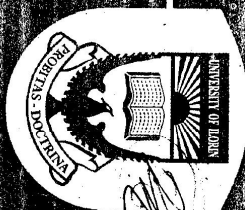


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THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL CULTURE ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

The paper explores the relationship between political culture and political participation in the context of reciprocal causal effect using Nigeria's experience. It submitted that the two concepts are mutually inclusive as the level of people's attitude to political activities is heavily determined by the belief they share in their society (political culture). It also argued that political culture is not static rather dynamic it is and changes in response to new ideas generated from both internal and external factors such as industrialization, influence of immigrants, war, revolutions amongst others. The paper espoused that there is no unified political culture in Nigeria as a result of the heterogeneous nature of the country coupled with the lack of unity and support for the existence of the country as a unified nation which consequently resulted in the emergence of religion and ethnicity as the central notions of Nigerian political culture. It blamed this disunity on the selfish and exploitative interest of the British colonial government who dragged the country into peril in the name of unification of the country through the 1914 amalgamation. In the light of this, the paper analysed the political culture of Nigeria under two headings: 'northern' and 'general' political cultures and discovered that the former is heavily built on religious doctrine while the latter is built on ethnicity. This confirms the identification of religion and ethnicity as the central notions of Nigerian political culture. It argued that these two notions are responsible for the political instability in Nigeria and is causing more harm (dissunity and political apathy) than good. The paper recommends that effort must be made to re-orientate the citizen on the need to eschew ethno-religious nationalism and promote core nationalism in order to foster unity and increase positive political participation.

Keywords: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Religion, Societal norms

Introduction

Political culture is one of the factors –among others such as institutional and electoral arrangement, political party ideology and programme, political leadership, and socio-economic status- that determine the level and direction at which people participate in political activities. In fact, it is arguable that it

is the most important as the level of people's participation in politics is greatly anchored on the demand of their societal norms and their perception of the compatibility of the prevailing events to such norms in the political system. This assertion is given credence by the definition of Almond and Powell (1966, pp.50) that political culture is the pattern of individual attitude and orientation toward politics among members of a political system. In essence, the level at which the people of a society participate in politics is greatly determined by the laid down procedure in such society. This procedure is more often than not unwritten but the people are conscious of it and follow it religiously; to the extent that anybody that violate or contravene such norms will be seen as a traitor or bastard and to some extent, a beast. It is also been transferred from one generation to another through the socialisation process.

However, it should be noted that these norms are not static; rather they are dynamics as they changes in tune with civilisation and in the wave of increasing consciousness of the fundamental human rights. A case is the political culture of the Northern part of Nigeria at the early 1980s where women are not only allowed to contest political office but also not to be seen in public life generally as a result of the Islamic religious injunction. This is no more the case as the wave of civilisation has changed such culture. The effects is still bedevilling the region as the level of women in political participation is relatively low in comparison to that of the southern parts of the country where women are hitherto allowed to participate with men on equal basis.

Be it as it may, the relationship between political culture and political participation can be described as a mutually inclusive one and cannot be divorced from each other. The two concepts have causal effect on one another. The case of Nigeria is not an exception to this trend. Another factor worthy of note in discussing the causal effect of political culture on political participation in Nigeria is the centrality of religion and ethnicity. It is difficult if not impossible to demarcate religion from culture. Much of Hausa-Fulani culture, for instance, is defined along Islamic lines, while Ibo culture is heavily influenced by ethnic affiliation. It is noticed in the Northern political culture that traditional political and religious officials (who are often one and the same) have resisted attempts to "westernize" the region, often with considerable success. This laid down belief (political culture) affected

the political participation of Northerners as it brought about politics of exclusion of women.

In attempting to analyse the influence of political culture on people's participation in Nigerian politics, it is discovered that no unified culture can be referred to as Nigeria's political culture. The absence of unified political culture in the case of Nigeria is not unconnected with its heterogeneous nature coupled with the lack of unity and support for the Nigerian state and, at times, for the very existence of Nigeria as a unified Nation. These have plagued the country since gaining independence in 1960. To worsen the matter, the actions of the elite since 1960 have also undoubtedly left the country more alienated and polarized than it was before independence. The alienation and polarization, in turn, are reflected in what the average people do politically, thus adding yet another strain to an already overloaded system. This consequently resulted in ethno-religious identification as the central notion of Nigeria's political culture.

Premised on this background, this paper aims at examining the relationship between the two concepts in the Nigerian context. The primary objective is to analyse the degree of influence which the prevailing political culture has on the level of participation of the people in political activities and its effect on voting pattern during elections. The paper will also attempt the causal effect of political culture on the nature of Nigerian politics and party system. Effort will also be made to trace the emergence of the issue of political subcultures as it is the case in the Nigerian context.

For all these to be done effectively and efficiently, the paper is divided into four sections and several subsections. Section one been the introduction is followed by the conceptual analysis section. The third section deals with the main thrust of the paper where the influence of political culture on peoples' attitude to politics and their level of participation is thoroughly analysed. The paper ends with concluding remarks.

Political Culture and Political Participation

Political Culture is one of the most contested concepts in social sciences premised on the fact that it varies from one society to another. This variation is as a result of the fact that what is obtainable in a society as norms and traditions may be a taboo or not obtainable in another society. This made scholars to conceptualise it from the standpoint of the prevailing condition in their society. Thus, it makes it not to conform to a straight jacket definition.

The Influence of Political Culture on Political Participation

However, despite the variation in its definitions, it is pertinent to note that there is a meeting point only through different paths.

One of the most encompassing and universally accepted conceptualisation is the one put forward by Almond and Powell (1966, pp. 50) which espoused that political culture is:

the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system. It is the subjective realm, which underlies and gives meaning to political actions. Such individual orientations involve several components, including: (a) cognitive orientations, knowledge, accurate or otherwise, of political objects and beliefs; (b) affective orientations, feelings of attachment, involvement, rejections, and the like, about political objects; and (c) evaluation orientations, judgements and opinions about political objects, which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.

From the above analysis of Almond and Powell, it is obvious that there are many political cultures in a country, most especially a heterogeneous one like Nigeria. In a situation where this is noticed, such is termed 'political subcultures'. More often than not, some political culture under this setting is built on religion, while others may be on regions (states), ethnicity or social status. These subcultures will consist of political values and attitudes that are distinct from those of the general culture. Strong and markedly distinct subcultures may weaken, or even threaten to destroy the political integration of the community. This is often the case in plural societies where centripetal forces are more often promoted than the centrifugal forces by the policy makers because of their actions and instances. The problem may also emanate from the subjects themselves. For instance, they often have a greater sense of commitment to their regions (states) than the central government. All these make it impossible for most African states to talk of unified political culture. Furthermore, colonial experience, which led to the conglomeration of people with diverse cultural background, is also responsible for the predominance of subcultures over political culture, and the contamination of cultural values of African states. This made it difficult for us to rightly talk of the political culture of Nigeria (Olaniyi, 2001, pp. 97). The implication is what is obtainable in Nigeria

today where there is no unified national political culture as opposed to the argument of Harris (1979) that "political culture is often a national culture".

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics (2009) defined Political Participation as the general level to which the people as a whole are active in politics. This definition notwithstanding, its complexity does not identify what constitutes political activities which will in turn determine the measurement of people's participation. However, Allison (2009) espoused on this ambiguity and argues that any activity that fell within a political party or an organization which regard itself as a pressure group should be regarded as political participation. The forms and types of political participation as political behaviour of man vary with individual differences. This assertion is deduced from the position of Dahl (1976) in his analysis of political behaviour of man as a social animal. He argued that:

Some people are indifferent to politics, others are more deeply involved. Even among those who are heavily involved in politics, only some actively seek power. And among the power-seekers, some gain more powers than others.

From the above assertion, Dahl (1976) identified four levels of political participation viz. apolitical stratum, political stratum, power seekers and the powerful. This classification is given other terminologies but with same meaning by other scholars viz. the apathy level, spectator level, transitional level and gladiatorial level.

The *Apolitical Stratum* is a class of people in the society who do not have any interest whatsoever in politics. They neither vote nor participate in governance and decision making process. Their participation level in politics is otherwise called 'the apathy level'. The *Political Stratum* is a class of people who are actively engaged in politics. They participate in political activities and are actively involved in decision making process though at the lower level. They only influence who become the leader but in themselves never aim to become one. This is why they are otherwise referred to as 'the Transitional' participants. Dahl (1976) described the *Power Seekers* as the few individuals who seek elective or political offices. They are politically tactful than the political stratum and are more active because they participate in the core politics with materials and monetary resources. They are otherwise called 'the Gladiators' on the ground that they engaged in the

struggle for winning an election. The last class of political participants are known as the *Powerful*. They are the few individuals who are highly influential in the society due to the socio-economic resources in their possession. Dahl (1976) also called them the 'proximate policy makers' or the 'political elites' because they influence the policies of the political executives to suit their own personal interest. They are the most powerful of all the groups because they can even mobilize these classes against themselves in order to achieve their end. Olaniyi (1998, pp. 87) identified four forms of political participation in his analysis of its various conceptualizations as: direct, indirect, conventional and unconventional political participation.

It should be noted that there are certain factors that influence level of political participation and determine the distribution of people to the above groups in Nigeria. These factors include: political culture, institutional and electoral arrangement, political party programme/ideology, political leadership and socio-economic status. Be it as it may, Olaniyi (1998, pp. 87-91) also identified five factors that can inhibit political participation in Nigeria as: political situation, socio-economic condition, sociological factors, constitutionalism, and perception.

Political Culture and Political Participation

Regardless of how political culture is conceptualised, its classification by Almond and Verba (1963) cannot be refuted. They classified it into three viz. Parochial, Subject and Participatory political culture. Since there is mutual inclusive relationship between political culture and political participation, this classification can be analysed in correspondence to the classification of the types of political participation as espoused by Dahl (1976). Attempt will be made to do this under this section.

A Parochial political culture is that conceive by people who do not even know what services the government is rendering, let alone know how to respond to such services. The people who share this type of culture only know that government exists. They just receive the benefit of government; their immediate environment is their concern. They are not interested in changing the government or influence the decision of the government to their advantage. This is often the case in predominantly illiterate society, mostly found in the rural areas. Its corresponding effect on political participation is the prevalence of political apathy otherwise described by Dahl (1976) as

'*apolitical stratum*'. Put simply, the effect of this political culture on its hosts will lead them to abstain from active politics. Despite being affected by the policy formulated and the governing process, they will never mind whether they are being oppressed or exploited. They can best be described as being fatalistic in the sense that they accept everything as faith without questioning such.

On the other hand, Subject political culture is a type shared by people who know what the government is providing but have no input into the governance or decision making process. There is passive relationship between the governor and the governed because the governed always accept situation or things that the governor do without attempting to change or fight against them due to their submissive nature. In this case, they are only subject and do not participate in policy making. This is often common in totalitarian states where the subject have become despondent due to the high handedness of the political elites. Such political culture was found in Nigeria during the military rule which led to the prevalence of political apathy (*apolitical stratum*).

Lastly, there is Participatory political culture in a society if members of such society take active roles in political process and expect benefit from governmental activities. They have interest in influencing both the selection of political leaders and the policies they formulate. This is very common in literate societies (mostly in urban areas) which consequently lead to the transitional level of political participation which Dahl (1976) tagged '*political stratum*'. This class of people engaged in active partisan politics. They attend political debates, political rallies, and campaign for contestants. Contrary to the apolitical stratum, they have interest in who become political head in order to protect their interests. They support particular potential political leader and can also withdraw their support if such will not favour them. They are referred to as transitional level of political participation because they are politically aggressive and often appreciate the importance of exercising their civic responsibility.

Conclusively, it should be noted that these three types of political culture are more often than not mutually inclusive as they are usually found in mixed form in some societies. For instance, it is possible to have participatory-subject political culture in a society where people's attitudes towards political activities are dictated by events (Olaniyi, 2001:98).

There is no doubt that the above classifications have indeed apprised us with the understanding of the relationship between political culture and

political participation in terms of causal effect and influence. Notwithstanding, there are some factors that do shape and determine the political culture of a society which consequently aided its corresponding influence on the pattern of political participation of the inhabitants of such society and the generality of those who imbibe such culture. Ball (1976) identified these factors to include:

- (i) The colonization of some African and Asian countries.
- (ii) The influence of geographical location. By this, the location of a state may prevent its political culture from being contaminated especially when the geographical terrains render the place inaccessible to foreigners.
- (iii) The impact of ethnic differences due to the heterogeneous nature of a state. For example, the nature of state like Nigeria with about 150 ethnic groups do have influence on the country's political culture.
- (iv) Socio-economic structure of a state also influences the political culture of such state as a highly urban industrialized society which has high standard of education. It makes it to witness high level of participation in political culture and vice versa.

It is pertinent to note that these stated factors do not confine political culture to a static concept rather it is dynamic. Dynamic in the sense that it responds to new ideas generated from the internal political system or imported from outside system. Industrialization, influence of immigrants, war (especially defeat in major war), and revolution, among others, form the important factors that changes values and attitudes. The implication of this is that the political culture of a state may be witnessing changes in line with its developmental experiences (especially political) often manifested in various transition programmes (Olaniyi, 2001, pp.99).

Political Culture and People's Attitude toward Politics in Nigeria

The fact that political culture is responsible for Nigeria's political instability and fluidity is uncontested among scholars, yet there have been little or no systematic studies of Nigerian political culture. This study will attempt to put this right by analysing the systematic effect of Nigeria's political culture on the level of involvement of the citizenry in political activities.

No meaningful analysis of the influence of Nigerian political cultures on people's tendency or level of political participation can be made without

recourse to the pre-colonial era. The relevance of the pre-colonial political culture is given credence by the argument of Mohammed-Sanni (1997, pp.77) when he posited that:

the past is gone, its moments cannot be relived, but nevertheless, it could be used as a model and focal point of reference. Also, its spirit could be borrowed in order to guide contemporary social processes. It is in this sense that the political culture of pre-colonial Nigeria acquires relevance.

It is also significant to reckon with the pre-colonial political culture on the ground that any country's political culture reflects the impact of its history on the way people think about politics and their society as a whole.

It should be recalled that I argued earlier in this paper that it is difficult to identify a particular culture as Nigerian political culture as a result of the prevalence of several diverse subcultures (distinct from each other and somehow intertwined in some cases). The authenticity of this position can be deduced from the description of the nature of Nigeria by Salim (2002, pp. 6) that:

Your country (Nigeria) like most of African countries is a mosaic of peoples, cultures and religion with a rich array of institutions. It is a microcosm of Africa endowed with a vibrancy that makes a difference.

This description above gives credence to the earlier argument as espoused in this paper that the absence of unified political culture in the case of Nigeria is not unconnected with its heterogeneous nature coupled with the lack of unity and support for the regime and, at times, for the very existence of Nigeria as a unified nation. Consequently, these have plagued the country since she gained her independence. To worsen the matter, the actions of the elite since 1960 have also undoubtedly left the country more alienated and polarized than it was before independence. That alienation and polarization, in turn, are reflected in what the average people do politically, thus adding yet another strain to an already overloaded system. This consequently resulted to ethno-religious identification as the central notion of Nigeria's political culture.

Premise on this, this paper will attempt to analyse the Nigerian political culture via the political culture of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria (Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo). Analytically speaking, the political culture

of the Yorubas and the Igbo are indifferent to some extent and can be analysed together as they share almost the same cultural ideological orientation (though distinct ancestral lineage), while that of the Hausa/Fulani is sharply different as a result of its high-reliance on the doctrine of Islamic religion. This will make the analysis to be done under two sub-headings. The first will capture the distinct northern religious based political culture while the second will capture the general political culture comprising the western and eastern cultures as well as some elements of the northern culture based on ethnic-oriented inclination toward religious indoctrination.

The Influence of Northern Political Culture on Political Participation in Nigeria

Islamic tradition was a strong dominant tradition in the pre-colonial Northern Nigeria, which prompted the British colonial government to introduce the system of Indirect Rule. In the northern region of the country, it is hard to disentangle the impact of religion and ethnicity because so much of Hausa-Fulani culture is defined along Islamic lines. Traditional political and religious officials (who are often one and the same) have resisted attempts to "Westernize" the region, often with considerable success. After the 1960 independence, the strength of this tradition came to the fore with the revolutionary transformation of the economy and society that culminated in the establishment of an Islamic state (especially Zamfara, Bauchi, Borno among others), where people show more allegiance to the political tradition that emerged based on the divine laws (Shariah) as enshrined in the Holy Qur'an and the 'Sunnatic' tradition of Prophet Mohammed than the political tradition that emerged based on human laws as enshrined in the country's constitution. These laws (Shariah law) had a bearing on individual and group behaviour and the character and conduct of governance in the region. The Northern people strictly followed the theocratic theory of the evolution of state (divine right theory). This was confirmed by an article in The Pen of 18th November, 1988, where it was stated that:

Islam is a religion built fundamentally on the equality of all creations, differing only on the strength of their faith. Islam came with peace, harmony and happiness. It came with the destruction of the citadel of power. Arrogant and ungodly power was swept away, and a new system emerged..... Kings became leaders of men. They were chosen among

other men and they ruled with the consent of God. They derived their inspiration from God and they served as a source of inspiration to their subjects. They were pious. The people understood that their leaders were representatives of God on earth and they had His mandate to lead them to the right path..... It was an era of glory and both rulers and the ruled lived contented lives.

The fact that the northern political culture is heavily influenced by religion made them passive and unwilling to challenge the authority of the Emirs and by extension, other modern political executives. They show undiluted absolute allegiance and loyalty to their leaders in line with the mandatory injunction of God as stipulated in the Holy Qur'an (Chapter 4, verse 59) that:

O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the messenger (Prophet Mohammed) and those of you who are in authority.

The Christian northerners are not exempted from this strict adherent to the theocratic theory of state and the religious based political culture. It is interesting to note that despite the differences in the tenets of their religions, they uniformly agreed to the full loyalty and allegiance to the political leaders. The Holy Bible (1 Peter, Chapter 2, verse 17) also gives credence to this:

Honour (men) of all sorts, have love for the whole association of brothers, be in fear of God, have honour for the king.

The political culture is religiously inclined to the extent that it locked allegiance to political leaders to fear of God. In essence, loyalty and obedience to political leaders signifies loyalty and obedience to God and vice versa. It is on this ground that the Emirs greatly influence the political set-up in Northern Nigeria and also dictate who the political head becomes. The most evident illustration was in the First Republic when the *Sardauna* of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello chose and anointed Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as the Nigerian Prime Minister, which the political elite assented to by voting him to power in the parliament. This action is still relevant today as the Emirs in the North have great influence on who becomes the northern candidate for an election in Nigeria and also influence the voting pattern and direction of the electorate.

The political culture of the Northerners under the influence of religious doctrine, that women should not participate in politics is still in vogue, thereby limiting political participation. This has drastically reduced as a result of modernisation and civilisation towards cultural dynamism whereby women are now participating in gladiatorial politics and are agitating for more women empowerment and participatory opportunities. Nevertheless, one can still argue to some extent that the politics of exclusion (of women) is still part and parcel of their political culture. This is because some are still following it religiously despite modern exposure.

The Influence of General Political Culture on Political Participation in Nigeria

Due to the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria, the colonial authority in its quest to satisfy its objective of exploitation consciously or unconsciously made the people to know that they are not the same. The British colonial government adopted divide and rule along ethnic colouration. The adverse effect is the ethnic loyalty and allegiance which brought about ethnic nationalism in place of core nationalism. Most Nigerians do not think of themselves as Nigerians. However, their ethnic identification matters more as a source of pride. For example, people are addicted to the daily usage of the term 'we Hausas' in their day-to-day activities and even more importantly use the term 'you Yorubas' as a source of dislike and division.

It should be noted that the three largest ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba) have virtually nothing in common politically, socially, or historically, yet the British colonial government did not hesitate to join them in marriage of inconvenience. The resultant effect is that the overwhelming majority of Nigerians only speak their "home" language, and if they learn another, it is invariably English and not one of the other indigenous tongues. The different groups live separately, either in their traditional regions or in ethnic enclaves in the few cities that are ethnically mixed. This makes it extremely difficult or relatively impossible (if I may use the term) for them to imbibe the host community's cultural and traditional norms in order to foster national integration.

Put simply, the people did not see themselves as Nigerians but rather as Yoruba, Hausa, or Ibo. The problem of ethnic differences as laid down by the British colonial government is so grave that the political parties formed in Nigeria took this line of ethnicity. By implication, political participation also

followed suit as a result of the resultant effect of the mutually inclusive relationship between political culture and political participation. In essence, there is no national party as required by the constitution; rather what we have can best be described as regional political parties.

Party formation and electoral contest in Nigeria are built on ethnic bases in contravention of the electoral laws which consequently encourage voting pattern along ethno-religious identification. The evolution of political parties in Nigeria can be traced to 1923 when Herbert Macaulay formed the first modern party to contest Nigerian legislative council elections in Lagos. This movement was subsequently transformed to a full-fledged political party known as the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) in 1944 under the leadership of Macaulay and Nnamdi Azikiwe (Mundt & Aborisade, 2001, pp. 713). Ethnic solidarity emerged in Nigerian party system in 1951 when the NCNC broke up along ethnic lines. This brought about the emergence of opposition party, the Action Group (AG) under the leadership of a young Yoruba lawyer, Obafemi Awolowo. The Action Group was a child of ethnic necessity as it was brought about by the metamorphosis of an initial ethnic group called the *Egbe Ono Oduduwa* (a Yoruba cultural society). Subsequently, the NCNC led by Nnamdi Azikiwe had its base in the Eastern Nigeria and won election there; while the AG under Awolowo defeated the Herbert Macaulay faction and took over the Western Nigeria. These events signalled the formation of Northern Elements' Progressive Union (NEPU) under Mallam Aminu Kano in the North and later Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) by Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sir Tafawa Balewa. Nigerian political culture was henceforth built on ethnic politics as each party was controlled by ethnic leaders and consequently led to ethnocentric oriented voting pattern. (See table below)

Table 1: Ethnic distribution of Party Leaders, 1958

Party	Igbo	Yoruba	Hausa-Fulani
NCNC	49.3	26.7	2.8
AG	4.5	68.2	3.0
NPC		6.8	51.3

Source: Sklar and Whitaker, 1964.

From the above table, the three parties are more or less ethnic parties rather than national parties. The few leaders from other ethnic groups are just to

partially fulfils the constitutional requirement of nationalistic political parties. The trend continues till date and the present day political parties are product of these foundation parties. Despite the political breaks (military interventions), the subsequent parties were seen to be the re-emergence of the old order. This is diagrammatically analyzed below:

Table 2: The Evolution of Political Parties in Nigeria

Region:	East	West	North	North
Ethnic base:	Igbo	Yoruba	Hausa	Hausa
Original leader:	Nazikwe	O. Awolowo	Aminu Kano	Ahmadu Bello
1960-1966	NCNC	AG	NEPU	NPC
1979-83	GNPP/ NPP		UPN	PRP
1990-93	SDP			PRP
				NPN
				NRC
(The parties formed under Abacha, 1996-98 were artificial constructs that were not part of this evolution.)				
1998-99	APP		AD	PDP
2003-11	ANPP/APGA	ACN	CPC	PDP
2013				PDP

Source: Mundt and Aborisade, 2001, PP.716; updated by the Author (Bakare).

Consequently, people imbibed the political culture of voting along ethnocentrism. This trend of political culture persisted till second republic when political parties were also formed along regional line: NPN (for North), UPN (for West) and NPP (for East), while PRP and GNPP were the minority groups' parties. In the Fourth Republic, the same incidence occurred where PDP is for the North, AD for the West and APP for the East.

However, this old order was almost disrupted due to 'one-party' nature of Nigerian politics between 2003 and 2011. Most members of the opposition parties deflected to the ruling party as a result of politics of 'spoils-system'. The PDP has strong-hold in almost all states of the federation, though its nationalistic outlook is still a subject of debate. Yet, one cannot deny the fact that it indeed has strong base throughout Nigeria during this

period. There was a little twist of event in 2011 when the ACN recaptured its western base and it has already formed an alliance with other major opposition parties to form a formidable force (known as the All Progressive Congress- APC) to wrest federal power from the PDP. The implication of this to political participation can be seen in the ethnic zoning arrangement to seek grassroots support and solidarity.

The political calculation against 2015 Presidential election is anchored on ethnicity. Northerners had zeroed their mind not to vote for the PDP if the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan contest for second term. The newly formed APC is warming up to cash in on the opportunity by attempting to field a Northerner as its presidential flag-bearer and an Easterner as running mate. Since the political culture is ethnicity based, the electorate are bound to vote along ethnic line. The Hausa will vote for the APC because of the northerner flag-bearer while the Igbo will also follow suit because of the running mate. The Yoruba will give a blockvote in solidarity of the western ethnic affiliation. This calculation and forecast can only become negative if the PDP fields a northerner and not the incumbent president. This forecast in premise on the ethnic voting pattern as a result of the influence of the political culture of the country.

The foregoing analysis reveals that the political culture of Nigeria can be said to be ethnic oriented where people participate in politics along ethnic and religious lines. The ethno-religious oriented political culture is inherent in the Nigerian polity till date. It is being transferred from one generation to another. The "micro political world" which is the higher institutions of learning (universities and polytechnics) that serves as the breeding ground for students active political participation is not exempted from this trend. It serves as indoctrinating and initiating ground where young people imbibe the political cultural tenets in engaging in politics. For example, hardly can one see a Northern or Eastern originated student win an election in a westerner dominated school. On another level, if all contestants belong to the same tribe, the issue of religious sentiment sets in. This signifies the extent at which the youths are imbibing or are being indoctrinated with the ethno-religious political culture before graduating into the "macro political world".

Conclusion

The paper has successfully explored the relationship between political culture and political participation in the Nigerian context. It established that linkage patterns exist between the two concepts on a reciprocal causal effect which proves that they (the two concepts) are mutually inclusive. It is also established that political culture is not static but is rather dynamic and changes in response to new ideas generated from both internal and external factors such as industrialization, influence of immigrants, war, revolutions among others. The paper successfully conceptualized the two concepts, explored their kernels and made an analogy of their corresponding classifications. The factors that shape political culture which consequently aided its influence on political participation were also analysed. It also explored how political culture affects people's attitude toward politics in Nigeria.

In the course of our analysis, the paper espoused that there is no unified political culture in Nigeria as a result of the heterogeneous nature of the country coupled with the lack of unity and support for the existence of the country as a unified nation which consequently resulted in the emergence of religion and ethnicity as the central notions of Nigerian political culture. This prompted the analysis of the Nigerian political culture under two headings: 'northern' and 'general' political cultures. It is discovered that the former is heavily built on religious doctrine while the latter is built on ethnicity and is responsible for the political instability in Nigeria and is causing more harm (disunity and political apathy) than good.

In conclusion, it is recommended that the Nigerian government through the National Orientation Agency, Ministry of Information (state and federal), Federal Ministry of Culture, Tourism and National Orientation (and its States' counterparts) and all organizations with *locus standi* on the subject matter must as a matter of urgency and necessity embark on series of programmes and formulate policies to re-orientate the citizens on the need to eschew ethno-religious nationalism, promote core nationalism in order to foster unity, national integration and increase positive political participation in Nigeria.

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**DYNAMISM OF NIGERIAN ENTREPRENEURS IN THE
INFORMAL SECTOR: THE CASE OF IGBOMINA BUSINESS
COMMUNITY IN LAGOS**

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Abstract

The paper examines the operational strategies of Igbomina migrant entrepreneurs in Lagos. It uses this to illustrate how group affiliation and cultural engagement could serve as veritable tool for integration and bring about success in entrepreneurship in the informal sector of the economy. The Igbomina entered into the informal sector of colonial economy by the early years of the 20th century with virtually no tangible capital other than their God given energy, resourcefulness, and special ability to adapt to the alien Lagos environment. The group through cultural engagements, perseverance and utmost resilience was able to raise capital for entrepreneurship in the informal sector. However, the proliferation of these petty traders, sadly deficient in capital and modern scientific methods of conducting trade made their business not only cumbersome, but also rather unattractive. They invested long in a great deal of time meeting demands of Lagos consumers through petty trading. The dynamism of meeting the challenges of the informal sector of the economy was met by the migrant's resorting to cultural exchanges and engagements through traditional mode of savings and capital formation, as existing banks were less disposed to lending money to Africans. The research methodology assumes a heavy dependence on oral interview of early migrants and direct participants in the informal sector of entrepreneurship. When such data are synthesized with secondary sources, they have proved dependable historical source. The paper concludes that people in the informal sector do not necessarily remain economically stagnant in this position of economic divide for a long time, but rather use this as stepping stone to transit to higher stage of economic opportunities in consequence of hard work and resilience as it was with the Igbomina, our illustrative example.

Keywords:

Dynamism, Entrepreneur, Informal Sector, Economy,
Igbomina migrants