Youth Perception of Politics and Electoral Behaviour in Nigeria: A Survey of Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Eket, Akwa Ibom State.

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Abstract

This paper examined youth perception of politics and electoral behaviour in Nigeria with focus on Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Eket in Akwa Ibom State. It was basically anchored on the argument that lack of understanding of the concept of politics remains the driving force behind electoral misconduct among youths. The major objective of the study was to create a nexus between wrong perception of the concept of politics among youth and their behaviour during the electoral process. To achieve this, a combination of historical, descriptive and survey methods were adopted to generate both existing and statistical data. Empirically-driven qualitative and quantitative analyses resulted in study findings. The study revealed that wrong definition of politics, ignorance and the trajectory of socio-economic realities, particularly, unemployment were central to youth deviant behaviour during the electoral process. It was recommended that government should review academic curriculum to include the teaching of politics at all levels of education, irrespective of discipline to enable youth understand the purpose of politics. To break the cycle of elite influence on youth, government should also embark on aggressive economic reforms to create employment and enhance skill acquisition for self-reliance among teeming youth. The youth on their part, should restructure their psyche, develop obsessions for ideas, creativity and initiatives in order to maximally dilute elite influence on them.

Keywords: Youth, Politics, Electoral Behavior, Election.

Introduction

No matter how explosive a population is, it is useless if it does not have an appreciable ratio of productive youth in its demographic distribution. Youth are defined in terms of "the appearance, freshness, vigour, spirit etc, characteristic of one who is young" (Dictionary.com). By this definition, youth represents the time of life when a person is young and vulnerable, prior to adulthood. According to the United Nations, Youth comprise men and women who fall between the ages of 15 and 24 (www.unesco.org/news/themes/youth). From the perspective of the Commonwealth Youth Programme (2012), the youth class falls between 15 and 29 years. According to Second National Youth Policy Document of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2009), "the youth shall comprise all young males and females aged 18-35 years...". More generally, the popular saying that "life begins at 40" seems to suggest that one can be a youth up to the age of 39.

However, the youth are expected to be integral part of any nation and to play very supportive role in a country's political, economic and social life. Youth are required to beef up the labour force, serve in the military, participate actively in sports and other important aspects of national life.

Unfortunately in Nigeria, the youth are spotted in bad light, associated with crimes and all forms of social maladies. The political realm is no exception to this prevailing mindset about the youth class given the fact that misconception about politics is phenomenal and has pervasively inculcated a parochial political culture. The negative view of politics is generally developed from the popular definition of politics as "the struggle for power" (Dahl, 1965), deliberately deconstructed from its real meaning by the elite class to cajole the youth who ignorantly misinterpret same to mean the use of extreme force to ascend to power or win elections.

Also influencing the negative view of politics are evidences drawn from the dynamics of elections, failed policies, idiosyncrasies of political elite class and bad governance in Nigeria. These factors represent critical junctures that have tailored negative mind-sets towards the political system, more often replicated in views that resonate during formal and informal political discourse. This trend of event has assumed a discernable culture among the uneducated, educated and even the political elite class. Obviously, the poor perception or lack of understanding of the essence of politics, to a large extent, exerts far-reaching consequences that serve as proxies for determining individuals' political behaviour (the youth inclusive).

Politics is widely believed to be a very dirty game, a game for the bully, the heartless and the savage. It accounts for why most people readily identify politics as the source of sociopolitical and economic misfortunes or the major causative factor whenever things go wrong in the society. Politics is understood in a negative sense expressly informing the reason why politics as an activity and academic discipline is berated, underrated and abhorred.

The downward trajectory of politics, from personal experience, can easily be observed from facial expressions of disappointment and sometimes, derogatory comments from relatives, friends or acquaintances who expect a respondent, on inquiry, to say he or is studying medicine, engineering, law or pharmacy rather than politics in any tertiary institution. This misconception about politics unequivocally reinforces the discontent among people especially, those resident in rural areas who feel worse hit by poverty, neglect and general underdevelopment hence, the disgust and abhorrence for anything that is associated with "politics".

In the above regard, politics is synonymously linked with deceptive framework often used by politicians to cajole the electorates with promises that are never fulfilled to get their votes. To this segment of the Nigerian population, Politics means a devilish art not suitable for any decent person.

In the nutshell, the ill-feelings about politics have maximally promoted the view that politics is nothing but bitter struggles that precipitate in elections violence. This valued judgment about politics has overtime eroded and made blurry the inevitability, ubiquity and desirability of politics in human existence. The scenarios of deception, use of force and violence masterminded by political elite class prior to, during and after elections have rendered politics as "a- do- or die affair", hence, the obscurity of its essence.

With the pervasive general implant of wrong assumptions about politics, ignorant and mostly unemployed exuberant youth readily become stooges of political elite who use them to

achieve selfish interests. Given the established mindset of confused view of politics, the youth are recruited and brain-washed to believe that taking active part and resorting to violence, if needs be, during election process is the highest level of political participation. As a resultant culture, the youth pervasively formed the habit of laying claim to the mastery of the game of politics more than any segment of the population because of their active participation in elections.

It has assumed commonplace to note that youth involvement in electoral process is often translated to mean active participation in politics. More generally, experience indicate that the youth are recruited into the electoral process courtesy of their mentors, some get directly inducted into political parties while others are indirectly recruited as militant to perform certain covert operations. It is truism that youth are rarely appointed into mainstream political positions but recruited mostly to perform infamous roles in the electoral process.

Having found themselves at the lowest ebb of the electoral process as mostly thugs, body-guards and trouble-makers, the youth now confuse and equate their involvement in elections with the broad spectrum concept of politics. An average youth in Nigeria (with Akwa Ibom State inclusive) has high propensity to define politics within the context of active involvement in elections which have been characteristically calamitous due to the use of brute force and violence sometimes resulting into armed conflicts.

Statement of the Problem

From 1922 when the Clifford Constitution introduced elective principles to the present, elections in Nigeria have been very problematic. Local, state and general elections in Nigeria have been controversial, inconclusive and most times, rejected by political opponents who often allege gross electoral malpractice by sitting governments, electoral bodies and their victors (opponents).

From pre to post-independence era in Nigeria, including the present Fourth Republic, youth political behaviour is easily crystalised and understood from the perspective of electoral process. During successive elections in Akwa Ibom State, the youth have played active roles that most often beclouded by criticisms bothering on weighty moral burden, questions of credibility, transparency and fairness.

Having internalised the general wrong view about politics combined with being characteristically exuberant, energetic, adventurous and active, the youth are individually and collectively recruited and used as pawns by the elite class in the guise of mentoring them in politics. Due to youth drive maximally expressed in the quest to abruptly carve their niche or change their material condition stultified by unemployment, the youth fall prey to the intrigues of the political elite. The youth have variously been motivated and completely indoctrinated on elite values, preferences and selfish interests against the substance of politics. To the youth, politics is unequivocally defined as election in terms of "winner- takes -all and zero-sum game".

Under elite tutelage, youth have overtime assimilated the culture of striving to use any means and method to help their political mentors win elections at all costs. Realistically, it has become a norm among youth that the greater their involvement in electoral malpractices and violence in favour of their mentors, the higher their reward for knowledge and mastery of the game of politics. Overtime, youth misinterpretation of the broad concept of politics defined within the context of active participation in the electoral processes has produced dominant political behaviour of violence indicating one or a combination of the following:

- i. Snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes during elections for illegal thump-printing;
- **ii.** Shooting, killings and maiming of people perceived as obstacles to their sponsors prior to or during elections;
- iii. Hostage taking and kidnapping before and during elections;
- **iv.** Indiscriminate use of fire-arms, machetes, clubs and other dangerous objects to intimidate opponents;
- v. Use of cult groups to intimidate opponents, create tension and confusion
- vi. Campaign of calumny, blackmail and character assassination; and
- vii. Arson and destruction of public utilities.

The above characterises youth behaviour prior to and during elections. In the postelection periods, youth are sponsored by elites to protest, lead violent demonstrations and cause mayhem to reject election results. With all these put together, if the youth had understanding of the nitty-gritty of politics, their political behaviour would have added value by contributing to the consolidation of the electoral process, rather than circumventing it. Given these trends, we raise this major question thus: how has the understanding of politics influenced youth political behaviour in electoral process?

Objectives of the Study

The major objective of this study was to establish the relationship between youth misconception about politics and political behaviour in electoral process in Akwa Ibom State.

Research hypothesis

One major hypothesis was formulated for this study thus: there is a significant relationship between wrong perception of the concept of politics by youth and electoral misconduct in Akwa Ibom State.

Conceptual issues: Understanding the Substance of Politics.

The word "politics" is a derivative of the Greek word "polis" meaning Greek city-states like Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Thebes and Attica etc. and all human endeavours therein. The polis, to the Greeks, remains the beginning, the centre and the end of life, hence, the only means for realizing their potentials, self and collective interests. Basically, the Greeks regard outcomes of all human endeavours in the city-states whether cultural, economic, social or religious to be political because they are products of interplay of divergent interests, motives (intrinsic or extrinsic) and influences. According to Aristotle (384-322 B.C), "man is, by nature, a political animal" or what is known in Latinic maxim as "Homo politicus" to the extent that:

Man, when perfected, is the best of all animals, but when separated from law and justice, he is worst of all...(he) is the more dangerous and...is the most unholy and the most savage of animals, and the most of all full of lust and gluttony (Aristotle cited in Eminue, 2005:2)

Instructively, every man born into society is a politician. Men are born equal but in the process of socialization and development, some tend to surpass others while correspondingly developing divergent interests and dissenting world views. Politics is inherent in any social setting so long as it plays host to humans including the family, church, mosque, private and public institutions

We can inductively visualize a Greek city-state as a microcosm or common denomination for understanding modern societies comprising individuals and groups constantly and fiercely standing in competition. Due to inherent human nature, social formations have inevitably assumed political landscape characterized by complex web of divergent and competing interests. Thus, for these reasons, politics is ubiquitous, inevitable and phenomenal.

The term "politics", in modern times, has attracted an avalanche of attempted multidimensional definitions and approaches presented according to perception and orientation. From the narrow traditional or institutional parlance, politics is simply the study of the state and its institutions, for example, the legislature, executive, judiciary, bureaucracy, electoral bodies etc. (Laski, 1948, Shively, 2005).

From a more realistic standpoint, politics is nothing but all interactions geared towards attaining and exercising power (Dahl (1968), Duverger (1980) and Nnoli (1980). From this perspective, power serves pragmatic means to an end and a desirable instrument for self-aggrandizement, influence, authority, behavioural change, wealth and unquantifiable privileges. It is on the basis of this definition that most people misconstrue politics to mean the art of using brutal force or deception to gain ascendancy to or enjoy power. Though the environment of politics can be conflictual due to divergent interests, it does not translate to use of force at all times. Power can be achieved by persuasion, influence, authority or any form of witty manipulation other than violence or election. This implies that politics occupy both sides of the same coin, it can produce positive or negative outcome depending on its presence and usage.

Shively (2005:11) presented a rather more encapsulating view of politics in a two-pronged conceptualization. Firstly, politics is interpreted to be a product of "cooperative" and rationally achieved pubic decision arising from the process of effective persuasion to solve a common problem. Secondly, it involves the use of power to dominate and influence people "through coercion". Thus, politics relates with the process of making public decision and use of power to influence behaviour through one or combination of persuasion, coercion, or force.

Easton (1965) offered a comprehensive and all- encompassing definition of politics to reflect all- powerful nature of politics as "the authoritative allocation of values in a society". The political system is viewed as a super-structure while other systems in the society form the substructures. Easton's conceptualization of politics revolves around that fact that politics takes place in all human formations (family, organizations, groups, etc.) but that which occurs in the political system stands superior to these formations. This is because it makes authoritative decisions that are implemented with binding effect, whether positively or negatively on individuals, groups and all segments of the society. This is to say that politics is the process of making decisions that affect man and his environment. It is a decision mechanism in a general sense other than election. Politics can drive the nation to achieve development or underdevelopment if "the authoritative decision" made is appropriate or inappropriate.

Corroborating Easton's, is the conceptual clarification made by Lasswell (1936) who defined politics as "the determination of who gets what, when and how?" The supposition of this view of politics is a pointer to the fact that politics is an interactive process where divergent interests power interplay each other paving way for decision(s) to be reached. Thus, decisions reached during such interactions represent "the politics", meaning the victory of the most powerful interests. Politics in Lasswell's view is synonymous with rationality, intrigues and

power play. The question as to: whose interest prevailed in the decision making process, how was such interest articulated and when did such take place constitute what politics is all about.

Theoretical Framework

A combination of the political economy approach (paradigm of the Marxist theory) which has as its exponent, Ake (1985) and a strand of elite theory by Mosca (1970) were adopted to explicate youth misconception of politics as a fundamental factor in electoral behaviour in Akwa Ibom State.

As an offshoot of the Marxist theory of historical materialism, political economy approach focuses on the mechanics of the economic system as the major determinant of politics, the political process and political participation. Building on Marx and Engels' (1970), Ake (1981) believes that socio-political and economic lives are conditioned by the mode of production prevalent in the society. By empirically studying all societies, both ancient and modern, Ake (1981:2) contested that major regularities were bound to be observed thus:

- **i.** Those from the economically privileged groups dominate socio-political life of the society;
- ii. Those who are economically privileged are interested in maintaining the status-quo especially its system of wealth distribution;
- **iii.** Economic inequality breeds political inequality in a society; such a society cannot have political democracy because political power will tend to polarize around economic power; and
- iv. The morality and values of society tend to support existing domination by the economically privileged (cited in Ikpe, 2000:35)

On the other hand, Mosca (1970) theorized that society's life is determined and regulated by the preferences and values of the governing elites given their "superior organizational skills". Thus, the suggestion that public policies or political decisions are reflections of masses demands is said to be a myth rather than reality.

Elite theory suggests that people are apathetic and ill-informed about politics, that elite actually shape mass opinion on policy question more than the masses shape elite opinion. In this setting, policies flow downward from elite to the masses (top-down approach) and therefore do not necessarily represent the interests of the masses.

In the nutshell, the central theses (basic assumptions) of elite theory, according to Mosca () and Bottomore (1993), are as follows:

- (a) Society is divided into two broad classes the few who have power and the many who do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for the society; the masses do not allocate values.
- **(b)** The few who govern are not typical of the masses, the elite class is drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society. The elite are divided into ruling elite and sub-elites.
- (c) The movement of non-elite to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elite who have accepted the basic elite consciousness can be admitted to the governing circles.
- (d) Elite share consciousness on behalf of the masses on basic values of the society system because they are deemed to be intellectually, morally and materially superior.

- (e) Public policy, a product of politics, does not reflect demands of the masses but rather, the prevailing values of the elites.
- (f) Change in public decisions is usually incremental rather than revolutionary.
- (g) Active elite are subject to relatively little or no direct influence from apathetic masses.

The logical implication of these assumptions is that choices, changes, innovations in public policies and decisions are direct outcome of the preferences, values, idiosyncrasies, whims and caprices of the elites. It is argued that:

In all societies from those that are very meagerly developed and barely attained the dawning of civilization down to the most advanced and powerful societies, two classes of people appear predominant, a class that rules and a class that is ruled (Mosca 1970: 32).

According to Mosca, people from the class that is ruled can be admitted to join or replace an existing elite class if they possess the necessary resources that qualify them. This re-enforces the dialectical theory of constant competition among elite necessitating them to build brick walls around themselves to guarantee their circulation and forestall displacement by new entrants. At this juncture, the consolidation of power and influence on the politico-economic and social fabrics of the state even at the detriment of mass interest becomes an obsession. Thus, "power is everything, and those who control the coercive resources use it freely to promote their interests including the appropriation of surplus. For those who control force, entrepreneurial activity is unnecessary: for those who do not, it is often futile..." (Ake, 1983: 5). For this reason, the elite maintain strong control of the society while fraudulently exploiting the Nigerian mono-product economy necessary resources for the circumvention of the electoral process to gain power at all cost. According to Paul Wolfowitz, 10th President of the World Bank:

Nigeria represents an example of how people in a resource-rich country could wallow in poverty in the face of rampant corruption. With about 75% of the people now living on less than one US Dollars a day, this unfortunate reality so contrasted with the fact that over the past 40 years, about 400 billion Dollars has been stolen from the country (cited in the Guardian, Dec. 21, 2006).

The above obviously account for reasons why economic reforms, electoral reforms, and general public policies, including those that would have generated employment for the teeming youths often fail. The point is that reforms and policies are deliberately built on "top-down" rather than "bottom-up" approach of decision making process.

The political economy approach and elite theory served veritable guides to our analysis bringing to the fore the antics of political elite who deliberately use their political and economic powers to exploit the disadvantaged and vulnerable youth. With overwhelming economic power, elite desperately resort to illegal options, if needs be, to influence the electoral process. Given the psyche of established perception that "the closer to the corridor of power, the more wealthier and powerful one becomes", elites see the rise to or the need to maintain power as "a do- or-die-affair". In the course of actualizing their inordinate ambitions, youth are recruited, lured with pecuniary incentives due to unemployment and brain-washed with distorted views contrary to what politics stand for. The youth, in obeisance and show of loyalty, commit

heinous crimes in during electoral processes to help political elite win elections fraudulently and by achieving this feat, hence, the claim to knowing and practicing politics

Area of Study

Akwa Ibom State constitutes our area of study. Akwa Ibom State is one of the 36 states of the Nigerian federation located in the South- South Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria. With a total population of 3, 902, 208 million (NPC, 2006), Akwa Ibom is bounded in the north by Abia State, Atlantic ocean in the south, Cross River State in the east and Rivers State in the west. Located between Latitude 4°25' N and 5°30' N and Longitude 7°35'E and 8°30' E of the equator, the state is endowed with oil, gas, solid mineral and favourable climatic condition for agriculture and allied businesses.

Categorized as a civil service state, Akwa Ibom State is characterized by weak economic and industrial bases. With over 90% of its population located in the rural areas, the dependence on agriculture as a major means of livelihood, employment and survival becomes inevitable. Major crops of our study area include oil palm, cassava, maize, cocoyam, rubber and a host of others (Ibok and Uwa, 2017).

Methodology

The historical/descriptive and survey methods were adopted for this study. These enabled us to generate both existing and primary data for analysis.

Given the universe of the three local government headquarters of Uyo (309, 573), Ikot Ekpene (143,077) and Eket (172,557) at 625, 207 (NPC, 2006), we drew our sample size of 399 by adopting the Taro Yamane method using the formula $n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)2}$

From the total of 399, 133 copies of questionnaire were disproportionately allocated to and administered on respondents (the youth) in each of Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Eket using simple and stratified random sampling techniques. Of the sum total of 399 questionnaire issued out, 370 were duly completed and returned.

Data Analysis, Testing of Hypothesis and Discussion of Findings.

TABLE 1: Questionnaire Allocated and Returned

Local Government	No.	of	No.	of	% of Return
	Questionnaire		Questionnaire		
	Administered		Returned		
Uyo	133		130		32.58%
Ikot Ekpene	133		115		28.82%
Eket	133		125		31.33%
TOTAL	399		370		92.73%

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Table 1 above indicates that out of a total of 399 questionnaire produced and administered on our sample population, a total of 370 (92.73%) were duly filled and returned. Further breakdown shows that from the 133 questionnaire disproportionately assigned to and administered each in Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Eket, 130 (32.58%), 115 (28.82%) and 125 (31.33%) respectively were correctly filled and returned.

TABLE 2: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Characteristics	Frequency (N=370)	Percentage %	
Sex			
Male	213	57.57	
Female	157	42.43	
Age			
15- 25	139	37.57	
26-36	142	38.37	
37 & Above	89	24.06	
Educational Qualification			
Primary/FSLC	96	25.95	
SSCE/ND	111	30.0	
HND/B.Sc	121	32.70	
Postgraduate	42	11.35	
Occupation			
Public Servants	86	23.24	
Self-employed	131	35.41	
Unemployed	153	41.35	
TOTAL	370	100	

Source: Field Survey, 2018

From demographic distribution of respondent indicated in table 2 above, 213 (57.57%) were males while 157 (42.43%) were females. 139 youths fell within the age bracket of 15-25 (37.57%), 142 constituted 38.37% while 89 made up 24.06%. 96 youth (25.95%) were holders of primary certificates, 111 (30.0%) had post-primary certificates (SSCE/ND) while 121(32.70%) and 42 (11.35%) of them possess graduate and post-graduate qualifications respectively.

Also, 86 youth (23.24%) were drawn from among public servants, 131(35.41%) were self-employed while 153 (41.35%) fell under those who are unemployed.

Testing of Hypothesis: the following hypothesis was tested as follows:

Null Hypothesis (H₀): There is no significant relationship between wrong perception of politics by the youth and electoral misconduct in Akwa Ibom State.

Alternate Hypothesis (H₁): There is significant relationship between wrong perception of politics by the youth and electoral misconduct in Akwa Ibom State.

Following from the above, three questions used for testing the above-stated hypothesis include: Does politics mean the same thing as election? Do you agree that the more you get involved in elections, the more you master politics? Can we say that election remains the only channel of participating in politics?

TABLE 3: Opinion on Ouestionnaire Items.

LGA	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
UYO	80 A	28 D	4 G	18 J	130
IKOT	60 B	30 E	15 H	10 K	115
EKPENE					
EKET	68 C	32 F	20 I	5 L	125
TOTAL	208	90	39	33	370

Source: Field Survey, 2018 X^2 – Computed value =19.84

Degree of freedom (D/F)= (R-1)(C-1)=(3-1)(4-1)=2X3=6

 \mathbf{X}^2 - Table value at 0.05 level of significance = 12.592

Decision: Since the Chi-square computed value (19.84) is greater than the Chi-square table value (12.592), we therefore reject the null hypothesis (H_0) and accept the alternate hypothesis that there is significant relationship between there is significant relationship between wrong perception of politics by the youth and electoral misconduct in Akwa Ibom State.

Findings reveal that electoral misconduct among Akwa Ibom youth is a direct consequence of the wrong perception of politics as elections usually characterized by intense struggle for power using brute force. This orientation is maximally promoted and masterminded by political elite who have established their hegemony on the socio-political and economic life of the society, thus, controlling, exploiting and determining the allocation state's resources.

Instructively, the activities of the elite class became a major determinant of the state's socio-economic condition, a state of general underdevelopment where the youth find themselves helpless especially, in the face of over-bloated public sector, over-stretched absorptive capacity and weak private sector base. Ironically, Akwa Ibom State is financially rich but unfortunately, unable to meet its economic obligations including combating perennial unemployment which has pervasively grown from 18.4% in 2011 to 36.58% in 2017 (NBS, 2017). The youth who have either graduated from school, dropped out of school or do not have any skill at all find themselves underemployed, unemployed or poverty-stricken.

As indicated in the United Nations Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index (2015) which put the prevailing rate of poverty at 23.8%, it becomes imperative for the youth who are worse hit by this economic malady to attempt to take their destinies in their hands since government has fallen short of expectation. In the event of trying to cater for their well-being, the youth become naïvely and ignorantly disorientated and recruited into the periphery of politics to engage in deviant activities during elections in the guise of playing politics.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The intent of this study was to establish the link between youth misconception of politics and electoral behaviour in Akwa Ibom State. Borrowing from a popular verse of the Holy Bible which reads, "out of ignorance, my people perish", the political elite class has capitalized on youth ignorance combined with their socio-economic condition to exploit them. By being knowledgeable of the substance of politics, youth mindset or attitude would have been tailored to embrace civility, democratic norms and good conduct during electoral process. On this note therefore, the youth can come to terms with fact that being brutally active during elections does not translate to knowing politics.

Rather than serve role as models to youth, the political elite class assume godfathers and leaders of fraudulent groups who sponsor mayhems and politically motivated killings using mostly, unemployed youth to carry-out these dastardly acts. The electoral process in Nigeria and Akwa Ibom State in particular, has created battlefields for blood-letting, unwarranted killings and wonton destruction of public property masterminded by elite when they feel unfavoured. On the whole, if the youth are not educated adequately on politics, empowered economically and as well, develop for themselves a mental orientation of creativity required to become self-reliant rather than playing stooges to the elite class, the quest to attain political development remains a mirage.

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