the-middle-class-grows-the-economy-not-the-rich-2/>
- Magstadt, T. (2014). *Understanding politics: Ideas, institutions, and issues*: Cengage Learning.
- Mair, P., & Van Biezen, I. (2001). Party membership in twenty European democracies, 1980-2000. *Party Politics*, 7(1), 5-21.
- Mansbridge, J. (1995). Does participation make better citizens? *The Good Society*, 5(2), 1-7.
- Mansbridge, J. (2003a). Practice-thought-practice. *Deepening democracy: Institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance*, 4, 175.
- Mansbridge, J. (2003b). Rethinking representation. *American Political Science Review*, 97(04), 515-528.
- Marsh, A., & Kaase, M. (1979, Pg. 28). Measuring political action. *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 57-97.

- Marsh, D., O'Toole, T., & Jones, S. (2006). *Young people and politics in the UK: Apathy or alienation?* : Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1999). The “what” of the study: Building the conceptual framework. *Designing qualitative research*, 3, 21-54.
- Matthews, H. (2001). Citizenship, youth councils and young people's participation. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 4(3), 299-318.
- McClosky, H. (1968, Pg. 252). Political participation. *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*, 12, 252-265.
- McCoy, J. (2004). From representative to participatory democracy. *The unraveling of representative democracy in Venezuela*, 263-296.
- McGee, R., & Greenhalf, J. (2011). Seeing like a young citizen: youth and participatory governance in Africa. *Young citizens: youth and participatory governance in Africa*, 12.
- McKirdy, E. (2015). UK Elections: Mhairi Black, the 20-year-old who's Britain's youngest lawmaker. Retrieved from CNN <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/05/08/politics/uk-elections-scotland-mhairi-black-labour/>
- Meagher, K. (2014). Disempowerment from below: Informal enterprise networks and the limits of political voice in Nigeria. *Oxford Development Studies*, 42(3), 419-438.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*: Jossey-Bass Inc Pub.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*: John Wiley & Sons.
- Merriam, S. B. (2014). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*: John Wiley & Sons.
- Metuh, P. (2014). 30 Percent Youth Inclusion In Governance: PDP Youths Back National Youth Leader. Retrieved December 21, 2015 <http://www.ekekee.com/30-percent-youth-inclusion-governance-pdp-youths-back-national-youth-leader/>
- Milbrath, L. W. (1965). Political participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*: Sage.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis*: Sage.

- Miller, J. (1987). *Democracy is in the streets": From Port Huron to the siege of Chicago*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Moore, J. B. (1966). *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*: Boston: Beacon Press.
- Morrell, M. E. (1999). Citizen's evaluations of participatory democratic procedures: Normative theory meets empirical science. *Political Research Quarterly*, 52(2), 293-322.
- Morse, J. M. (1994). Emerging from the data: The cognitive processes of analysis in qualitative inquiry. *Critical issues in qualitative research methods*, 346, 350-351.
- Nagel, J. H. (1975). *The Descriptive Analysis of Power*: New Haven: Yale University Press.
- NASS. (2007 2011 2015). <http://www.nassnig.org/>
- NBS. (2012). *2012 National Baseline Youth Survey Report*. Nigeria Retrieved from <http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/nbslibrary/social-economic-statistics/gender-and-youth>
- Nkoyock, A., & Folami, L. (2013). Political Leadership Issues In Africa: Lessons Learned From the 2015 Nigerian Presidential. <http://nkoyock.net/blog/?m=20150725>
- Noble, H., & Smith, J. (2015). Issues of validity and reliability in qualitative research. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, ebnurs-2015-102054.
- Nolutshungu, S. C. (1990). Fragments of a democracy: reflections on class and politics in Nigeria. *Third World Quarterly*, 12(1), 86-115.
- Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*: Cambridge University Press.
- NPC. (2017). *Nigeria's Population Now 182 million*. Nigeria: National Population Commission, Nigeria Retrieved from <http://population.gov.ng/nigerias-population-now-182-million-npc/>.
- Nwabughio, L. (2015). Over 100m Nigerians living below poverty line—Osinbajo.
- Nwagbo, S. N., Okafor, U. C., & Obiorah, C. B. (2017). Politics And Democratic Challenges. *Social Science Research*, 3(2), 51-66.
- Nwaubani, A. T. (2014). Letter from Africa: Nigeria's internet warriors. Retrieved October 22, 2015 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29237507>

- Nwofe, E. S., & Goodall, M. (2017). Pro-Biafran Activists and the call for a Referendum: A Sentiment Analysis of 'Biafraexit' on Twitter after UK's vote to leave the European Union. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 4(1), 65-81.
- Nwogu, G., & Wariboko, B. (2015, p.2). Women Participation in Rivers State Grass-Root Politics: A Community Development Perspective. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 5(3), 1-9.
- NYP. (2009, Pg. 6). *National Youth Policy*. Retrieved from [http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/Nigeria\\_2009\\_National\\_Youth\\_Policy.pdf](http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/Nigeria_2009_National_Youth_Policy.pdf)
- NYP. (2018). *Nigerian Youth Parliament*. Retrieved from <http://www.nigerianyouthparliament.gov.ng/aboutus.htm>.
- O'Donoghue, J. L., Kirshner, B., & McLaughlin, M. (2002). Introduction: Moving youth participation forward. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2002(96), 15-26.
- O'Neill, B. (2007). *Indifferent Or Just Different?: The Political and Civic Engagement of Young People in Canada*: Canadian Policy Research Network Ottawa, ON.
- O'Toole, T. (2003). Engaging with young people's conceptions of the political. *Children's Geographies*, 1(1), 71-90.
- O'Toole, T., Lister, M., Marsh, D., Jones, S., & McDonagh, A. (2003). Tuning out or left out? Participation and non-participation among young people. *Contemporary politics*, 9(1), 45-61.
- O'Brien, B. C., Harris, I. B., Beckman, T. J., Reed, D. A., & Cook, D. A. (2014). Standards for reporting qualitative research: a synthesis of recommendations. *Academic Medicine*, 89(9), 1245-1251.
- Oduwole, T. A. (2015). Youth unemployment and poverty in Nigeria. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology Research*, 1(2), 23-39.
- Ogundiya, I. S., Olutayo, A. O., & Amzat, J. (2011). *Assessment of Democratic Trends in Nigeria*: Gyan Publishing House.
- Oji, R., Eme, O. I., & Nwoba, H. A. (2014). Political Party Funding in Nigeria: A Case of Peoples Democratic Party. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (Nigerian Chapter)*, 2(11), 1-18.
- Okoro, N., & Nwafor, K. A. (2013). Social media and political participation in Nigeria during the 2011 general elections: The lapses and the lessons. *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(3), 29-46.

- Oladejo, A. O., & Oni, E. O. (2017). Political Education and Community Development in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges. *Canadian Social Science*, 13(3), 45-54.
- Olaniyi, J. O. (2018). Manifestations of the Symptoms of Poverty in the Electoral Behaviour of Nigerian Political Actors. *Jostling Between" Mere Talk" and Blame Game?: Beyond Africa's Poverty and Underdevelopment Game Talk*, 285.
- Olarinmoye, O. O. (2008). Godfathers, political parties and electoral corruption in Nigeria. *African Journal of political science and international relations*, 2(4), 66-73.
- Omodia, S. (2010). Political Parties and Party Politics in the Nigerian Fourth Republic. *Trakia Journal of Sciences*, 8(3), 65-69.
- Omotola, J. S. (2007). Godfathers and the 2007 Nigerian general elections. *Journal of African Elections*, 6(2), 134-154.
- Omotola, J. S. (2009). Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 1(3), 612-634.
- Omozuwa, V. E., & Ezejideaku, E. (2008). A stylistic analysis of the language of political campaigns in Nigeria: Evidence from the 2007 general elections. *OGIRISI: a New Journal of African Studies*, 5(1), 40-54.
- Onishi, N. (2016). Nigeria Goes to the Mall. *Nytimes*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/05/world/africa/nigeria-goes-to-the-mall.html?mcubz=0>
- Onuoha. (2010). Youth unemployment and poverty: Connections and concerns for national development in Nigeria. *International Journal of modern political economy*, 1(1), 115-136.
- Onuoha, G. (2013). The presence of the past: youth, memory making and the politics of self-determination in southeastern Nigeria. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(12), 2182-2199.
- Onuoha, G. (2017). Bringing 'Biafra'back in: narrative, identity, and the politics of non-reconciliation in Nigeria. *National Identities*, 1-21.
- Onwudiwe, E., Kew, D., & Sklar, R. L. (2006). Nigeria: completing Obasanjo's legacy. *Journal of Democracy*, 17(3), 100-115.
- Onyekpe, N. (2007). Managing youth at election. *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development*, 7(1), 76-87.
- Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L., & Wynaden, D. (2001). Ethics in qualitative research. *Journal of nursing scholarship*, 33(1), 93-96.

- Orji, N. (2015). The 2015 Nigerian general elections. *Africa Spectrum*, 50(2), 73-85.
- Ortmann, S. (2015). The umbrella movement and Hong Kong's protracted democratization process. *Asian Affairs*, 46(1), 32-50.
- Oruh, N. (2014). #30 Percent-Or-Nothing#? Not This Generation...At Least Not Yet! Retrieved from <http://ugowrite.blogspot.my/2014/10/30-percent-or-nothing-not-this.html>
- Osaghae, E. E., & Suberu, R. T. (2005). *A history of identities, violence and stability in Nigeria*: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, University of Oxford.
- Osayi, F. (2015). Regressive Democracy: The Monstrous Role of Godfathers in Nigeria. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 6, 1-25.
- Özbudun, E. (2005). The Role of the Middle Class in the Emergence and Consolidation of a Democratic Civil Society. *Ankara Law Review*, 2(2), 25-108.
- Ozohu-Suleiman, A. (2006). The Nigerian Youth in Contemporary Political Development Relevance, Challenges, and role expectation. *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development*, 6(4), 97-111.
- Paden, J. N. (2006). *Muslim civic cultures and conflict resolution: the challenge of democratic federalism in Nigeria*: Brookings Institution Press.
- Paletz, D. L., & Entman, R. M. (1982). *Media power politics*: Free Pr.
- Parry, G., Moyser, G., & Day, N. (1992). *Political participation and democracy in Britain*: Cambridge University Press.
- Pateman, C. (1976). *Participation and democratic theory*: Cambridge University Press.
- Pateman, C. (2012). Participatory democracy revisited. *Perspectives on Politics*, 10(01), 7-19.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*: SAGE Publications, inc.
- Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis. *Health Services Research* (34:5), 1189-1208.
- Patton, M. Q. (2005). *Qualitative research*: Wiley Online Library.
- Phillippi, J., & Lauderdale, J. (2017). A guide to field notes for qualitative research: context and conversation. *Qualitative Health Research*, 1049732317697102.

- Pinto, B. (1987). Nigeria during and after the oil boom: A policy comparison with Indonesia. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 1(3), 419-445.
- Pogrebinschi, T., & Samuels, D. (2014). The Impact of Participatory Democracy: Evidence from Brazil's National Public Policy Conferences. *Comparative Politics*, 46(3), 313-332.
- Quintelier, E. (2007). Differences in political participation between young and old people. *Contemporary politics*, 13(2), 165-180.
- Rasheed, B. O. (2016). Broadcast Media as an Instrument of Change during 2015 Electioneering Campaigns in Nigeria. *Nigerian Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 3(12), 14-27.
- Rauf, A. A. A., Hamid, N. A., & Ishak, M. S. (2016). Modelling The Effect of Access to Information, Political Interest and Policy Satisfaction On Youth Online Political Participation in Malaysia. *Jurnal Komunikasi, Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 32(2).
- Resnick, D., & Casale, D. (2011). *The political participation of Africa's youth: Turnout, partisanship, and protest* (9292304232). Retrieved from
- Richards, L. (2014). *Handling qualitative data: A practical guide*: Sage.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*: Sage.
- Robbins, M. (2017). Youth, religion and democracy after the Arab Uprisings: evidence from the Arab Barometer. *The Muslim World*, 107(1), 100-126.
- Robson, C., & McCartan, K. (2016). *Real world research*: John Wiley & Sons.
- Saad, S., & Salman, A. (2013). The role of values and attitudes in political participation. *Asian Social Science*, 9(8), 9.
- Sala-i-Martin, X., & Subramanian, A. (2003). *Addressing the natural resource curse: An illustration from Nigeria*. Retrieved from
- Salawu, B. (2010). Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria: Causal analysis and proposals for new management strategies. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(3), 345-353.
- Salawu, B., & Hassan, A. (2011). Ethnic politics and its implications for the survival of democracy in Nigeria. *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research*, 3(2), 28-33.
- Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*: Sage.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research methods for business students (6th ed.)*: London: Pearson Education.

- Schostak, J. (2006, p.54). *Interviewing and Representation in Qualitative Research*. Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.
- Schwandt, T. A. (2015). *The Sage dictionary of qualitative inquiry*: Sage Publications.
- Silverman, D. (2016). *Qualitative research*: Sage.
- Sloam, J. (2007). Rebooting democracy: Youth participation in politics in the UK. *Parliamentary affairs*, 60(4), 548-567.
- Sloam, J. (2008). Teaching democracy: The role of political science education. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 10(3), 509-524.
- Sloam, J. (2011). Introduction: youth, citizenship and politics. *Parliamentary affairs*, gsr048.
- Sloam, J. (2014). New voice, less equal: the civic and political engagement of young people in the United States and Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(5), 663-688.
- Smith, E., & Smith Jr, J. (2008). *Using secondary data in educational and social research*: McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Sridharan, E. (2004). The growth and sectoral composition of India's middle class: Its impact on the politics of economic liberalization. *India Review*, 3(4), 405-428.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*: Sage.
- Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies»: 443-466. NK Denzin et YS Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Steinberg, G. (2014). Leading the counter-revolution: Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring.
- Stockemer, D., & Sundström, A. (2018). Age representation in parliaments: Can institutions pave the way for the young? *European Political Science Review*, 1-24.
- Stoker, G. (2006). *Why politics matters: making democracy work*: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stratmann, T. (2017). Campaign Finance: A Review and an Assessment of the State of the Literature.
- Strauss. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*: Cambridge University Press.

- Strauss, & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research* (Vol. 15): Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Stroker, R. P. (2006). *Five reasons why judges should become more involved in establishing, leading, and participating on collaborative, policy-focused teams*: Center for Effective Public Policy.
- Sule, B., Sani, M. A. M., & Mat, B. (2018). Godfatherism and political party financing in Nigeria: Analysing the 2015 general election. *Geografia-Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, 14(1).
- Szpiro, G. G. (2010). *Numbers Rule: The Vexing Mathematics of Democracy, from Plato to the Present*: Princeton University Press.
- Tashakkori, & Teddle. (2003). *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Teodori, M. (1969). *The New Left. A Documentary History*, New York, Bobbs-Merrill.
- Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 17.
- Theiss-Morse, E., & Hibbing, J. R. (2005). Citizenship and civic engagement. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 8, 227-249.
- Thorne, S. (2000). Data analysis in qualitative research. *Evidence based nursing*, 3(3), 68-70.
- Tong, A., Sainsbury, P., & Craig, J. (2007). Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International journal for quality in health care*, 19(6), 349-357.
- Turner III, D. W. (2010). Qualitative interview design: A practical guide for novice investigators. *The qualitative report*, 15(3), 754.
- Uche, A. O., & Obiora, A. V. (2016). Social Media Typology, Usage and Effects on Students of Nigerian Tertiary Institutions. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development*, 5(8).
- Ugor, P. U. (2014). The Niger Delta Wetland, Illegal Oil Bunkering and Youth Identity Politics in Nigeria. *Postcolonial Text*, 8(3 & 4).
- Uhunmwangho, S. O., & Urhoghide, P. (2013). Comparative Analysis of Traditional Institution to Democratic Stability in Nigeria. *Dynamics of Public Administration*, 30(2), 99-115.
- Uju. (2016). Rusticated Unilag Activist Adeyeye Olorunfemi Arrested by the police. Retrieved from <http://www.herald.ng/rusticated-student-unilag-adeyeye-olorunfemi-arrested-police/#cBxPAxPHIKWqPKyI.99>

- Ukaibe, C. (2015). Much Ado About Youth Participation In Political Parties. *Leadership Newspaper*. Retrieved from <http://leadership.ng/news/466301/much-ado-about-youth-participation-in-political-parties>
- Ukiwo, U. (2003). Politics, ethno-religious conflicts and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(01), 115-138.
- Ukpong. (2017). We are not Biafrans, Akwa Ibom group says. *Premium Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/south-south-regional/235058-not-biafrans-akwa-ibom-group-says.html>
- UNDP. (2013). *Enhancing youth political participation throughout the electoral cycle: A good practice guide*, Retrieved April 26, 2015 Retrieved from
- Unilag. (2016). 14 Student Union Activists (NANs) Arrested And Brutalized By The Nigerian Police.
- Union, I.-P. (2014). Youth participation in national parliaments. Retrieved from [http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/youth\\_en.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/youth_en.pdf)
- Uriah, O. A., Ololube, N. P., & Egbezor, D. E. (2015). Academic Background, Socio-Economic Status and Gender: Implications for Youth Restiveness and Educational Development in Rivers State. *International Journal of Applied Sociology*, 5(1), 16-30.
- Uzuegbunam, C. E., & Azikiwe, N. (2015). Young People's Engagement of Social Media for Social Transformation: Study of Nigerian University Students. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 171-194.
- Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H., & Bondas, T. (2013). Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing & health sciences*, 15(3), 398-405.
- Van Deth, J. W. (2001). *Studying political participation: towards a theory of everything*. Paper presented at the joint sessions of workshops of the European consortium for political research, Grenoble.
- Vanguard. (2017). Give us, Kanu Oduduwa, Biafra republics; too late for restructuring – Yoruba group. *Vanguard Newspaper*. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/07/breaking-yoruba-group-demand-oduduwa-republic-says-late-restructuring/>
- Verba, S., & Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in America*: Harper & Row.
- Verba, S., Nie, N. H., & Kim, J.-o. (1978). *Participation and political equality: A seven-nation comparison*: University of Chicago Press.

- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*: Harvard University Press.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., Brady, H. E., & Brady, H. E. (1995, Pg. 38). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics* (Vol. 4): Cambridge Univ Press.
- Vromen, A., & Collin, P. (2010). Everyday youth participation? Contrasting views from Australian policymakers and young people. *Young*, 18(1), 97-112.
- Wahiu, W., Lappin, R., & Khadiagala, G. M. (2017). Monetised Politics and the Entrenchment of Political Elites.
- Wapmuk, S. (2017). A Review of the National Assembly Elections. *Elections and Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*, 99.
- Wilson, G. (2016). The Political Parties and Political Participation in Rivers State, Nigeria: A Case Study of 2015 General Elections. *African Research Review*, 10(4), 56-68.
- WPC. (2018). World Poverty Clock - Nigeria. Retrieved June 03, 2018 <http://worldpoverty.io/>
- Yang, B. G. T. (2017). Youth In Politics: Missing In Action. Retrieved June 11, 2018 <http://www.ideas.org.my/youth-in-politics-missing-in-action/>
- Yerima, H. M., Ibrahim, M. B., Terwase, I. T., & Abdul-Talib, A.-N. (2016). Peace and conflict resolution: Biafra agitation and zoning of presidency in Nigeria. *Peace and Conflict*, 6(2).
- YIAGA. (2017). The Passage of The #Nottooyoungtorun Bill [Press release]. Retrieved from <http://yiaga.org/nottooyoungtorun/press-statement-on-the-passage-of-the-nottooyoungtorun-bill/>
- Yin. (1984, p. 23). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*: Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications. .
- Yin. (1989). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Yin. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*, 3rd edn. Applied Social Research Methods Series, vol. 5: Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Yin. (2009). *Case study research: design and methods*.
- Yin. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*: Sage publications.
- Yin. (2015). *Qualitative research from start to finish*: Guilford Publications.

Yin. (2017). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods*: Sage publications.

Youniss, J., Bales, S., Christmas- Best, V., Diversi, M., Mclaughlin, M., & Silbereisen, R. (2002). Youth civic engagement in the twenty- first century. *Journal of research on adolescence*, 12(1), 121-148.

Zakaria, Y. (2006). Youth, conflict, security, and development. Retrieved March 20, 2016 <http://www.realityofaid.org/roareport.php?table=roa2006&id=6>

