Introduction to Basic Concepts in

GOVERNMENT
SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

A Text For GES 103

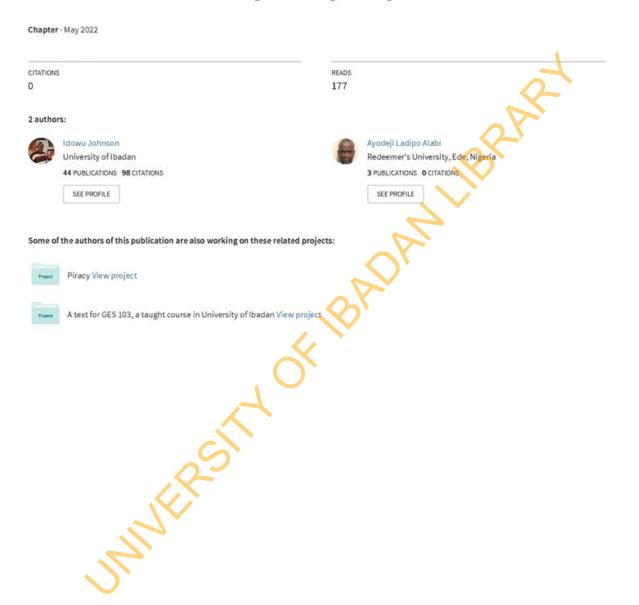REAL ECONOMIC VALUE
*REAL HUMAN VALUE
*REAL NATURAL VALUE

generative honour
collaborative trust
productive respect

society

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Political socialisation and political participation

Chapter · May 2022

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GES 103: GOVERNMENT, SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Edited by

Stephen Akinyemi Lafenwa

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PREFACE

I am honoured to write the preface of this book, *Government, Society, and Economy*. The book is meant to serve as an introduction to non-social scientists who have no idea of the social science disciplines. This book is not the first of its kind but an improvement on the previous editions. There was a curriculum review and there arose a need for the addition of other aspects "Current Discourse in Peace and Conflict Resolution," and "ICT and Social Science in the 21st Century" which will enrich the course and the knowledge of the students about the social science disciplines.

The importance of the study of the human society and behaviour with the ultimate aim of gaining enduring understanding of social phenomena cannot be overemphasised. This will help the students to relate better with situations they have and are experiencing in their daily environment.

The Chapters in the Book have been written in simple and clear concepts, and practical examples provided to make reading interesting and easy to understand. The authors are seasoned faculty members with proven academic records. The book is highly recommended for use in any university or other tertiary institutions where Introduction to the Social Science disciplines is taught.

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POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

I. Johnson and A.L. Alabi

Political Socialisation

Socialisation is the process whereby an individual learns to adjust to a group (or society) and behaves in a manner approved by the group (or society). According to most social scientists, socialisation essentially represents the whole process of learning throughout the life course and is a central influence on the behaviour, beliefs, and actions of adults as well as of children (Encyclopædia Britannica 2010). Political socialisation, therefore, is the deliberate inculcation of political information, values and practices by instructional agents which have been formally and informally saddled with that responsibility. This includes:

> "all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of the developmental cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning that affects political behaviour, such as the learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics" (Almond and Powell 1992).

A basic hypothesis in political socialisation is that no political system can attain or remain in a condition of integration unless it succeeds in developing among its members a body of shared knowledge about political matters as well as a set of shared political values and attitudes. The central theme of this hypothesis is that political socialisation is a means of building political cohesion.

Content of Political Socialisation

The intent of political socialisation is the political culture. In the words of Gabriel Almond (Almond and Coleman 1960:27); "Political socialisation is the process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes-cognitions, value standards and feelings towards the political system, its various roles and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of values affecting, and feeling towards the inputs of demands and claims into the system and its authoritative outputs." Inherent in Gabriel Almonds statement quoted above is the suggestion that there are a number of specific parts of the political culture which need to be spelt out—both the types of psychological orientations and the types of objects or relationships to which orientation refer. Expanding the scope further is the argument that political actions are determined both by the objective situations in which political actors find themselves and by the predispositions that citizens and their leaders have acquired through prior experience in relation to their political goals, expectations about the rules of the game of politics, conceptions of the legitimacy of men and institutions, group loyalties, assumptions about human nature and orientations towards authority (Almond and Powell 1992). This pre-supposes that political socialisation is essential to the persistence of a political system.

In addition, the whole cycle of personality development of every individual, from childhood to adulthood, must be brought within the broad spectrum of the national political socialisation system. These include shaping the child's image of government, the child's response to government, acquisition of regime norms, discovering of nationality, identification and association with other personalities, acquisition of democratic orientations, acquisition of political vocabulary and ideology and elite socialisation or re-socialisation. Essential to the shaping of the child's image of government is the monitoring of the transmission of political values from parent to child, supervision of family communication patterns, prescription of comprehensive high school civics curriculum, regulation and doctoring of contents of mass communication (mass media), and deliberate motivation of people to participate in democratic processes in schools, clubs, associations, etc. (Almond and Powell 1992).

Utilities of Political Socialisation

There are five utilities of political socialisation. First, political socialisation is utilised as a major kind of stress-absorber, that is, a means by which stress on essential variables is avoided or reduced if a political system is to continue to operate as a system of behaviour through which values in the system may be authoritatively allocated. Second, on the output side, through socialisation, the political system may be able to assure itself that its governance decisions are acceptable and binding on citizens. Third, on the input side, through socialisation, the volume and variety of demands on the political system is streamlined and controlled, thus preventing the communication network from becoming overburdened to the point of collapse. Fourth, socialisation processes help prepare members of a political system to undertake those roles relevant for the conversion of inputs to binding outputs. Fifth, socialisation acts as a major response by which a system seeks to generate, at least, a minimal level of positive support of the citizens for those basic political objects without which no system could operate at all (Dennis 1973:48).

Essentially, political socialisation is a tool for national acculturation by responsible governments. As regards the political education content of political socialisation, a marked distinction should be made between politically relevant aspects of personality development and specifically political learning. The former includes basic disposition, beliefs and attitudes that affect political behaviour. The latter involves, first, learning connected with the citizen role (i.e. partisan attachments, ideology, motivation to participate, etc); second, learning connected with the subject role (i.e. national loyalty, orientation toward authority, conceptions of the legitimacy of institutions, etc); and third, learning connected with recruitment to and performance of specialised roles, such as bureaucrat, party functionary, and legislator. Civic training which is a sub-set of national acculturation becomes a deliberate policy of government when elements of potential instability are perceived or when there are potential threats to the political stability of a system. For instance in the United States of America, considerable importance is attached to doctored civic training in the educational

system, both formally and informally. Also, in Russia, character training and child raising practices as well as specifically political education are appropriated as the responsibility of the state.

Agencies of Political Socialisation

It can be inferred from the above, that the agents and agencies of political socialisation, formally and informally, include the parents/family, the school system, the mass media, voluntary associations, the political parties, religious organisations, government institutions, and such other contacts and communication that the individual interacts with from childhood to adulthood. We can briefly discuss some of these agencies.

(i) *The Parents/Family:* In every political system, the parents and the family constitute the primary agencies of political socialisation, especially at the childhood stage. The child develops his first cognitive map of the world through the parents. He imitates the family, imbibes the family traits and acquires some basic moral values which later in life impact on his political attitudes and dispositions.

(ii) *The School System:* Within the school system, the individual learns more directly and formally about politics. In all countries, the government determines what individuals learn in an organised system of political education. Generally, the school system transmits information and values which determine political attitudes and dispositions through certain class subjects, e.g. Government, Civics, etc., and other activities, e.g. debates, class leadership functions, student associations and unionism activities, etc.

(iii) *The Peer Group:* The peer group comprises persons with similar age, income group status, and often similar interests that relate with and admire each other. These include close friends, colleagues, neighbours, clubs and other informal associates. Frequent interactions with peer group bring about exchanges of ideas and values which help to shape the individuals' views of the outside world.

(iv) *The Mass Media and Social Media:* The mass media comprise of the print and electronic media, namely: newspapers, magazines, journals, television and radio. The internet/world wide web provides the social media. These provide public information and enlightenment which enable the individuals to form opinions and develop attitudes. Because the mass and social media reflect the basic norms and values of society, government, as of necessity, interferes in the knowledge and information they disseminate.

(v) *Voluntary Associations and Interest Groups:* Voluntary associations like the Boys' Brigade, Girls' Guide, Boys' Scout, Red Cross, etc., help shape individuals political attitudes, particularly in the area of civic responsibilities. Interest groups, professional associations and political parties also provide adults with knowledge about the political system and the political process.

Political Participation

People participate in the political system by carrying out organised political activities through familiar political structures such as political parties, elections, legislatures, executives, and bureaucracies. In addition to being a function of political socialisation, political participation describes the relationship between the state and the society, and addresses such issues as how individuals and different groups in society organise to further their political interests, how citizens get involved in the political processes and get represented in the political system, and how they influence policy-making in the state. It also covers how people are selected to become active members of the mentioned structures and how long they remain there.

Therefore, the issues of political participation are broadly discussed within the purview of elections, political parties and the party system, legislative representation, public bureaucracy, interest and pressure groups, and public opinion and public protests. As a consequence of dearth of space, this discussion briefly introduces each of the above mentioned avenues and

channels of political participation and, thereafter, focuses on voting participation in elections as the most visible indicator of the level and/or extent of citizens' political socialisation and political participation and, most particularly, that election is the most consequential single avenue that involves the action and decision of the largest population of citizens per time period.

Avenues and Channels for Political Participation
(i) Elections: Elections constitute the foremost avenue for citizens' political participation. Elections are formal decision-making processes by which a population of citizens chooses individuals to hold public offices, mostly in the executive and legislative arms of government. The question of who may vote is a central issue in elections because the electorate does not generally include the entire population. Apart from the general requirement of a minimum age for voting in all jurisdictions, many countries prohibit foreigners and the mentally incompetent from voting, despite the concept of universal adult suffrage (Kesselman et al. 2007). However, while the organisation and the mobilisation for elections directly impinge on the subject of political socialisation, the extent to which an election is free and fair has direct implication on the political participation of the populace. The electoral process and the electoral behaviour of citizens are therefore cardinal issues central to bringing about changes in the government.

(ii) Political Parties: Political parties provide opportunities for mass participation in the political system. Political parties are political organisations that seek to influence government policy by nominating their own candidates and trying to seat them in political offices. Such political parties are mostly officially registered and guided by certain rules enunciated by the state. As part of the efforts to influence government policy, the regular activities of political parties include electoral campaigns, educational outreach, alternative voice and protest actions. They also often market an expressed ideology, popularise their vision of good governance and societal development, and form coalitions

among disparate but closely related interests. It is important to note that the type of electoral system, such as simple plurality voting system and proportional representation voting system, is a major factor in determining the type of political party system. Basically, there are non-partisan, single party, and multiparty electoral systems. Non-partisan electoral systems are very few. And, while single party electoral systems (one party state) are giving way to multiparty democracies across climes, the number of registered political parties differ across multiparty democracies (Almond and Powell 1992).

(iii) Legislative Representation: Political participation by legislative representation is adjudged as citizens' direct regular voice in the governance of the state. However, in most countries, the legislature functions primarily to represent and provide a forum for the political expression of various interests in government, because the executive usually dominates the policy process even when it is ultimately responsible to the legislature, as in a parliamentary system. However, an emerging phenomenon is that, in much of the policy process in modern day democracies, the legislature is asserting itself as a co-equal branch of government with the executive, through its responsibility to pass laws; to authorise funds through budget approval for government activities, projects and programmes; and to review and scrutinise public administration and government policy (Kesselman et al. 2007).

The structure of the legislature also impinges on the issue of political participation. In most bicameral systems with two houses, namely the House of Representatives and the Senate, elections into the House of Representatives is usually by population while the elections into the Senate is usually by equal representation of each state-unit of the federation. This implies political participation of citizens, averaging between 500,000 to 700,000 constituents across nation-states, through their elected 'House of Representatives Members', and political participation by the designated federating political units of the nation-state, that is: States, through 'Senators'. This is the case with Nigeria and the United States of America. Britain has the House of Commons, through elections; and the

House of Lords, an unelected body that is comprised of hereditary peers (nobility of the rank of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron, the archbishops of Canterbury and York and twenty-four other senior bishops of the Church of England), life peers (appointed by the Crown on recommendation of the Prime Minister) and law Lords (life peers appointed to assist the Lords in its judicial duties) (Kesselman et al. 2007). In essence, citizens' political participation by legislative representation in Britain recognises both the ordinary citizens and their traditional social class system carried over from the medieval ages.

(iv) Interest and Pressure Groups: Interest and pressure groups, which are usually formally organised associations of individuals with shared concerns, that attempt to influence public policy to benefit themselves or their causes, constitute another veritable avenue for political participation. Such groups attempt to achieve their objectives by lobbying with sophistical strategies and tactics and bringing pressure to bear on policy makers to gain policy outcomes in their favour. Interest and pressure groups are logical products of communities of interests that exist in all societies, and these include the organised labour movements, trade associations, the military constituency, and other socio-economic institutions of the society (Almond and Powell 1992).

In all types of political systems, interest and pressure groups can be placed into five broad categories, namely: economic interests (manufacturing associations, labour congress, trade unions, farmers associations, professional groups), cause groups (religious organisations, veterans' groups, people with disabilities, anti-HIV/AIDS and anti-abortion campaigners, etc.), public interests (human rights groups, consumer protection groups, environmental protection groups, the red cross, amnesty international, etc.), private and public institutional interests (private and public universities, students union bodies, the press/news media, African Union, European Union, United Nations, etc.), and non-associational groups and interests (government departments, agencies and corporations, the military, etc.) (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2010).

(v) Public Opinion and Public Protests: Public opinion and public protests, as forms of political participation, can be defined as the complex collection of attitudes, beliefs, views and behaviours held and expressed by the adult population on given public issues at any one time. When properly organised, articulated, collected and measured, public opinions and public protests are sometimes very viable for influencing government policies and programmes, and for driving the corrections and directions that are perceived necessary for public peace, system persistence, social transformation and national development. Public opinions are widely expressed via the mass media while public protests are mostly organised by interest and pressure groups. In a sense, it can be said that public opinions and public protests are logical extensions of the activities of interest and pressure groups as vehicles of citizens' political participation (Kesselman et al. 2007).

(vi) Public Bureaucracy: Public bureaucracy affords all employees of the civil service the opportunity for direct participation in the political system. Although, not all government employees are equally significant in the political process, the most important are the highly trained expert personnel of the top civil service. These top civil servants live as an elite corps, moving about from ministry to ministry, watching governments come and go, and becoming increasingly important as policy makers, exerting great influence in the formulation and execution of policies in their different areas of specialty, as they rise into the top posts. Although public bureaucracies are supposed to be politically and ideologically neutral agencies, they are influenced by the dominant ideologies of the time and tend to have conservative propensities and institutional interest of their own (Almond and Powell 1992:103).

In addition, the theory of representative bureaucracy now widely espoused in contemporary literature to explain the phenomenon of demographic and primordial interest representation in large government organisations lend credence to the obvious fact of public bureaucracy being a channel for political participation. The theory is premised on the thought that the active

representation of group interests occur because individual bureaucrats mostly reflect the views of those who share their demographic backgrounds. The theory takes the position that a public workforce that is representative of the people in terms of indigeneity, ethnicity, race and sex, and corporate interests will help ensure that the interests of all the groups are considered in bureaucratic decision-making processes (Bradbury and Kellough 2014). With the notion that broad social groups should have spokespersons and officeholders in administrative as well as political positions, Krislov (2012) describes the theory of representative bureaucracy as a form of representation that captures most or all aspects of a society's population in the governing body of the state.

Voting as an Indicator of Political Socialisation and Political Participation

Voting participation in elections is the most visible indicator of the level and/or extent of citizens' political socialisation and political participation. In new and advanced democracies, the choice and installation of rulers through the processes of popular elections is one of the vital tools that strengthen the legitimacy of government. As rightly pointed out by Merkl (1988:20), democracy has a natural correction process built into it by which dissatisfied majorities can replace their rulers midway into the constitutionally prescribed terms through constitutionally prescribed procedures, or at next general elections, and even minorities can try to persuade the majority of the merits of their complaints. Democratic legitimisation has therefore become a matter of both substance and procedure in political stability. Central to these is voting participation by the voting age population of a nation-state and, in actual fact, elections cannot be deemed to be popular where a larger percentage of the voting age population distances itself from elections.

The difference between voting age population and eligible voters is a matter of procedure. The voting age population figure is the statistical extract of adult age group from accredited national census figures or national population estimate, while the eligible

voters' figure is the number of the voting age population that has made itself available for voters' registration and has so been duly registered through the approved procedure provided for the exercise. Voters' turnout is a fundamental quality of fair elections and is generally considered to be a necessary factor for a healthy democracy. Low turnout is usually attributed to disengagement from the system and, where this is the case, attention and focus is mainly shifted on the political socialisation spectrum for necessary solution.

In discussing voting participation, two figures are of critical importance. First, the percentage of actual voters to registered voters; and second, the percentage of actual voters to voting age population. For the exclusive purpose of this lecture, a voter is a member of the voting age population that is duly registered to vote per particular election year. Conversely any member of the voting age population that is not duly registered to vote per the particular election year is not a voter. Therefore, voting participation is calculated as the percentage of voters' turnout to the total number of registered voters, and then the percentage of voters' turnout to voting age population. In essence, voting participation is voters' turnout per election year in relation to voters' registration figures and voting age population. Nonetheless the percentages of voters' turnout to voters' registration and to the voting age population are both critical statistical figures discussed under the broad spectrum of voters' apathy and political participation in this lecture.

In Nigeria, in the 1979 general elections, a military to civilian political transition, the percentage of voters' participation to voters' registration for that year's election was 35.25%, translating to 44.83% of the voting age population of Nigeria for that year. In 1983, the general elections of a civilian to civilian political transition, voters' participation was 38.94% of voters' registration, amounting to 58.23% of the voting age population of Nigeria for that year. In December 1983, that democratic experiment collapsed via a military coup d'etat which brought the military to rule for another sixteen years (i.e. 1984-1999). There was an attempt at democratisation in 1992/93 via an elongated political transition programme which however collapsed midway by virtue of the

unilateral annulment of the 1993 presidential election by the General Ibrahim Babangida regime. The election was presumed to have been won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola.

By the 1999 military to civilian political transition, the percentage of voters' participation in that year's general election was 52.26% of registered voters, translating to 57.36% of the voting age population for that year. The 2003 general elections had higher statistical inclinations. Voters' participation at that election was 69.08% of registered eligible voters amounting to 65.33% of the voting age population of Nigeria. At the 2007 general elections, the voters' participation was 57.49% of registered eligible voters, amounting to 49.65% of the voting age population for that year. By the 2011 general elections which was the third civilian to civilian political transition under the present democratisation experience, voters' participation was 53.68% of registered eligible voters, translating to 48.32% of the voting age population of Nigeria for that year. Relative to the voting age population as stated above, voters' participation has been generally very low as a statistical comparison with four other countries will show. In the immediate past five general elections up till 2016, the average voting participation for the following countries are as follows: (a) Nigeria: 58.13%; (b) Ghana: 74.98%; (c) South Africa: 82.54%; (d) France: 80.93%; and (e) United State of America: 80.04% (International IDEA 2017). In view of this comparative statistical presentation, it can be concluded that voting participation is relatively low in Nigeria.

The above analysis poses at least two major questions relevant for our purpose. First, what are the factors responsible for the relatively low voting participation in Nigeria's general elections between 1999 and 2015? Second, what are the essential or critical variables in the content or substance of Nigeria's political socialisation spectrum that need to be adjusted for the enhancement of voting participation in Nigeria's general elections?

Factors responsible for Political Apathy in Nigeria

The comparative statistics presented above have shown that there is a very high level of political apathy in Nigeria's immediate past

five elections, that is 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015. Our focus is limited to the scope of political apathy as it concerns voters' apathy in Nigeria because this is really the first time that the nation has had about eighteen years of continuous democratic governance, beginning from 1999. One is particularly concerned the more because, for now, it appears that one of the most prominent threats to popular democracy in Nigeria is voters' apathy.

As noted by Ejue and Ekanem (2011:286 – 287), voters' apathy is essentially due to three main critical issues. First, the importance of elections is not fully understood and appreciated by majority of Nigerians. Second, the voting age population in Nigeria do not know their rights as source of power and fundamental decision makers in governance. Third, the rights of eligible and actual voters are not well protected by government. The above listed issues are in turn due to some flaws within the nation's political socialisation spectrum, a high level of illiteracy and bad governance, all resulting severally and jointly into the masses' and elites' disengagement from the democratisation process.

The contribution of mass illiteracy to political apathy, generally, and to voters' apathy, specifically, cannot be over-emphasised. Nigeria's population is presently estimated to be about 200 million and, at the moment, about 35% of that population estimate is said to be illiterate. A proof of this is Nigeria's ranking among the countries with the highest population of illiterates in the world. This group, the E-9, comprises of Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan, in that order of ranking. The combination of these E-9 nations is said to account for more than 50% of the world's population of illiterates (Naboli 2013). It is not an overstatement that the presence of between 60 million and 100 million illiterates in Nigeria has been impacting negatively on all the facets of her developmental efforts and goals.

Bad governance, eminently exhibited in the failure of succeeding ruling elites to convert Nigeria's oil wealth into the development of human capital and critical sectors such as

transport, rural infrastructure, urban renewal, health, education, agriculture or investment in foreign assets have consistently carried the image of political fraud. With this image of political fraud, the adult age population, who are expected to voluntarily come out in their millions to participate in voters registration and actual voting at elections, have come to see every aspiring public office holder as a fraud that is not worth investing their precious time and comfort in. Hence, the dwindling rates of voting participation in Nigeria.

Content Adjustment for Corrective Political Socialisation

Political socialisation should be seen as a necessary politico-economic tool of government for national acculturation, which should not be left to chance. This makes the deliberate institutionalisation of a doctored national political socialisation system a worthwhile approach to political stability and national development.

Political apathy, generally and, voters' apathy, specifically, are indicators of defect in Nigeria's political socialisation system. Granted the above, there are at least three principal perspectives to deploying corrective modelling for a defective political socialisation system. First, there is the good governance perspective which necessarily impacts on whatever political socialisation system put in place. The postulation, in this respect, is that people can come to have a sense of strong identification with their particular national system only when it functions in a reasonably distinctive and gratifying manner. Therefore, for any national political socialisation system to succeed in Nigeria, the ruling elites must demonstrate its competence, sincerity, dedication, fiscal transparency, accountability and effectiveness in delivering the expected dividends of democracy.

The second perspective is that of agency modelling which deliberately structures and monitors the attitudes, dispositions, beliefs, capabilities and operational performances of all agents of political socialisation; namely; parents, the school system, peer groups, the mass and social media, voluntary associations, professional unions, religious institutions, government

establishments, political parties and such other formal and informal contacts and communications that the individual interacts with from childhood to adulthood. The third perspective to deploying corrective modelling for defective political socialisation system is the "content adjustment" of the political socialisation spectrum. Suffice it to state that the three-point proposition of this teaching for content adjustment for corrective political socialisation system for Nigeria are in the areas of citizenship education, value re-orientation and social mobilisation.

Citizenship Education

Roberts (2006) has argued that although democracy may presently be the most viable and acceptable system of resolving issues of power, governance and succession in modern times, it can very often lead to the emergence of bad leaders and unwholesome tendencies, most especially in situations where most voters are illiterate, uneducated, uninformed and often coerced or brainwashed into voting for candidates imposed on them by godfathers. It is quite very unfortunate nowadays that people pay lip service to the slogan of free and fair elections without considering the mental ability of the voter in the areas of requisite education, knowledge, insight and adequate information to elect good leaders. The resultant effect of low mental ability and ignorance of the voter is gradual disinterestedness in voting, leading to low voting participation in elections. Voter apathy is therefore a function of inherent defects in the nation's citizenship education system which is a sub-set of the national political socialisation system.

In view of the high rate of illiteracy in Nigeria, a larger segment of the voting age population lacks the requisite knowledge to freely and independently vote for credible leaders. Many people vote on the basis of party and ethnicity. Majority of the voters do not actually know what constitutes electoral offence. For instance, there have been several cases of underage voting and impersonation in different parts of Nigeria. Many exchange their votes for cash and material gifts out of ignorance (Ejue and Ekanem 2011). As it relates to voting participation for credible elections, citizenship education is of critical importance because

democracies require active, informed and responsible citizens, that is, citizens with the dogged willingness and ability to take responsibility for themselves and their constituencies by contributing meaningfully to the political process. Through agency modelling, responsible citizens must be made aware of their constitutional rights and moral responsibilities, have up-to-date information about social and political happenings around them, have consideration for the welfare of fellow citizens, have the capability to influence their world around them, having developed high articulate ability in their opinions and argument, participate actively in community activities and are quick and reasonable in their response to occurrences and events around them (Ejue and Ekanem 2011). All these abilities have to be learnt over time.

Viewed from the perspective of citizenship enhancement, the concept of citizenship education has the sole mandate to develop legal and social citizens to the level that they acquire certain fundamental and basic knowledge to qualify as responsible citizens. So, it is one thing for an individual to be a citizen, yet it is another thing entirely for that individual to be a responsible citizen. The concern of this chapter in the proposition for corrective citizenship education is to make Nigerians "responsible citizens." Klusmeyer (1996:38) has pointed it out that people really need to be taught that "citizenship is a source of all governmental authority and the basis of all power," and that "citizenship represents the popular sovereignty of the people through which the government derives the consent of the governed." He admonished that people must know that "citizenship is the social and legal link between individuals and their democratic political community", and that "the status of citizenship involves important responsibilities and duties that have to be fulfilled, and where these are not fulfilled, democracy becomes fundamentally disabled".

In addition to the above, and most especially because practice makes perfect, Nigerians need to learn and acquire practical experiences, and develop participatory skills and civic dispositions for exercising rights and carrying out the responsibilities and duties of a citizen in a democracy. Now, as analysed by the *Center for Civic Education* (1994) and the *National Association of Education Planner, Civic Consensus Project* (1996) (cited in Ejue and Ekanem 2011), there are three basic types of participatory skills;

namely: interacting, monitoring and influencing. Interacting is concerned with skills of communication and co-operation in political and civic life. Monitoring relates to skills needed to track the work of political leaders and constitutions of government. And influencing has to do with the skills employed to affect outcomes in political and civic life, such as the resolution of public issues. As regards civic dispositions, this involves such character traits as civility, honesty, tolerance, sociability, self-restraint, compassion, trust, a sense of duty, loyalty, respect for the work and dignity of others, courage, sense of political efficacy, capacity for co-operation and concern for the common good. The present civics and citizenship education curricular in Nigeria do not make provision for "practicals" necessary for these important segments of citizenship education.

One can see clearly from the above discussion that citizenship education or education for democratic citizenship implies training, dissemination, information, practices and activities that are capable of equipping learners with the knowledge, skills and understanding, and moulding their attitudes and behaviour, to empower them mentally and psychologically, to be able to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities as required for the progress and development of Nigeria. By so doing, people will value diversity and play active roles in the democratic process with a view to protecting democracy and the rule of law. So, the main focus of citizenship education are: awareness of democratic rights and responsibilities, and active participation in and defense of those rights and responsibilities, in relation to the civic, political, social, economic, legal and cultural spheres of the Nigerian society. People must be enabled to take part actively in the political process, make their own political and voting decisions, and take responsibilities for their own individual lives and communities. This corrective citizenship education sub-set of political socialisation is about creating and sustaining responsible citizenship.

Value Re-orientation

Political apathy, broadly, and voters' apathy, specifically, are indicators of peoples' negative attitude toward politics and voting,

respectively. Attitude is a function of individual disposition, which is in turn determined by the individual value system. Values are the goals people work for. They are those elements in a person's behaviour that show how a person has decided to use the individual time, energy and life. In essence, value determines where people put most of their energy, what they work for, and the way they go about that which they do (Ugwuegbu 2004:12). Most values are conditioned by experience and socialisation. They evolves and matures as experience evolve and mature, until they assume a statue of 'right', 'desirability' or 'worthy' and hence become a person's values. People internalise their most important values and, once this is done, they no longer need reinforcement by the individual. It is at the stage of internalisation that a value becomes consciously or unconsciously a standard, or criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes towards relevant objects and situations, for justifying one's own and others' actions and attitudes, and for morally judging self and others (Raths et al. 1996).

Finally at this stage, a value becomes a standard that people in authority, such as parents and teachers, employ to influence the values, attitudes, and actions of their children and pupils, most especially through the socialisation process. A value system is a hierarchical organisation, or a rank-ordering of ideal values in terms of importance. A person's values are inferred from what a person says or does. But the beauty of it is that values are not static, they are dynamic. So, they can be changed. Psychologically and practically, values help individuals to organise their cognitive world. With strong motivational components, value simplifies life choices and guides people in setting life goals. So, when a society comes to the realisation that the present human behavioural tendencies, activities and actions cannot lead the country to a desirable future, it embarks on national value re-orientation which is a social movement that involves getting control of cognitive processes and behavioural dispositions and directing these along carefully designated lines (Ugwuegbu 2004:12).

Apart from voters' apathy and other negative tendencies besetting Nigeria's nascent democracy, there are so many other negative behavioural tendencies leading the country to a precipice.

Now, having recognised the myriads of negative values directing the utterances and actions of individual Nigerians, and leading the polity to an avoidable doom, succeeding Nigerian governments have made efforts at national value re-orientation with the aim of repositioning the Nigerian state for effective nation-building and national development. But all such efforts and social movements in that direction have met with one constraint or inadequacy or the other. General Olusegun Obasanjo's 1977 Jaji declaration was the first public acknowledgement of government concern for the negative values in the polity and an indication of government's desire to address them. The declaration, which was a dream of a disciplined, fair, just and humane African society, did not go beyond mere rhetoric.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari's National Ethical Revolution of 1982 was the second indication of government concern and desire for value re-orientation. That attempt sought to address the breakdown of Nigeria's national ethics and discipline by the establishment of a Ministry of National Guidance. A military coup in 1983 that terminated the Shagari administration closed that chapter. General Muhamadu Buhari's regime came up with the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) under the understanding that indiscipline was the bane militating against Nigeria's economic, political and social development. As a value re-orientation mechanism, W.A.I was prosecuted under five phases which included queue culture, work ethics, nationalism and patriotism, corruption and economic sabotage, and environmental sanitation. The ascension of General Ibrahim Babangida as military President in 1985 relaxed the war-like vigour of WAI, and in its place a National Orientation Movement (NOM) was launched. NOM later metamorphosised into the Directorate for Social Mobilisation, Self-Reliance, Economic Recovery and Social Justice (MAMSER) in 1987, with emphasis on mass education, value re-orientation and political mobilisation (Alabi 1990). Following the exit of the Babangida administration, the value re-orientation mandate of MAMSER was handed over to the new National Orientation Agency.

Olusegun Obasanjo's second coming into the state house, this time as civilian President, saw him picking up the effort at value re-orientation where his predecessors left off. One of the goals of

his National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) was value re-orientation whose aim was to mobilise Nigerians to re-emphasise the values of honesty, hard-work, self-service, moral rectitude, and patriotism. The National Orientation Agency and its states counterparts, and other national socialisation agencies were to be strengthened to prosecute the NEEDS campaign. However, the vigour of the campaign died down with the exit of Olusegun Obasanjo as president in 2007.

As a corrective model in the national socialisation system, value re-orientation is a very viable instrument if well articulated and deployed with precision. Government fixation with value orientation programmes in Nigeria since independence corroborates this fact. It will not only correct the negative tendencies associated with general elections and voting participation, it will also positively address all unwholesome behavioural tendencies dogging the wheel of progress of the polity. However, to move forward appreciably with value re-orientation in Nigeria, there are five national errors associated with government handling of the programmes, that need to be corrected.

First, there is the problem of inconsistent assumptions about Nigeria's value re-orientation needs. The assumption underlying the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) of 1984 was that discipline is the sole requirement for social, economic and political development, and that indiscipline is inhibitive of development. The National Orientation Movement of 1985 believed, differently, that the development of any nation is a function of the conditioned orientation of its citizens, as manifested in the citizens' values, aspirations, and norms as a people. The basic assumption of the National Orientation Agency of 1993 was that the fundamental values of Nigerians had weakened over the years and the society was perceived to be stunted in its economic and social growth, and has been groping for a way to move forward. The assumption underlying the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) of 2004 was that value re-orientation was a way of resolving the crisis in the Nigerian body politic and to transform the political leadership. The differing assumptions dictated the efforts, and this has made Nigerians

perceive government as being unserious each time a new value re-orientation programme is launched. There is the need for a uniform set of assumptions for Nigeria's national value re-orientation.

The above leads to the second problem: lack of continuity, both in vigour and substance, of value re-orientation. Each new regime comes with its own value re-orientation programme. Gen. Obasanjo's 1977 Jaji declaration ended in a mere rhetoric. Shehu Shagari's Ethical Revolution that came after it died with that regime. The vigour of Muhamadu Buhari's WAI became watered down after the exit of that regime. Ibrahim Babangida's MAMSER ended with Babangida's regime. Gen. Abacha's National Orientation Agency's focus became supplanted by President Olusegun Obasanjo's NEEDS. President Goodluck Jonathan, while not pursuing with vigour his predecessors' value re-orientation, did not come out with his own acronym for national orientation. There is need for a programme continuity in national value re-orientation.

The third problem that needs to be corrected is the absence of substantive records, based on empirical research, of the types of values that characterise Nigerians. Ugwuegbu (2004) has rightly observed that Nigerian governments have been fixated on value re-orientation for over thirty years and nobody has cared to ask Nigerians what their values are across ethnic groups, professional associations and religious denominations. Yet, successive Nigerian governments continue to throw public funds at whatever each leader perceives as value orientation of the populace. There is the need for a systematic investigation of the values that each community group carry in their different ethnic, religious, professional and social-class affiliations for a programmed, systematic response that would treat each community's case within the scope of its peculiarity, to avoid misconceptions about value that most Nigerians hold and save the nation from the error of misappropriation of strategy. Fourthly, in addition to the misconceptions of government about the value that Nigerians hold, value re-orientation programmes in Nigeria, according to Ugwuegbu, are not driven by any clear cut ideology. This has resulted into the programmes' inconsistencies in focus and implementation. Probably, the absence of a clear cut ideological

frame of reference best explains the enduring inconsistencies in the basic assumptions, lack of continuity and absence of a substantive record or database of the values that characterise Nigerians.

Lastly, while successive Nigerian governments have since independence pursued value re-orientation for the people, the government has not pursued any value re-orientation for the state, its institutions and agencies. The basic question is: What are the corporate values that the federal, states and local governments, respectively, are pursuing for themselves, apart from the ones being pursued for the people? Every well-established private company has corporate vision, mission and value statements boldly written and displayed for the management, the workforce and the general public to note and appreciate. These publicly displayed value statements impact positively on management efficiency, the performance of the workforce and customers' disposition to the company. With a good value system, every facet of national life will begin to display tendencies for peace, progress, justice and development and voting participation will logically become enhanced at general elections.

Social Mobilisation

Social Mobilisation is the third sub-set of the content adjustment for our proposition for corrective political socialisation in Nigeria. While citizenship education will impact knowledge that will enable people to be alive to their rights, obligations, responsibilities and duties as responsible citizens; value re-orientation will make them internalise such virtues and dispositions conducive to proper appropriation of priorities to concern for the common good as against selfish considerations. Social mobilisation will ensure that old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and people become available for new patterns of socialisation and behaviour henceforth.

Mobilisation, according to Okafor (2003), can be understood as a process of achieving a goal through a properly articulated group action. Social mobilisation entails the commitment of people to certain collective goals and objectives and to value and behaviour patterns conducive to the timely attainment of those goals and

objectives. It also entails minimising the commitment of people to such other goals, objectives, values and behaviour patterns that are contrary to those collectively preferred and adopted by the society. To Akeredolu-Ale (1989), to mobilise anything is to commit it to productive use in order to ensure that it makes its maximum contribution towards the attainment of national or collective goals. In his own contribution, Edward Shils analyses two distinct stages of the social mobilisation process. The first stage is that of withdrawal or disengagement from old negative settings, habits and commitments, while the second stage is that of the induction of the mobilised persons into some relatively stable new patterns of group membership, organisation and commitment (Shils 1968: 206).

In relation to political activities and political participation, the character of the second stage of the social mobilisation process, as analysed by Edward Shils and quoted above, include the involvement of the people in mass political activities, new economic relations, national loyalties, civic and patriotic commitment. It also includes the development of new leaders at various levels who are able to read and write, and who are exposed to the mass media, and who can use these capabilities to bring together men, materials, ideas, finance and other resources in order to achieve clearly defined goals. The ideas of social mobilisation became widely popular in Nigeria during the Ibrahim Babangida military regime through the instrumentality of the Political Bureau that recommended the establishment of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation whose popular slogan was *'mass mobilisation for social justice, self-reliance and economic recovery'* (MAMSER). The MAMSER agenda had a number of thematic inconsistencies which perhaps explain why the programme died with the Babangida regime, and since then, social mobilisation had become a matter of rhetoric, most especially with the legal and institutional succession of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation by the more rhetoric-based National Orientation Agency.

While it existed, MAMSER's social mobilisation theme was principally hinged on the pillar of political education which, in turn, was not more than mere political awareness. That political

education pillar crumbled under a number of faulty assumptions. First, MAMSER assumed that there already existed a national society in Nigeria. Second, a logical extension of the first, it assumed that there already existed a "national elite" which the Directorate could focus on as a group. Third, and logically, it assumed that there already existed a "national masses" with common orientations, perception of life, pains and aspirations. MAMSER underestimated the strength of the various cleavages entrenched in the Nigerian society; ethnic suspicion, religious rivalry and fatal competition for survival, power and wealth, and therefore failed to device differentiated strategies that would effectively address the differentiated cleavages and the attendant problems. MAMSER therefore could not position itself as a viable instrument of re-socialisation. When MAMSER died, the ideas and the potentialities of social mobilisation sank under the more rhetorical tides of national orientation (Alabi 1990).

As part of the proposition for corrective 'content adjustment' for national socialisation, government should rekindle the ideas of social mobilisation, annex its strengths and reposition it solidly within the broad framework of the nation's political socialisation system. The new social mobilisation system should go beyond public sensitisation through the mass media. It should adopt the direct marketing strategy in salesmanship which carries the same approach with the direct advocacy system in use by virtually all non-government organisations involved in reproductive health, poverty alleviation and development issues throughout the world. The direct marketing/direct advocacy strategy is a system that treats itself as a mobile solution provider that must voluntarily move out to locate its target community groups and individuals for the purpose of rescuing them from their problems.

So, rather than treat Nigeria as a national society, it should break and segment the Nigerian terrain into related problem groups, device peculiar solution for each peculiar problem group, and embark on the systematic delivery of solutions in such a manner that would guarantee that whomever is "contacted and reached" is treated and made whole for the benefit of the nation. For instance, an AIDS/HIV patient, once contacted and reached

becomes a regular member of a clinic and social group for regular counselling, drug administration, visitation, participation in anti-HIV advocacy, encouragement and re-socialisation for a new and better approach to life in view of their HIV status. If this style is adopted in the new social mobilisation scheme for political socialisation, all behavioural tendencies and issues inimical to voting participation would be effectively addressed.

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