AN APPRAISAL OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE CORPS MEMBERS COLLABORATION IN THE 2011 AND 2015 ELECTIONS PROCESS

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Abstract

National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) was established in 1973 with the core mandate of promoting national integration, development as well as inculcate the spirit of patriotism acquired through selfless service. These are needed to build the capacity of Nigerian graduate youth. The participation of corps members in national elections is the outcome of the collaboration between INEC and NYSC formalized through a Memorandum of Understanding. The relative credibility of elections since then is ascribed to the involvement and outstanding performance of Corps members. The objectives of this paper are to examine the impact of the Corps members' involvement in the conduct of elections and the electoral system in general, assess the level of compliance to the content of the M.O.U as well as the impact on the capacity building mechanism of main streaming the youths into constructive political engagement. This paper presents an analysis of the paradigm shift in youth's engagement in sensitive national assignment such as conduct of elections. The relative credibility of the 2011 and 2015 elections were both locally and internationally ascribed to the involvement of Corps members in the electoral process. This paper presents the level of professionalism and neutrality displayed by the Corps members during the elections in view of the internal disciplinary mechanism of the NYSC operations. "Traditional Theory of Youth" was reviewed to put to in proper perspective the concept of youth engagement in sensitive national assignment. Primary and secondary sources of information are vital tools of the study. Keywords: National, Youth, Electoral, Credible, Political

Introduction

Prior to the 2015 elections, there had been a progressive decline in the conduct of elections in Nigeria since the return to civil rule in May 1999. With the exception of the 2011 general elections, which witnessed little improvement, all other elections were electoral farce. This degradation of electoral politics in Nigeria prompted scholars to ponder whether votes still counted. In this fourth republic, the political class had managed to exercise its monopoly over political mobilization, and undermined popular participation. Public participation was curtailed especially through demobilization of the youth from constructive political engagement¹. Through undemocratic measures, the political class effectively co-opted most of the youth in the country into political engagements, with dire consequences. In Nigeria, the youth population is aged between 18 and 35 years.²

Seminal works have been written on youth political engagement in the electoral process in Nigeria. Some are concerned with the dynamics of anti-democratic political attitudes of the youth in Nigeria. However, such writings are limited in scope to elections without the involvement of National Youth Corps Members. This paper demonstrates how NYSC Members were engaged positively in the conduct of general elections. Compared with earlier general elections in Nigeria's current republic, the elections from 2011 have been judged by international and local observers as being relatively successful. The elections had remarkable improvements as noted in its conduct and its outcome. This is partly due to the patriotism, discipline and commitment of the corps members to the electoral process that started with the voters' registration to election Day activities. Also, unlike past elections wherein gullible youths were manipulated by the political class to play destructive roles (such as election rigging, ballotbox snatching, hooliganism, or thuggery), from the conduct of the 2011 elections the graduate youths undertook various positive initiatives. These included peace campaigns, voter education, and election monitoring, and polling unit administration to ensure successful electoral conduct.³

This paper also discusses a paradigm shift from the doom youth theory, based on reflections on youth engagement in previous elections, to the notion of positive and constructive youth political conduct

before and during the elections under review. It seeks to provide explanations for the positive youth engagement within the context of dual political motivation theory, which identifies two bases for political participation. In the first type of political motivation, political participation is activated by the desire to achieve a certain goal, influencing the outcome of an election, and controlling the actions of electoral personnel. The second motivation is driven by a duty to participate in an electoral process in one's country as a result of acquired social capital. A synthesis of the two types of political engagement, in David Campbell's perspective, creates' a dual motivation theory.⁴ To understand the patterns of the NYSC members motivation in the conduct of the elections in Nigeria, this study reviewed some relevant scholarly conceptual and theoretical postulations to form a theoretical base.

Theoretical Analysis of Youth Political Engagement

Most studies on youth engagement and experiences in African societies have been dominated by the application of the traditional theory of 'Youth Bulge', combined with 'Youth in Crisis' and 'Lumpen Youth Culture'. The common denominator of traditional youth theories is a vituperative characterization of youth, such as 'lost generation', 'devils in demographic', 'enduring limbo', 'ticking time bomb', 'loose molecule', 'war machine, 'lumpen', and 'Frankenstein Monster'.⁵ These theoretical postulations have formed the basis of public perception on youths involvement in societal affairs.

The term 'youth bulge' was coined by Gunnar Heinsohn, a German social scientist; it was made popular by Gary Fuller and Jack Goldstone, two American political scientists. Youth bulge theory denotes a situation where a country hosts a large population, dominated by young persons who are mainly marginalized, excluded and deprived in relation to the older adult population. This theory contends that such a large youthful population constitutes a high risk and threat in the country .⁶ In other words, heavy youth population is a predictor of various forms of violence; include rebellion, welfare, criminality and other aggressive behavior. The Arab Spring and Islamic revivalism that occurred in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria are ascribed to a combination of youth bulge and limited economic opportunities.

Youth crisis combines with youth bulge to engender violent and criminal engagements. Youth crisis is a condition in which young people find it difficult to attain the requisite qualities of adulthood because of slim socioeconomic and political opportunities. Youth crisis arises from the irresponsiveness and insensitivity of the national government in addressing young people's genuine needs and aspirations through sound policies and programs. Thus, in desperation to navigate the difficult path of life, young people engage in aggressive and risky behavior. In the face of fading hope, they take their destiny into their own hands by engaging in various criminal behaviors, including armed banditry, kidnapping for ransom, bunkering, vandalism, and insurgency. The Boko Haram insurgency in northeastern Nigeria is in part linked with scanty economic opportunities and access.⁷ Abject socioeconomic conditions, manifesting in youth unemployment and poverty, have been linked with ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria.⁸ In Kenya, youth exclusion and marginalization from the political process is cited as contributing to youth participation in post-election violence in 2007-2008. About 70% of participants in the post-election violence were young adults.⁹

Another variable that conflates with youth bulge to engender youth engagement in violence and criminality is what Abdullah and Bangura characterize as 'lumpen youth culture'. The lumpen youth culture is a sense of antisocial and anti-establishment orientation.¹⁰ The lumpen youth, which Usman describes as expendable youth, are young people who are not mature and materially dependent and susceptible to be manipulated as an instrument for the perpetration of electoral violence. They act as party thugs and are used by party stalwarts for political violence and criminal activities for a token sum, sometimes a pittance. They are often fed with dangerous drugs and other intoxicants and armed as ruthless agents of destruction.¹¹ They actively participate in electoral activities that undermine the conduct of credible elections and jolt public confidence in the electoral process.

The traditional or 'doom theory' on youth is dominated by the notion that youth are Frankenstein monster and victims of electoral violence. The theory tends to play down the distinctive initiatives of young people in the conduct of an election, and electoral change processes in which youth participated.

The preponderant notion of youth as 'loose molecule' underestimates the potential and right of the youth to participate and contribute meaningfully to social change processes in the conduct of an election. Also, doom youth theory tends to influence the absence of sound policies and programs for inclusion of youth in the mainstream political participation, and the harnessing of their potential for improvement in the conduct of credible elections. Instructively, a few scholars such as, Boyden and De Bery , Thorup and Kinkade, have recognized the potential and asset value of youth in bringing about social change processes in their countries. As a social spectrum, youth are associated with certain traits such as exuberance, dynamism; willingness to take risks, flexible thinking and the desire for quick results.¹² According to the National Youth Development Policy of Nigeria, youth is the foundation of a society. Their energies, inventiveness, character, and orientation define the pace of development and security of a nation. Through their creative talents and labour power, a nation makes giant strides in economic development and sociopolitical attainments. In their dreams and hopes, a nation founds her motivation; on their energies, she builds her vitality and purpose. And because of their dreams and aspirations, the future of a nation is assured.

In consonance with the emerging notion of youth as an asset for shaping national development, this study examines the impact of the engagement of NYSC members in the conduct of general elections in Nigeria. This study discusses how the youth is becoming mature and is committed to bringing about change in Nigeria- a country that the US Department of Intelligence predicted as being on a path to perdition or disintegration.¹³

Background of the Collaboration

The Election Management Bodies in Nigeria has since its inception in 1960 employed ad hoc staff to perform various functions during elections. The partnership between INEC and NYSC was as a result of INEC's request to the NYSC Directorate Headquarters for the services of corps members in elections in February 2008. It was this request that formed the basis of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between the two bodies in 2010. This agreement has been reviewed after each successive engagement. The involvement of the NYSC members in election began with their participation as polling clerks in the conduct of Kogi State Governorship re-run election held on Saturday, 29th March, 2008. The success of this experience led to further engagement of corps members in the conduct of bye-elections, re-run, supplementary elections and voters' registration "which were also adjudged satisfactory".¹⁴

Reasons for Engaging the Corps Members in Electoral Assignment

Intellectual capacity of corps members: being graduates of higher institutions, corps members are easily trainable which makes them assets to partner with. The introduction of electronic and other improved initiatives for credible elections was only made possible by NYSC members.¹⁵

As part of the electoral commission's innovation to enhance the election procedures started form the computerization of the voters register. Huge funds were expended to procure Direct Data Capture Machine (DDCM) for biometric registration of voters. These machines were deployed to the registration Areas/Wards in country. The attempt at computerization of the registration process could not have been a reality without knowledgeable personnel. In January of 2011corps members were trained to operate and manage the machine to run the newly introduced biometric registration procedures. Corps members were optimistic that their level of academic background will give them the leverage to appreciate the computer and apply the instructions as required by the system.

The NYSC policy of deployment of corps members to all the nooks and crannies of all the villages, communities, towns and Local Government Areas made them grass root based particularly suitable for election duties. The geographical spread in the posting policy of the scheme makes for corps members to be posted evenly. The difficult and hard to reach areas of Anambra state host Corps members posted for primary assignment. These graduate youths irrespective of their socio-cultural background complement the services of regular teachers (career teachers). In Anambra West areas of Oroma Etiti, Igbedor, Inoma Akator and Umuem the only means of transportation is the canoe and sometimes locally made engine boats. The Corps members takes delivery of electoral materials at

Umueze Anam that serves as emergency Local Government Headquarters. The Electronic Voting Machine (Card reader) had their challenges. It takes a knowledgeable election personnel to handle the machine efficiently. In the remote areas, Corps members were recruited as members of the Election Technical Team that managed problematic machines at the very remote Ogwu Aniocha, Ogwu Ikpelle and Akili Ogidi communities of Ogbaru Local Government. The corps members had to sleep in farm settlements on the eve of the Election Day to ensure timely commencement of election duty on the election day.

Since corps members are mostly posted outside their states origin and geo-political zones there is the likelihood that they would be neutral and non-partisan. Similarly, the nationalistic outlook infused in the corps members through orientation course makes them patriotic and ready for this type of engagement. Credibility of any election result begins with a transparent process and neutrality of the personnel. In some instances where the contestants come from the same village/community, it takes a neutral and non-partisan team of electoral duty personnel to defy emotions and attachment in managing the polling unit and collation of results. This was the case at Anaocha local government area in 2015 where the two senatorial election candidates come from. The corps members became the umpire. The outcome of the election did not generate crisis. The Corps member were not partisan and do not have attachment with any of the contestants.

Internal disciplinary mechanism as enshrined in the NYSC bye laws makes sanctioning of corps members involved in electoral fraud easy. The NYSC Bye – laws section 4(i) corps members are prohibited from taking part in partisan politics.¹⁶ The internal disciplinary measure as enshrined in the NYSC Bye-laws served as a check on the Corps members assigned for election duties. No one wants to be sanctioned. The Corps members were conscious of the fact that in the case of loss of electoral material, fraud and reported case of malpractice that Corps Disciplinary Committee will prescribe sanctions. In 2011, the certificates of National Service of Corps members that participated as Presiding Officers at Oraifite Ozubulu ward 4, Umuonuagwu Square II ward 2 and Ihiteoha, Umuobu primary ward 001 were withdrawn until the determination of a law suit filed by Honorable Pauly Onyeka. The Corps members were docked for alleged electoral malpractice.

The corps members having been fully registered with the scheme. They have identification numbers and can easily be traced whenever issues of misconduct are traced to their polling unit. They were invited to testify and answer questions concerning their duty posts before the Election Tribunal during voters' registration and election. The fracas perpetrated by hoodlums at Oduakpu II and Fegge VII wards of Onitsha South did not deter the Corps members from safeguarding the sensitive electoral materials/documents. Their run for safety did not go without the forms EC8^A and EC8^B which are polling unit result collation sheets.

The corps members are considered to have something at stake thereby the considered their Certificate of National Service and their career prospects in participating in the electoral assignment. They sensitive and nonsensitive materials issued by INEC to corps members were safely and carefully accounted for.

The corps members' participation in electoral process stands as example to violent and hired street boys and undergraduate students of higher institutions. The corps members participated in the election process with high sense of maturity and dignity the electoral process deserved. The Corps members at Obosi and Nkpor electoral wards at Idemili North L.G.A. were exemplary. They were able to withstand the violent Obosi area boys that were hired to disrupt the election activities. The Corps members were charismatic in approaching the hoodlums. They marched violence with informed knowledge of patriotic values.¹⁷

The involvement of corps members in the electoral process serves as a training ground for graduate youths to imbibe and improve on electoral best practices for the future of democracy good governance and development of the Nigerian nation. Credible elections consolidate democracy, democracy brings good governance and good governance brings development. The rapt attention and seriousness the Corps member attached to the training conducted for Election Presiding

Officers in Anambra State signified their believe and confidence in the course of credible elections. It showed that when votes count election malpractices and violence will be done away with.¹⁸

The Impact of Corps Members on the Electoral Process

Institutionalization of democracy and credibility of elections ; the professional conduct and patriotism exhibited by corps members involved in managing elections at the polling units have improved the integrity of elections in Nigeria. This is exemplified with the acceptability of electoral outcome and decline in post-election litigation. In the 2007 elections, there were 1,290 petitions, in 2011, 732 petitions and in 2015, 611 petitions were received. In separate reports, domestic and international observers acknowledge that the 2011 and 2015 elections administration have been satisfactory and productive.¹⁹

Promotes youth participation: Mainstreaming youth in election administration is one strategic methodology of enhanced youth participation in the electoral processes. It goes beyond traditional EMB approaches towards increasing youth turnout in elections. This initiative expands the civic space and opens opportunities for young people to participate in the electoral process.

Restoring confidence in youth: INEC's engagement of youth in election administration has restored the confidence of public institutions in the competency and capabilities of youth. It underscores the fact that youths are resourceful partners in deepening democratic development if given the opportunity.

Instilling the values of volunteerism, patriotism and citizenship: involvement of corps members has exposed young people to the values and benefits of volunteerism. Volunteering for election administration enhances community building and active citizenship. Participants express delight and fulfillment for contributing to good governance and credible elections through voluntary national service.

Reducing the costs of elections: By voluntarily subscribing to participate as ad hoc election officials, the corps members reduce election expenditure that would have been incurred by the electoral commission if she opts to recruit substantive staff to manage elections.

Building a culture of leadership: Engaging youth in election administration develops a culture of leadership and democracy in young people. Through the trainings and field activities, the corps members build leadership competencies like; innovating thinking, team building, emotional intelligence, effective communication and customer service, computation and report writing etc.

Challenges

Disenfrachisement: Nigeria electoral law stipulates that voters can only Vote where they registered. However, there is a provision that permits transfer of voter's registration details. These two provision negatively impact on the participation of election official, security agencies and medical staff working on Election Day. The deployment plan of the electoral commission make it impossible for election officials to exercise their franchise out of the 630,000 adhoc official recruited and deployed by INEC for the 2015 elections 120,000 of them were corps members.²⁰ So as a result of this initiative meant to substantially engage youth in election, a large number of youth are prohibited from voting at elections.

Untimely and Inadequate Training: The failure of the electoral commission to commence early training of election officials, especially the corps members compromises their ability to effectively manage Election Day operations. The number of days apportioned for training of ad hoc officials is grossly inadequate to sufficiently equip the corps members with the capacity to effectively discharge their duties. There is a need to adopt a more practical approach to learning when conducting training for election officials.

Poor Welfare and Logistics: Over the years, the corps members' involvement in election process has been confronted with poor welfare and logistics and delay in the payment of allowance and stipends leading to several threat of boycott by the NYSC members.

Poor Communication and Information Dissemination: Undue centralization of information poses a challenge to corps members seeking real time information while on election duty. Corps members have had to navigate the bureaucracies and inconsistencies associated with information sharing. A good

example was the failure of the card reader, while the corps members were battling with the voters, they do not know that decisions have been taken by the management of the commission that manual voting can be resorted to as an emergency option.

Insecurity and Violence: Lack of adequate security make corps members vulnerable to intimidation and molestation. In the aftermath of 2011 presidential election, eleven corps members were killed by an angry mob in Bauchi State. In 2015, corps members were also subject to different degrees of physical assault. This discourages prospective corps members from engaging in election administration and polling unit services.

Economic Determinism: while some corps members are driven by patriotism and Civic consciousness in participating in the election administration, some NYSC members are driven by economic benefits. In some instances, NYSC members are inclined to bribery and compromise with Politicians and candidates.

Lack of Synergy between INEC and NYSC Local Government officials: in the 2015 elections some of the staff in the institutions worked at cross purpose against the spirit of the M.O.U. A number of instances abound to support this position. For instance while the M.O.U. clearly states that NYSC state co-coordinators are members of the Inter Agency Consultative Committee On Electoral Security (ICCES), in some states, Resident Electoral Commissioners (REC) blatantly refused to allow them function in that capacity until after the intervention of INEC Headquarter. Corps members interested in participating in the elections as official were required to register online. However the electoral body failed to involve the NYSC in the recruitment or posting of corps members. This makes it difficult to verify the identity of all applicants posing as corps members online. As a result there was the "mixing stones with beans syndrome" as the all comers registration of ad hoc staff as aptly described by Gen Mi Tsiga (Rtd) a former Director General of the scheme.²¹ This incident makes assessing the performance of corps members difficult. This lack of synergy was visibly manifested by Electoral Officer (EO) at the local government Area who saw the NYSC local Government Inspectors.

Non Implementation of the Provision of the M.O.U: As part of the agreement reached between, INEC and NYSC "Registration Area Centers" (RACS) were set up to ease movement of corps members and material during election. Corps members were gathered at these centres where the received election materials before proceeding to their various polling units. It was agreed that INEC will provide basic accommodation and sanitation facilities at the centers. However most of the RACs lacked those things. In addition, the electoral body failed to make arrangement to transport corps members either to or from the training centers, the RACs or the polling units. The commission does not also recognize the services of the NYSC Local Government Inspectors and NYSC-INEC Desk officer in the NYSC state secretariat that provided the enabling environment for training and participation of corps members during elections.

Public Perception: Public perception of the collaboration between INEC and the NYSC has expectedly been rather mixed. While some view the collaboration as successful others are cynical. Some INEC Electoral Officers blame corps members for any hitch or failure in the elections just like they do other ad hoc staff of the commission not withstanding whether or not the ad hoc staffs are actually responsible for the hitch or failure. This sentiment is a bad omen for the collaboration and has been existent from the onset of the collaboration. The failure of card readers, some polling units during the 2015 general elections, for example, was blamed on the ad hoc staff. Even more frightening, the perception has led to in instances of molestation, sometimes with fatality, unfortunately, this view and institutional opinion in both INEC and NYSC, sometimes publicly expressed, fuel the poor opinion the public has of the collaboration. For instance in 2011 when the independent National Electoral Commission introduced the use of Direct Data Capture Machine (DDC) a National Commissioner in INEC was reported as saying" we assumed that corps members should know how to operate simple machine like the DDC machine in addition to the training they had but unfortunately, they disappointed us.

Impersonation: There are reported cases of impersonation by some hired miscreants that dress like corps members. They wear and present themselves as corps member through a Kangaroo arrangement perpetrated by desperate politicians and some officials of the Independent Electoral Commission State Headquarter. This was done by causing confusion in the posting list that assigns corps members to their Election Day place of assignment or polling units.

Lack of Coherent Follow-Up Structure: There is no adequate follow up with corps members engaged in election management most especially in the post-election era. This deprives the electoral commission of the opportunity to harness useful feedback and inputs into its processes. Ex-Corps members who participated in past elections could for example, constitute a technical volunteer base for future elections. A debriefing exercise should be put in place to generate information better performance in the future.

Recommendations

Review of The INEC-NYSC MoU: One of the best ways of sustaining the corps members participation in the electoral process is to review the M.O.U. which is the

Framework of the INEC and NYSC collaboration: This will take care of the vague sections of M.O.U. Issues such as the definition of welfare should be addressed in the M.O.U to make ways for clarity and avoidance of administrative overlap. Provisions such as security of corps members and their general welfare must be included in the MOU. Participation of corps members may then be made compulsory. Similarly, the two organizations need to track their activities to ensure that their officers in the field implement the content of the M.O.U to the later.

Improved Welfare Package: INEC can explore the possibility of improving payment due to corps members engaged in electoral duties. INEC can also make adequate transport for the movement of men and material to and from their duty post. In Anambra State like other state that have reverie areas, corps members should be provided with life tickets and other special arrangement such as speed boats and special rescue team in case of any mishap. One of the major complaints of corps members is that they are left stranded with sensitive electoral materials after elections with the attendant security risks. With adequate welfare package and transport arrangement the corps members can be reshuffled to render ineffective whatever shoddy deals they may have made with politicians that wishes or planned to use them to rig elections.

Involvement of the NYSC in the Preparatory Stage of Elections: INEC should involve the NYSC and corps members during the voter education registration exercise distribution and updating of voters registration which ought to commence immediately after the conclusion of any election. The election time table of INEC should be made to tally with the NYSC scheme year planner. This will help them not to clash in activities as instance was the postponement of the NYSC 2015 Batch A" orientation course because of the 2015 General elections. The prospective corps members agitated the delay in mobilization. With adequate arrangement the corps members can be mobilized by the department of Voter Education at INEC to educate their host communities during the corps members weekly Communities Development Service (CDS) program. The continuous voters register can be in comported in the (CDS). Corps members have effectively taken part in the awareness and sensitization program of HIV/AIDS scourge and MDG programs in that last past. This could be replicated in INEC activities and electoral.

Effective Budgetary Provision for NYSC Members Involvement in Elections: NYSC budget does not capture the participation of its staff and corps members in elections. The NYSC has to draw funds from its over head to enable its staff monitor corps members and address their needs to the detriment of its other statutory activities; otherwise it bags INEC for funding to perform its election role in diction. It is therefore strongly recommended that the scheme takes cognizance of this and henceforth, make necessary budgetary provision either in tandem with the electoral body or as a separate vote or charge. The budget should cover requirement for participation of corps members and NYSC staff in elections.

Test Running All Electoral Voting Gadget or Introduction of Mock Election: Crops members weekly community development service could be used to train crops members in handling the electronic voting system and deploy same for the purpose of voters registration exercise, distribution and actual voting. The mock election will make the corps members get acquainted with Election Day pressure and challenge and probably ways of solving those issues.

Integrity and Patriotic Mentoring: The NYSC should through the orientation course content teach and mentor the corps members of the need to be patriotic in national assignment. They should show visible signs of integrity whenever they are assigned or engaged in a sensitive national assignment like elections and its processes.

Strengthening the Synergy between The Staff of INEC and NYSC: The contents and implementation of the M.O.U should be enforced down the ladder to the local government offices of the collaborating a general. The staff of INEC should not see the NYSE local government impostors as intruders but partners in progress. The NYSC follows a chain of command and the corps member effectively takes instruction from then local government inspector them any staff of other agency the L.G.I must be on ground for the INEC electoral officer in the local government to succeed.

Reward of Excellence: The NYSC and their INEC collator part should institute as discipline and reward mechanism to celebrate corps members that distinguished themselves in the election process. As well those were found wanton should be sanctioned to serve as deterrent to others and future of the collaboration those corps members that reported and rationed bribery engagement with overzealous politicians should be celebrated to encourage other and help to sweep away the malpractices inherent in the electoral process.

Verification of Election Day Posting List by NYSC Secretariat: There should be an arrangement where the NYSC should vet the corps members Election Day posting list to verify the authencity of the identity of corps members drawn in it. The INEC electoral officer, the NYSC Local Government Inspector in collaboration with plain cloth security agents should form a surveillance team at the local government level to fish out those fake corps members that infiltrated the NYSC list and punish them in me with the extant law. It is a criminal offence and a form of electoral malpractice.

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