

**DISTANCE LEARNING PROGRAMME**  
**University of Ibadan**

POS 316

**THE METHODOLOGY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS**

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## **Content**

	<b>Page</b>
General Introduction and Course Objectives	2
Lecture One - The Subject Matter of Comparative Politics	3-9
Lecture Two - Selected Approaches/Methodologies	10-16
Lecture Three - Political Culture	17-22
Lecture Four - Types of Political Culture	23-30
Lecture Five - The Nature of Political Socialization	31-35
Lecture Six - Patterns of Political Socialization	36-40
Lecture Seven - Methods of Political Socialization	41-45
Lecture Eight - Selected Modes of Classification (Regime Types)	46-50
Lecture Nine - Selected Modes of Classification (Institutions of Government)	51-55
Lecture Ten - Focus on Nigeria (Parliamentary System of Government)	56-62
Lecture Eleven - Focus on Nigeria (The Parliamentary Procedures)	63-65
Lecture Twelve - Focus on Nigeria (Presidential System of Government)	66-69
Lecture Thirteen - General Characteristics of Military and Civil Rule in Nigeria.	70-72
Lecture Fourteen - Comparing Major Differences Between Military and Civil Rule	73-77
Lecture Fifteen - Summary	78-81

## **General Introduction and Course Objectives**

This course is about the study of the Methodology of Comparative Politics. Its major aim is to introduce you to a key area – Comparative Politics – in the broader field of study called Political Science. It also attempts to familiarize you with political happenings around the world, using the methodology of comparison. The ten lectures of the course are organized into four main sections. These are namely, nature and subject matter of comparative politics/selected methodologies; political socialization; selected modes of classification/Nigeria in focus; and summary

## **Lecture One**

### **The Subject Matter of Comparative Politics.**

#### **Introduction**

This lecture will examine the general background information about comparison, comparative politics and comparative political analysis. It has seven sub-themes, which range from the definitions of basic concepts like method, comparisons and comparative politics, to the genesis of comparative politics as a course of study and the merits or usefulness of the area of study.

#### **Objectives**

At the end of the lecture it is expected that you will be able to:

- (a) Understand and describe the basic concepts that are directly related to comparative politics;
- (b) Identify the usefulness of this area of study as well as its relationship with other areas in the field of political science.

#### **Pre-Test (To be taken before you read the lecture material).**

1. Comparative politics involves the:
  - (a) Setting together of different aspects of political institutions, personnel and processes for a comparative study.
  - (b) Comparison of political parties.
  - (c) Comparison of administrative and governmental systems.
  - (d) Comparison of voting patterns.
  - (e) Comparison of political elites.
2. One of the following is not on the 2013 list of the world's ten best governed countries.
  - (a) China
  - (b) Switzerland
  - (c) United Kingdom
  - (d) Germany
  - (e) United States of America
3. Which of the following is not likely to be regarded as a key indicator of development?
  - (a) Accountability
  - (b) Rule of Law
  - (c) Availability of crude oil
  - (d) Credible elections

- (e) Guaranteed tenure of office
4. In the developed world, which of the following is not a function of the government?
- (a) Provision of all material needs of the citizens
  - (b) Building of roads, bridges and physical infrastructure
  - (c) Defence of territory from internal and external attack
  - (d) Maintenance of relations with other countries
  - (e) Provision of education.
5. In Nigeria, which of the following is not constitutionally, recognized for the maintenance of law and order?
- (a) Establishment and maintenance of a killer squad
  - (b) Establishment and maintenance of a police force
  - (c) Law making
  - (d) Provision of employment opportunities
  - (e) Effective communication network
6. One of the features of a sovereign state is that it:
- (a) has a large number of soldiers
  - (b) has a multi-party system
  - (c) practices the parliamentary system of government
  - (d) is not indebted to other countries or creditor organizations
  - (e) has a capacity to defend itself against internal and external aggression
7. Democracy means a system of government in which:
- (a) the minority rules
  - (b) the minority does not have a say
  - (c) the majority are rich
  - (d) the people rule
  - (e) there is secret balloting
8. Which of the following is not a characteristic of democracy?
- (a) Regular elections
  - (b) Respect for the opinion of the minority
  - (c) Freedom of citizens to do as they like
  - (d) Popular sovereignty
  - (e) Majority rule
9. The application of method in the study of politics provides more for:
- (a) The scientific basis of the course of study
  - (b) The political scientist to become a natural scientist
  - (c) The use of scientific equipment for the course of study

- (d) All of the above
  - (e) None of the above
10. Which of these countries is more associated with the genesis of comparative politics?
- (a) Nigeria
  - (b) USSR
  - (c) Ghana
  - (d) USA
  - (e) China

### **Content**

As we shall soon show, the subject matter of comparative politics, and more precisely the methodology of comparative politics, can be fully understood when it is arranged into sub-sections. For our own purpose, we will have six of such sub-sections that are listed in a – f below.

**(a) What is a method?** For the purpose of this course, we may define a method as a particular way or manner in which something is done. In other words, a method is a specific or precise style or approach that is applied in carrying out an assignment, which can be in the form of a research, study, examination or experiment. A very good example of an exercise where a method is applicable in politics or political science is the conduct of elections or even the arrangement of a whole country into small voting districts, zones or constituencies.

We may need to go a step further by saying that a method is systematic and scientific because it has observable steps, stages and patterns that are supposed to be followed when it is applied for a particular assignment. In fact, the application of methods in the study of politics accounts for the adoption of the name “Science of Politics or Political Science”.

By extension, methodology literally means “the logic of method” or, in other words, the means by which we attempt to discover, prove or demonstrate some truth or fact about a subject matter or particular assignment. Therefore, methodology can be described as the step-by-step application of methods.

**(b) Why do we need methodologies in Political Science?** We need to ask this question first and foremost, because “methodology” is part of our course title in POS 316 – The Methodology of Comparative Politics. Secondly, it is popularly believed that comparative political analysis is an aspect in the field of Political Science, which helps to establish the “scientific” nature of this field of study.

Although Political Science may be rated lower than its counterparts like economics, geography, psychology and sociology, in the social sciences; especially in terms of the scientific accuracy of the results of its research studies, the subject has over the years made efforts to be more exact, accurate and scientific than others like history, philosophy, etc.

In the light of the above, methodologies as they are applied in the pure science- chemistry, physics, mathematics, engineering, medicine, etc, are also useful in Political Science and other aspects of the Social Sciences, for rational analysis. It is also necessary to note that methodology, like in the pure science, is to help in fact-seeking as well as fact-using; while the ultimate goal of science is the classification of facts and, on the basis of such classification, the formulation of a body of general rules and logically consistent and universally valid statements is achieved. Examples include algebra and Pythagoras in mathematics, the principle of Archimedes in Physics and so on.

Furthermore, we need to know that the scientific method entails vigorous procedures, which start from the selection of a problem to be analyzed or solved; followed by formulation of hypothesis; gathering of data and testing of hypothesis and; finally, the use of findings to refute, modify or support existing theories. Therefore, for any methodology to be scientific, it must be verifiable, systematic and have general applicability. It is verifiable when it is empirical and could be tested by others. For example, in Nigeria, whenever any individual proclaims anything about a pharmaceutical item or other food items, the government insists that such items must be verified by NAFDAC. In this verification exercise, the ultimate goal is to confirm claims made by a manufacturer, producer or an author, in the case of a theory or academic claim.

On the other hand, knowledge is said to be systematic when it is organized into an intelligible pattern, or structure, with clearly stated significant relationships. To achieve a system, scientists seek out similarities and differences by putting things together. In doing this, they also look for relationships, whether correlations or casual relations.

Finally, having general applicability means the attempt to create the maximum possible extent for the adoption of a particular knowledge, method or theory. Take, for example, while the information or knowledge provided in a telephone directory may be systematic and verifiable in that it is arranged alphabetically and orderly, it may not have a general applicability. This, for instance, is because the telephone directory for the city of Bombay (India) will be useless in Lagos (Nigeria).

(c) **What is comparison all about?** To compare, simply means to set things like individuals, structures, institutions, governments, body of knowledge, teams, groups or even different parts of a particular object together in order to examine how far they agree or disagree. In doing this, certain characteristics that account for similarities or differences, e.g. age, environment, history, height, etc, are carefully selected for examination or analysis. At the end of the examination or analysis, conclusions are drawn and a report is produced. In more practical terms, we can compare individuals like Segun, Femi and Gbenga of the DLC, University of Ibadan Nigeria, Messi and Ronaldo of Barcelona and Real Madrid Football Clubs respectively, on a general comparative note, while for the purpose of comparative politics we can examine the PDP and the Republicans of Nigeria and United States of America respectively, etc.

(d) **What is Comparative Politics?** It is an arm, a branch or sub-discipline in the broader area of study called Political Science. Essentially, comparative politics is a method or approach of enquiry, which places emphasis on the comparison of major similarities and differences in two or more phenomena such as governmental or administrative systems, types of regimes, political behaviour, voting behaviour, voting pattern, the behaviour of groups like political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, trade unions, etc.

For further illustration, students should be informed that comparative politics can be adopted for the explanation of activities in different institutions of government like federal and unitary systems, or types of government like monarchy, oligarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Also, it can be applied to seek explanations for the classification of countries like United States of America, Great Britain, Switzerland, Sweden, Germany, Japan, Denmark, Netherlands, Canada and Australia as the best governed in the world, while Somalia, Sudan, Niger, Nigeria and some others are categorized as the worst governed. Is it because of the differences in their population sizes? What about their levels of democratic attainment? Is it because of the level of unemployment, poverty, health service delivery, educational attainment or a combination of all these factors?

It must be added that comparison or comparative analysis is so important that all the other areas in the field of Political Science can be brought under the comparative framework. These include Comparative Public Administration, Comparative Federalism, Comparative Civil-Military Relations, etc.

(e) **Genesis of Comparative Politics-** In view of the long history of politics as well as its study, the comparative aspect of the field of study must equally

have a long history. For ease of reference, we may link the genesis of comparative politics to the efforts of early philosophers like Aristotle who, for instance, collected information about a large number of diverse constitutions and used them to explain the workings and operations of different types of governments and political systems more than two thousand years ago.

However, the modern or contemporary idea of comparative politics is often traced to the post-second world war era (mid to late 1940s), when many American political scientists and their counterparts from many parts of Europe began to have considerable relationships and exchange of ideas with economists, sociologists, social psychologists and even natural scientists.

In a simple language, contemporary comparative politics emerged with the more formal teaching of political science, which began when some universities in the United States of America and Europe began to establish full-fledged departments of government and political science. However, over time, information technology and other scientific breakthroughs have assisted in the spread of comparative politics.

**(f) What are the merits of Comparative Politics?** In view of the fact that comparative politics is a tool that is adopted for the examination and explanation of similarities and differences in and between corporate entities, political systems or countries, while its methodologies can also be applied for the study of individual political behaviours, there are certain merits or strong points that are important to be highlighted. These include:

- (i) Comparative politics helps in the clarification of some general statements that are often made in the field of politics or political science. Take, for example, when political scientists look at the political parties or socialization processes in two or more societies, they are able to clarify certain generalizations or value-laden statements that are often made about different political systems e.g. French political parties are more revolutionary in nature; the average British is more conservative than his French, German or American counterpart; corruption is more endemic in military governments or autocratic systems, etc. In such instances, the questions that may arise to guide the comparative exercise may include.
  - (a) What in the history of France made its socio-political and, probably, economic institutions more revolutionary than most of its counterparts in Europe?
  - (b) What has geography or climatic conditions got to do with political culture?

- (c) How does economic well-being affect voting behaviour or voting pattern?
- (d) Finally, why is democracy generally believed to be better than military and other forms of non-participatory government types?
- (ii) The comparative approach encourages the use or adoption of some scientific methods or techniques like sampling, interview and questionnaire, which help in establishing a more solid, exact and scientific foundation for political science as a field of study.
- (iii) With the adaptation of the scientific techniques, comparative politics, in a way, provides for the lack of absolute standards of measurement, which had hitherto constituted an obstacle to accuracy, in the field of political science. What I mean by this is that the adoption of the tool of comparison in politics can lay the foundation for some widely accepted rules like +, -, ÷, x and similar other signs used in mathematics and other mathematical sciences that are currently non-existent in political science as a field of study.
- (iv) Comparison makes political science more understandable and makes political analysis and enquiry quite interesting.

### **Summary**

The application of methods in the study of politics can be traced to the advent of the behavioural revolution in political science. It developed to compliment the older philosophical, legalistic and institutional outlook of the course of study. Meanwhile the contemporary or modern idea of comparative politics is often traced to the post-second world war era (mid to late 1940s). Essentially, comparison helps in the attempt to have a science of politics because it borrows from diverse areas of human knowledge to establish certain widely acceptable facts.

### **Post - Test**

This is exactly the same as the pre-test. Go back to the ten objective questions you answered at the beginning of the lecture and try again to provide the answers, this time around, using the knowledge you have acquired from reading the lecture notes.

### **References/Further Readings**

**Ayeni-Akeke, A. (2008).** *Foundation of Political Science*, Ibadan: Ababa Press.

**Onah, E.I. (2010).** *Contemporary Political Analysis*, Lagos: Concept Publications Limited.

## Lecture Two

### Selected Approaches/Methodologies

#### Introduction:

In this lecture we will examine the principles underlining the study of comparative politics. More specifically, our discussion will centre more on what R.T. Suberu (2004) described as the “intellectual foundation stones” in this area of study. These, in other words, are supposed to be the “building blocks” upon which the whole structure is to be erected.

#### Objectives

At the end of the lecture it is expected that you will be able to:

- (a) Describe the intellectual history of political science in general and, in particular, the comparative area of study;
- (b) Identify the main factors and forces which led to the development of some of the important approaches; and
- (c) Describe the basic ideas and issues that constitute the broad area of comparative politics.

**Pre-Test** (*To be taken before you read the lecture material*).

1. The behavioural approach is often linked more with which of the following countries:
  - (a) United States of America
  - (b) United Kingdom
  - (c) Saudi Arabia
  - (d) Ghana
  - (e) Burkina Faso
2. Which of the writers is not a behaviouralist?
  - (a) Plato
  - (b) David Easton
  - (c) Karl Popper
  - (d) Robert Dahl
  - (e) Harold Lasswell
3. The Descriptive-Institutional Approach focuses on:
  - (a) The evolution and operation of governmental institutions and other bodies engaged in politics
  - (b) The study of human political behaviour
  - (c) The application of scientific methods to the study of politics

- (d) The discussion of universal values like equality, justice and freedom  
(e) Psychological Aspects of Politics
4. The earliest and least scientific approach to the study of politics is:  
(a) Aristotle – Political animal theory  
(b) The Descriptive – Analytical Approach  
(c) The Descriptive – Institutional Approach  
(d) The Normative – Philosophical Approach  
(e) The Behavioural Approach
5. The lack of interest in politics by many citizens in a country is referred to as:  
(a) Mass apathy  
(b) Mass protest  
(c) Mass movement  
(d) Mass demonstration  
(e) Strike action
6. A group of people with a common history, ancestry, culture, language and territory constitute a:  
(a) Society  
(b) Country  
(c) Nation  
(d) Community  
(e) State
7. The political culture of a country is said to be participatory if individuals are:  
(a) Encouraged to join political parties that are financed by the government  
(b) Only allowed to contest in elections but are not allowed to vote for themselves  
(c) Not allowed to join political parties of their choice  
(d) Interested in voting and contesting elections  
(e) Not allowed to criticize the activities of government
8. The book – Civic Culture, was written by:  
(a) Anatol Rappoport  
(b) David Easton  
(c) Niccolo Machiavelli  
(d) Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba

(e) Harold Lasswell and Aristotle

### **Content**

Generally speaking, in view of the long history of politics as well as its study, the comparative aspect of the field must equally have a long history. For instance just as politics, in general, is often traced to the activities of such early philosophers as Plato and Aristotle, and the activities in Athens and other early Greek City States, the genesis comparative politics can also be linked with the efforts of Aristotle at collecting information about a large number of different constitutions for the purpose of comparison. Thus, it could be said that the approaches to Comparative politics, just as in the main stream politics, can be classified into the ancient and modern/contemporary groups.

In the first group (ancient), we have the Normative – Philosophical Approach and the Descriptive – Institutional Approach, both of which dominated the study of politics before 1900, while in the second group (modern/contemporary), we have the behavioural approach.

#### **(a) The Normative – Philosophical Approach**

Traditionally, the study of politics was dominated by philosophical reflections on certain universal political values like equality, freedom and justice. This is why the writings of such early philosophers as Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, Niccolo Machiavelli, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau among several others concentrated on these values that were regarded as essential to the just State and the good of the citizens.

The Normative – philosophical Approach is the oldest and least scientific approach to the study of mainstream politics as well as comparative politics. It has over the years been gradually overshadowed, but not completely displaced by modern or more contemporary approaches.

#### **(b) The Descriptive – Institutional Approach**

This approach to the study of politics and, by extension, comparative politics originally focused on the discussion of the evolution and operation of the legislature, executive and judiciary, which are respectively the institutions for making, enforcing and interpreting the law. However, over time, the list of institutions discussed came to include political parties, constitutions, bureaucracies, interest (pressure) groups and other associations that are more or less permanently engaged in politics. In the Descriptive-Institutional Approach, unlike in the Normative-Philosophical Approach, the emphasis is on facts rather than values. In other words, the Descriptive-Institutional

Approach seeks to provide factual and historical answers to such questions as: What are the historical sources of parliamentary supremacy? By what electoral arrangements are rulers or representatives chosen? What are the relative merits and demerits of a system of government like the parliamentary over and above the presidential system of government or vice-versa? In what way can a flexible constitution be regarded as better in operation, or vice versa, than a rigid constitution?

Although the Descriptive – Institutional Approach is fairly old, it is still very relevant as contemporary political scientists and researchers, in general, still devote substantial attention to the examination of major political institutions like the executive, the judiciary, the civil service, the legislature and local government. According to Rotimi Suberu (2004), from this inquiry, “valuable knowledge about the organization of political institutions can be acquired, proposals for their reform recommended and general conclusions offered”.

### **(c) The Behavioural or Scientific Approach**

It is important to note that the behavioural approach, which is also popularly regarded as the scientific approach, developed and was popularized in opposition to the normative and descriptive orientations of the older or traditional approaches to the study of politics. The behaviouralists – i.e. proponents of the behavioural approach emphasize and concentrate on careful observation and examination of individual behaviour in the political process and subsequently use such examinations to form opinions on a whole group or institution. In fact, this can be likened to what the natural scientists do in the laboratories, where and when they observe animals or even human beings, in experiments; for effective diagnosis and treatment, or prevention of ailments

By so doing, the behavioural approach not only emphasizes facts over values, but also argues that it is the behaviour of individuals in political institutions, rather than the institutions themselves, that is the essence of politics. The behaviouralists, therefore, emphasize the use of scientific and empirical methods in political research and, in fact, believe that political science could become as sophisticated and rigorous as the natural and physical sciences. Behaviouralists also called for greater integration of political science with other social sciences such as psychology, sociology and economics, while they also made vigorous attempts to borrow from biology, physics and some other aspects of the physical, mathematical and natural sciences.

Such borrowings, which are often related to certain principles of the behavioural approach, as identified and popularized by David Easton, a prominent American political scientist and behaviouralist, for instance, emphasize regularities, verification, techniques and quantification. We will take more explanatory notes on these four principles that have over the years helped to sustain the focus of behaviouralists on facts rather than values.

But, before then, we may need to briefly trace the beginning of the behavioural approach. According to Suberu (2004), the beginning of the behavioural revolution in political science may be traced to the publication in 1908 of *Human Nature in Politics* by Graham Wallas and *The Process of Government* by Arthur Bentley. Unlike previous works, both books focused on the behavioural and informal processes of political activity, rather than on philosophical postulations or governmental institutions. Wallas used a psychological approach to highlight the complex role of human nature in political conduct, while Bentley used a sociological approach to explain the “new” concept of “groups” in politics.

With the end of the First World War in 1918, the behavioural revolution blossomed in the United States of America, which probably remains the only country where the behavioural approach is most fully developed. Charles Merriam and his student, Harold Lasswell, were the two major intellectual giants of the behavioural approach around this time. They both introduced to the study of politics such new and scientifically systematic concepts as power and political elites.

Between 1925 and the Second World War years (1937-1945), there was a relative decline in the popularity of the behavioural approach. However, the approach witnessed a significant and tremendous revival after the war and dominated the study of politics throughout the 1950s. The major behaviouralists in that era included such notable intellectuals as David Easton, Robert Dahl, Karl Deutsch, Gabriel Almond and David Truman among others.

This trend continued as the behavioural approach dominated the study of politics particularly in the United States, until the late 1960s when some behaviouralists argued that the approach should be revised and refined to accommodate new developments in the world of politics. The revisionist argument was known as the post-behavioural movement and was spearheaded by David Easton.

Now, let us return to our discussion on the aspects of regularities, verification, techniques and quantification, in the behavioural/scientific approach as promised earlier on. These four concepts are the first out of the

eight principles of the behavioural approach to the study of comparative politics as identified by David Easton. Each of these principles will now be discussed.

(a) **Regularities** – Behaviouralists argue that there are certain underlying assumptions and conditions that govern the political behaviour of individuals and which can be discovered through systematic study. In other words, the political behaviour of individuals is not arbitrary but is governed by certain factors that can be examined and over time, established as standards. For example, a group of individuals may continue to vote for the same party over a long period of time. Through behavioural research we should be able to determine whether this voting behaviour is related to the ideological orientation, socio-economic status or ethno-religious affiliation of the individuals. Thus, the behaviouralists argue that there are “discoverable uniformities or regularities in political behaviour”, and that these can be expressed in “systematic generalizations or theories with explanatory and predictive value” (Suberu, 2004).

(b) **Verification** – Just as in the natural, physical, biological or mathematical sciences, the behaviouralist argue that the emphasis in the study of political science or comparative politics should be factual, empirical and scientific. Therefore, they contend that all statements, generalizations or theories about comparative politics must be based on factual observation and must be verifiable. This process of empirical verification or testing is quite important in assessing the validity, acceptability or utility of any generalization or statement in political science.

(c) **Techniques** – Verification of statements and generalizations, as we discussed above, must be based on the use of reliable and sophisticated scientific techniques, including well-structured interviews, sample surveys, statistical measurements and mathematical models.

(d) **Quantification** – The use of statistical and mathematical measurements can help to achieve adequate precision or accuracy in observing, recording and analyzing research studies in political science. Therefore, there must be a shift in method from the qualitative judgment that dominated the Normative-Philosophical Approach to the quantitative measurements associated with the natural and physical sciences. However, this is not to say that the qualitative methods are no longer relevant. It should be noted that they are useful and relevant, particularly in view of specific objectives of research studies.

In order to deepen our understanding of David Easton’s contribution, in form of his eight principles or foundation stones, to the Behavioural Approach, we

need to list the four other principles. These are namely, values; systematization; pure science and integration. While values or ethical evaluations are a feature of the Normative-Philosophical Approach, which must be de-emphasized in any serious scientific research exercise, systematization simply infers that any research study in political science must be pursued not as an end in itself but as a means to prove or disprove some statements or generalizations. Pure science, as it is used by Easton, is just to say that greater importance should be attached to pure research, while integration depicts the efforts of the behaviouralist at promoting the unity of the social sciences—namely, political science, economics, psychology, sociology and, in many places, geography. It expresses the hope that someday the walls which separate political science from the other social sciences will crumble.

### **Summary**

The formal study of politics, i.e. political science, like most other areas of learning, can be easier when based on methods, methodologies and approaches. In this section, we examined three important approaches. These are namely, normative-philosophical approach, which focuses more on the study of political values; the descriptive- institutional approach that is more concerned with the evolution and operations of such institutions as the legislature, executive, judiciary and bureaucracy; and the behavioural or scientific approach, which focuses more on the study of individual political behaviour.

Quite importantly, students are encouraged to identify any of these approaches that catches their fancy as the preferable choice for the study of political events in Nigeria and for the purpose of comparison between the country and other parts of the world.

### **Post-Test**

This is exactly the same as the pre-test. Go back to the objective questions that you answered at the beginning of the lecture and try again to provide answers to those questions using, this time around, the knowledge you have acquired from reading the lecture material.

### **References/Further Readings**

**Suberu, RT. (2004). POS 363 – Political Behaviour, Ibadan: University of Ibadan Distance Learning Programme.**

**Rodee C; Anderson T; Christol C. and Greene T. (1976). *Introduction to Political Science*, Tokyo: McGraw Hill International Publishers.**

## Lecture Three

### Political Culture

#### Introduction

Another methodology, which should interest students of comparative politics and political science, in general, is related to political culture. Thus, in this lecture, we will first explain the concept of culture and, secondly; narrow it down to the political aspects of the concept.

#### Objectives

At the end of the lecture it is expected that you will be able to:

- (a) Proffer at least two definitions each for the concepts of culture and political culture;
- (b) Make distinctive deductions or explanations as to how comparative politics can benefit from the methodology of political culture.

#### Pre-Test (To be taken before you read the lecture material).

1. Which of the following is not a key factor in the classification of good governance?
  - (a) Political culture
  - (b) Democratic ideals
  - (c) Rule of law
  - (d) Accountability
  - (e) Size of a country
2. Which of the following is not an element of political culture?
  - (a) Evaluative orientation
  - (b) Cognitive orientation
  - (c) Affective orientation
  - (d) Selective orientation
  - (e) All of the above
3. The Civic Culture was written by
  - (a) Gabriel Powell and Andrew Verba
  - (b) George Powell and Augustus Verba
  - (c) Karl Deutsch
  - (d) David Easton and Harold Lasswell
  - (e) Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba
4. Higher voters turn-out often tend to be recorded in:
  - (a) an electoral system based on equal right

- (b) an electoral system based on simple majority
  - (c) a political system with mature political culture
  - (d) polities where political organizations are weak
  - (e) none of the above
5. Political parties can encourage the electorate to participate in voting by:
- (a) embarking on massive political education
  - (b) presenting sharply divided options to the public
  - (c) making good manifesto
  - (d) forcing the apathetic electorate
  - (e) none of the above
6. Which of the following is not likely to affect voting behaviour in Nigeria?
- (a) Gender
  - (b) Ethnic affiliation
  - (c) Religious affiliation
  - (d) Nature of the political party
  - (e) Socio-economic status
7. Apathy is a term for:
- (a) Lack of interest in politics and political matters
  - (b) Voting more than once
  - (c) Ballot box stuffing
  - (d) Ballot box snatching
  - (e) Destruction of voting materials.
8. Apathetic behaviour is more likely in:
- (a) Parochial political culture
  - (b) Mature/Participatory culture
  - (c) Subject political culture
  - (d) A situation of political violence
  - (e) None of the above
9. Registration of political parties in Nigeria by INEC is essentially to:
- (a) Regulate and monitor their activities
  - (b) Help in preparing for elections
  - (c) Deny a section of the electorate their voting right
  - (d) Sanction election offenders
  - (e) None of the above
10. United States of America's political culture encourages:

- (a) Apathy
- (b) Extensive political participation
- (c) Money politics
- (d) Parties to have good manifestos
- (e) Mudslinging and exchange of verbal attacks

## **Content**

### **Definition of Political Culture**

For a better understanding, let us begin by defining culture. According to social anthropologists, culture can be defined as consisting of three major elements. These include behaviour patterns (attitudes, values and opinion); artifacts (such as skills, signs, building types, man-made structures in general, objects or styles as in fashion, etc); and belief systems such as religion, and the moral and civic codes of a particular society.

In the case of the behavioural patterns, as part of culture, we can take the example of the Yorubas in South-Western Nigeria. Here young people prostrate or bend to greet elders or superiors who are regarded to be more experienced and probably higher in religious attainment or any other important aspect of life. By so doing, the younger generation not only fulfills an obligation of respect or deference to an elder or a more highly placed individual, but may also receive blessings for a more rewarding or prosperous future. In terms of their artifacts, the Yorubas have peculiar costumes like *agbada*, *buba*, *kembe*, *labankada*, *gbariye*, etc, and also build their houses in clusters, which encourage a communal feeling and a sense of togetherness. On the other hands, many Hausa communities are characterized by scattered houses with thatched roofs, which more or less tell us about their nomadic and highly mobile nature as a people. The Igbos also inhabit scattered settlements and largely exhibit individualistic tendencies.

According to Suberu (2004), political culture includes these attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues. Writers like Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba have attempted to explain participation and apathy in terms of national differences in political culture. Some countries are said to have participatory or participant countries, and others subject or non-participant cultures.

Where cultures are participatory, citizens display great enthusiasm for politics, exhibit a high degree of pride in national political institutions and have a high sense of political efficiency and civic duty. On the other land, non-participatory or subject political cultures foster attitudes of passivity, apathy, isolation, and citizen-withdrawal.

Meanwhile, in view of the fact that the makers of political decisions (politicians and bureaucrats), the institutions (legislature, executive, judiciary, the police, the mass media, the unions, political parties, pressure groups and other interest groups) and the generality of the citizens do not exist in vacuum, political culture is very vital to the survival of any society. In simple terms, what is meant by this is that government officials like politicians, public servants and other public institutions like the legislature, executive, etc, through which vital decisions are made and implemented, must always consider the peculiar nature, needs, desires and aspirations of the generality of the citizens before such decisions and policies are made.

Although political culture varies from one political setting to another, they perform more or less the same set of functions that are peculiar to their environments. For instance, they provide guide for members of the political settings or systems to deal with various political issues. These include choosing among the various forms of political parties or organizations that are available, determining the political ideals that should be pursued, the standards of political conduct and morality against which the performances of political functionaries should be judged. It also includes the basis of measuring the performance of political leaders, institutions and so on. In other words, it means that political culture also entails the values and expectations that are associated with particular political institutions, public offices and the holders of such positions of authority in general.

In short, we may wish to note that political culture provides orientations, by which individual members of a political system can identify, evaluate and judge the organization and the performance of their political functionaries, processes and institutions.

### **Elements of Political Culture**

These are the basic principles of political culture. They are the main components or major parts, which make up the subject matter of political culture. They are essentially classified into three. These are namely, ***cognitive***; ***affective***; and ***evaluative***. By cognitive orientations, we mean the awareness and/or knowledge that individuals have about the structures, personnel and processes of their political system. This, in other words, forms the foundation or the basis of how individuals relate to the political system. For instance, we can only relate to another person, structure or institution based on the level of awareness or understanding that we have about that person, object or institution. Cognitive orientation relates to the perception of individuals about the functions that are supposed to be performed by political or bureaucratic

functionaries and public institutions, the way they are actually performing these functions, the goals, the achievements, heroes or star achievers, traditions and so on, in any particular political system. The way these things are perceived by individuals tends to be affected by their political beliefs. Political belief in this sense refers to what people believe to be real or true and not what is necessarily factual. For example, it is on record that the generality of voters in many parts of South Western Nigeria believed that Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Action Group (AG) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Republics respectively, could ride into the sky unaided. Although, this could not be proven scientifically, it gained currency and was a popular storyline for a longtime because of the people's belief in what Awolowo stood for. Meanwhile, civic education is a prominent mode of boosting the cognitive orientation of the citizens in most political systems.

**Affective Orientation** – This is the feeling citizens have about their political system, country or the different aspects that make up the country. It essentially refers to emotions such as loyalty, distrust, indifference, hostility and hatred towards the structures, goals, history, symbols, myths or ideology of the political community. Generally, affective orientation derives from cognitive orientation. In other words, we can only express positive or negative orientation or feeling towards something that we understand or do not understand. And, this draws from our perception or cognitive disposition to that particular thing.

Similarly, like the cognitive orientation, the fundamental aspects of the affective orientation can be linked with civic education. This is why, for instance, there is often a high level of affective orientation in countries or political communities with high level civic education and vice versa. In other words, it is a mutually reinforcing or symbolic relationship in which a political culture with high degrees of cognitive and affective orientations, e.g. USA, Britain, Germany and many other advanced countries as well as some less developed countries, positively affect the individual interests of the citizens, on one hand, and the national interests, on the other. “God bless America”, a popular expression among the generality of Americans, cannot be said to be accidental but most probably traceable to the affective orientations of the citizens, which arose from their interests that are protected by the American system and for which they also feel that the system should be loved and protected.

**Evaluative Orientation** – This refers to the opinions of the individuals and the judgments they make about the institutions, functionaries, policies and processes in their political system. Although it is most often subjective and

may not be based on any rational thinking, it is not out of place to evaluate the performance of one's country because it is the basis of an individual's future decision; which can be positive, negative, supportive or oppositional. Evaluative orientation is said to be most often subjective (may not be based on rational thinking) because the opinion that people hold is more often than not usually determined by the traditional beliefs, norms and values of their societies. In other words, the criteria that are used to appraise or evaluate legitimacy and effectiveness of governmental policies, performance of decision makers and institutions are not necessarily political or rational in nature. Rather, they often derive from the non-political traditions, values and norms of the wider environment of the political system.

### **Summary**

Participation in the political activities or public affairs of a country or political community by the citizens and other legitimate inhabitants is very essential. This lecture focused on political culture as an aspect of any country, through which the level of participation can be measured. It defined political culture and also explained the basic elements of political culture, which include cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. It also explained the role of civic education in having and getting used to these levels of orientation.

### **Pos-Test**

This is exactly the same as the pre-test. Now, make a second attempt at the ten objective questions at the beginning of this lecture.

### **References/Further Readings**

**Almond, G and Verba, S. (1965):** *The Civic Culture*, Boston: Little Brown

**Almond, G and Powell, B.G. (1984)** *Comparative Politics Today – A World View*, Boston: Little Brown

## **Lecture Four**

### **Types of Political Culture**

#### **Introduction**

This lecture is a follow up to the immediate past. It attempts to deepen the understanding of the concept of political participation by explaining various types of political culture and pointing out the different levels of participation in them. It also attempts to explain the prevalence of different types of political culture by using the different history, geography and socio-economic conditions of some countries and political communities that fall under the different types.

#### **Objectives**

It is expected that this lecture will enable you to have:

- (a) An indepth knowledge of some factors behind differences in political participation;
- (b) An understanding as to why politics and development affect each other.

#### **Pre-Test**

1. In subject political cultures, citizens tend to:
  - (a) Have a high sense of political identification.
  - (b) Exhibit a high degree of pride in national symbols and political institutions
  - (c) Participate actively in politics
  - (d) Withdraw from political participation
  - (e) None of the above
2. Mature political culture, as of 2014, exists in which of the following:
  - (a) Liberia
  - (b) Somalia
  - (c) United States of America
  - (d) Japan
  - (e) Turkey
3. Which of the following is generally regarded as the highest type of political culture?
  - (a) Modern
  - (b) Mature/participatory

- (c) Subject
  - (d) Civil
  - (e) Minimal/Parochial
4. High Socio-economic status tends to encourage:
- (a) Excessive political apathy
  - (b) Political disorientation
  - (c) A low sense of political efficacy
  - (d) Political arrogance
  - (e) Political participation
5. Active political participation is another name for:
- (a) Gladiatorial political participation
  - (b) Affective political participation
  - (c) Apathy
  - (d) Mass political participation
  - (e) Political restlessness
6. Active political participation is more exemplified by a person:
- (a) Contesting an elective position
  - (b) Seeking an appointment
  - (c) Attending political rallies
  - (d) Discussing politics in the social media
  - (e) Publishing political articles
7. Which of the following best defines political culture?
- (a) The attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and political issues
  - (b) The arrangement of politics, political parties and electoral system
  - (c) The totality of party formation, party system and election funding
  - (d) The conduct of election campaigns and voting
  - (e) All of the above
8. A distinctive characteristic of any type of political culture is that it:
- (a) Enables government to form political parties
  - (b) Exposes corrupt political parties
  - (c) Enables easy evaluation of political participation
  - (d) Boosts the economy of the particular political community
  - (e) Makes it compulsory for everybody to join political parties.

## Content

**A.** In general terms, political culture can be classified into three main types. The most prominent writers on the subject matter include Samuel Finer, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. The three most popular types of political culture are namely, mature or participatory; subject; and minimal or parochial.

1. **Mature or Participatory** – This exists in countries like Great Britain (United Kingdom), Norway, United States of America and Sweden among others.

In this type of political culture, the generality of the people especially the ordinary citizens are oriented positively towards most aspects of the political system. In other words, they are generally interested in public affairs. The political culture is classified as participatory because it encourages wide spread consultation and participation. It is also open and it encourages transparency and accountability. Meanwhile, it is described as a mature political culture mainly because it is consistently improving and has endured for a considerable period.

We may need to refer to our past lesson on the elements of political culture because as we noted there, the type of political culture that exists in any political community is traceable to the combination of cognitive orientations (knowledge or awareness of the citizens about the political institutions, structures and personnel), evaluative orientations (opinions that they form from the knowledge or awareness about the political system) and affective orientations that could be negative or positive based on the first two elements.

For better understanding, we may examine the opinion of Finer on the possible levels of political culture. According to him, the level of political culture is high when the political formulae (procedures and methods) by which rulers claim the right to govern are generally well accepted. In simple terms, this is talking about legitimacy, which determines how closely people relate with their political system. For instance, in most mature or participatory political culture, the level of legitimacy is high because majority of the citizens identify with the system. Meanwhile, the criteria for assessing the level of political culture include:

(a) Degree of public approval for the procedures of transferring power from one government to the other (i.e. do people embrace the

procedures by voting conscientiously or reject it by abstaining from voting?)

- (b) Degree of public recognition as to who or what comprises the sovereign authority (i.e. is it the political head, as in dictatorships that often do not attract significant support or the representatives of the people who hold sovereignty in trust for the electorate in form of the mandate, which the latter give to them and, therefore, endear the leaders to the led, as in most democracies?)
- (c) Degree of public involvement in politics and in organizations like the religious centres, trade unions and community development association, among several others that are generally classified as non-governmental organizations or civil society organizations or even political parties. In other words, the more a political system allows the citizen and the generality of the people to engage in public affairs (e.g. discussing and contributing to socio-economic and political issues, etc – also known as freedom of association and freedom of expression), the higher the probability that the political system will have a mature or participatory political culture.

**2. Subject** – As the name suggests, this type of political culture is passive and less participatory. It exists in countries where the citizen is expected to have a passive or docile relationship with the political system, as in most theocracies (government based on religious dictates e.g. Saudi Arabia, Iran, the Vatican, etc; where in the religious head also doubles as the political head in most cases). Some dictatorial or authoritarian systems also fall under this classification e.g. Spain under General Franco.

In summary, unlike under the participatory political culture, where there is wide consultation and people are generally encouraged to participate in public affairs, there is insignificant or negligible participation by the ordinary citizens under a subject political culture.

**3. Minimal or Parochial** – This is the lowest among the popular levels of political culture. Here, the average individual hardly relates himself to politics and is generally unaware of its existence. This type of political culture is commonly found in parts of Latin America, Africa and Asia possibly till contemporary times.

In simple terms, rather than being encouraged, the individual is actually discouraged from engaging in public affairs in a minimal or parochial political culture. Meanwhile, in some countries or political systems, a combination of

two or all of the above types of political culture may be in existence. For example, the former Soviet Union (now Russia) is often described as a participatory/subject political culture. This was particularly so under the old communist system.

For further clarifications, I will like us to examine some key factors, which determine political culture. These include history, geography, socio-economic structure, political traditions and customs.

**(i) History** – To start with, we must note that history as a determinant factor of political culture may be examined from the point of view of the length of time, e.g. during which a particular practice will be sustained because it has endured for a long time or may derail because it is still young and probably immature. This is largely because experiences and events in the past have ways of affecting the present. For example, in Britain (United Kingdom), the comparatively peaceful transition from feudalism, through an autocratic monarchy; to democracy, was never marked by a violent revolution apart from the civil war of 1642-1645. This most probably accounts for the peaceful and generally conservative nature of politics and the activities of most political parties in the country. Essentially, this type of sustained peace, which has endured for more than three hundred years, can be useful in forecasting that a violent political change is most unlikely in Britain. In contrast, the successive French revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1849 resulted in political divisions, which have continued to be an unsettling influence in French politics till the present day. It accounts for the generally volatile nature of politics in France. Similarly, regional loyalties are still strong in Germany and Italy, where national unity came at a comparatively late stage (by the standards of many parts of Europe), in 1871 and 1870 respectively.

Finally, the history of political instability, uncertainties and unpredictability, especially during Nigeria's long period of interchanges between civil and military rule, may serve as a yardstick to doubt or accept whether democracy has finally come to stay, in the country. This is in spite of Nigeria's unprecedented achievement of a fourteen-year period (1999-2013) of democratization in its Fourth Republic which, incidentally, is still on-going. Instances of such feelings of apprehension about the probability of democratic consolidation and enduring democracy or degeneration and relapse abound in several other parts Africa and the less developed world in general.

**(ii) Geography** – In another dimension, climatic conditions, terrains, topography, availability of resources for industry or agriculture, land mass or size and access to the sea, among other factors, can also influence a country's

culture. For example, Britain is a small (compact) island, and the sea provides clear boundaries. In a way, this may mean that there is a limited probability of aggression or invasion from its immediate neighbours. Thus, Britain as a country or political system may not have a combatant or combative culture. On another note, effective governance is assisted by the nature of its terrain, which has also helped in the development of speedy communications, in contrast to most Scandinavian countries. Also, its compact nature has also helped in the development of national rather than local interests, in contrast to the United States of America, for instance. While its size and homogeneous nature, for instance, also make Britain adaptable to the unitary system of government, the diverse nature of the United States, which sometimes can even be seen in the peculiarities of the constituent states, makes federalism the best option for USA.

**(iii) Socio-Economic Structure:** The culture of any society, country or political system is also partly a function of the economy. Take, for example, a mainly urban and industrialized society tends to have higher educational standards than a rural one and there tends to be wider participation in the political process. Essentially, this is because awareness and consciousness are often higher in such places. It should, for instance, be noted that with access to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and such other multi-media equipment, the average resident of Tokyo, Japan, is likely to be more involved in public affairs than a resident of Moniya (Oyo State), Nigeria. While in the former higher socio-economic status (SES) boosts awareness and ultimately participation, it is the other way round in the latter.

**(iv) Political Traditions and Customs** – Traditions and customs are partly historical. Thus, they can play a key role as determinants of the type of culture in a country or political system. Such important traditions include symbols, music, national holidays, festivals and ceremonies.

**B. Political Change** – Political change is another important concept that can be better understood if and when discussed along with political culture. In general terms, change is a unique phenomenon because human existence is all about change and, in essence, the life of human beings is quite dynamic. Even in remote, rural and underdeveloped communities, change is inevitable. Indeed, no society is permanently static. This is in view of the fact that laws change as a result of new ideas, new challenges, the influence of public opinion, the actions of law makers, executors and interpreters in moulding and developing the body of laws and, even, as a result of the effects of globalization.

Quite importantly, the symbiotic or mutually- reinforcing relationship between the citizens of a particular country and their government can be described as a two way process of communication of ideas, in which one either influences the other or it is influenced. Whichever way it is, the ultimate result is often change. Also, the “feedback” mechanism, through which the effects of a particular policy or decision of government can be gauged or measured, most often introduce new ideas and, at other times, alter accepted ways of doing things.

Some of the key factors, which influence political or social change, include the effects of population growth (its size and composition), and consequences of an expanding economy (technological, scientific and industrial development). In more concrete terms, the increasing application of the information and communication technology (ICT) devices like the internet facilities, social media (facebook), e-mail, youtube, twitter, etc) enhanced the revolution across the Arab world (Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, etc) in the early part of the twenty-first century (starting from 2010 and still on-going as at 2014). From the experience in several parts of the Arab world, popularly called the Arab Spring, up to other similar socio-political events, which were all about change, the evidences of the effects of science and technology on social or political change manifested so clearly.

For a better understanding, particularly in respect of the explanations above and the relationship with comparative politics, it is important to note that the increasing complexity, which comes with an expanding population (e.g. need for more infrastructure like roads, hospitals, educational facilities, potable water and other essential demands by the citizens), will automatically lead to change in their views and perceptions about their country. Thus, it should not be surprising that such a social change will also fuel the desire for a political change. In addition, the higher the number of citizens with access to modern scientific equipment and facilities, the higher the probability of calls for change in a particular system.

Sometimes, individuals with considerable powers of leadership ability and dedication to an ideal can effect considerable changes in a particular political system. Examples include Napoleon Bonaparte, Julius Nyerere (Tanzania) and Mao Tse-Tung. Many ancient prophets, for instance, in the Torah, Bible and Quran with the messages of Judaism, Christianity and Islam also played similar roles.

In short, the degree to which change takes place depends on:

(a) The extent to which people are contented with the existing position or how they are prepared to go via peaceful methods or, if need be, violent means to effect change;

(b) The extent to which the government will permit peaceful change or the degree to which it is able to resist or quash violent change by reliance on the support of its armed forces or police.

For recent practical examples, I will like to remind students that in Egypt under President Hosni Mubarak or Libya under Mohammed Ghaddafi, the governments of the two countries initially used the armed forces in attempting to crush the rebellious activities of the populace, but they were overwhelmed and the two regimes collapsed. Similarly, in Syria under President Al-Assad, the government has so far been able to resist change with the use of force.

### **Summary**

As a follow up to the immediate past lecture, which focused on the elements of political culture, as an integral part of the whole process of political participation, this lecture centred on some other aspects of participation with emphasis on types of political culture and how they affect the level of participation by the people. Quite importantly, participation will be higher in political systems where a participant political culture rather than a subject or parochial culture prevails.

For further clarification, the lecture also listed history, geography, socio-economic structure/status and political traditions and customs as some key factors that contribute to the type of political culture in any particular political system. Finally, it discussed the concept of political change and linked the probability of peaceful or violent change to the type of political culture.

### **References/Further Readings.**

**Finer, S. (1962).** *The Man on the Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, New York: Krager.

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**Nie, NH. and Verba, S. (1975).** "Political Participation", in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds.) *Handbook of Political Science*, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley.

**Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1965).** *The Civic Culture*, Boston: Little Brown.

## **Lecture Five**

### **The Nature of Political Socialization**

#### **Introduction**

The focus in this lecture is to attempt to take our attention on the theoretical aspects of comparative politics a bit further into some of its practical aspects. Essentially, we will look at the concept of political socialization, which will be broken into two main sections. In the first one, we will examine some prominent definitions of political socialization, while the second section will briefly examine the functions of political socialization.

#### **Objectives**

This lecture should enable you to:

- (a) Describe what political socialization means, and
- (b) Analyze and discuss the functions of political socialization in a political system.

#### **Pre-Test (To be taken before you read the lecture)**

1. Political socialization is all of the following except:
  - (a) The process through which an individual internalizes politically relevant values.
  - (b) The process through which members of the society learn and inculcate the political norms of that society.
  - (c) A learning process
  - (d) The intergenerational transmission and inculcation of a society's political culture.
  - (e) None of the above
2. When a state is subject to no other authority, it is said to be:
  - (a) All inclusive
  - (b) Dictatorial
  - (c) Powerful
  - (d) Sovereign
  - (e) Authoritarian.
3. Which of the following is not a component of political culture?
  - (a) Social value
  - (b) Age

- (c) Emotions
  - (d) Attitude
  - (e) Mores
4. One of the prominent causes of political apathy is:
- (a) Political equality
  - (b) Illiteracy
  - (c) Political culture
  - (d) High socio-economic status
  - (e) High self-esteem.
5. Which of the following statements is not true?
- (a) Political socialization is the inculcation of a society's political culture
  - (b) Political socialization is dynamic
  - (c) Political socialization is a continuous process
  - (d) Political socialization is static
  - (e) Political socialization covers both childhood and adulthood
6. Which of the following is not a prominent function of socialization?
- (a) The preservation of distinctive cultural patterns
  - (b) Role training
  - (c) The identification of socially unacceptable patterns of behaviour
  - (d) The maintenance of societal stability and continuity
  - (e) None of the above
7. The knowledge and belief which individuals possess about the political system is known as:
- (a) Cognitive orientation
  - (b) Affective orientation
  - (c) Mature/participatory
  - (d) Parochial
  - (e) Subject
8. Which of the following is not likely to be encouraged as part of the socialization process?
- (a) Voting conscientiously during election
  - (b) Participating in public affairs
  - (c) Respect for national symbols
  - (d) Loyalty even when a regime is corrupt
  - (e) Mass protest against a repressive regime
9. The voluntary activities of members of a society in the selection of rulers is known as:
- (a) Political socialization

- (b) Political decision making
  - (c) Political participation
  - (d) Political identification
  - (e) Political rejuvenation
10. As the socialization process will show, the exercise of political power involves:
- (a) Winning election
  - (b) Deciding cases
  - (c) Imprisonment of offenders
  - (d) Drafting the police to trouble spots
  - (e) Allocating values

## **Content**

### **Definitions of Political Socialization**

In comparative politics and political science, as a whole, there are several definitions that are applicable to the concept of political socialization. Some of these are presented below. According to Sidney Verba in his work "The Comparative Study of Political Socialization", the concept can be defined as a learning process by which the norms associated with the performance of political roles as well as fundamental political values and guiding standards of political behaviour are learned.

For Robert Le Vine, in his work "Political Socialization and Cultural Change", he explains the process of political socialization as involving the "acquisition by an individual of behavioural dispositions relevant to political groups, political systems and political processes".

Harry Eckstein, in an essay on comparative politics, sees political socialization as the "process through which operative social norms regarding politics are implanted, political roles are institutionalized, and political consensus created either effectively or ineffectively". According to Roberta Sigel, political socialization can be defined as the "learning process by which the political norms and behaviours acceptable to an ongoing political system are transmitted from generation to generation".

In this collection of definitions by Suberu (2004), Gerald Bender is also quoted to have defined political socialization as the process "through which the individual internalizes politically relevant attitudes, benefits, mores, cognitions and values", in his article on "political change".

Finally, Eric Rowe, in his book, *Modern Politics – An Introduction to Behaviour and Institutions*, observes that political socialization is the process by which “the values, beliefs and emotions of a political culture are passed on to succeeding generations”.

It is important to note that continuity and stability are emphasized in many of these definitions. In other words, political socialization can be said to be dynamic and a continuous process. It is also appropriate to point out that the concept of political culture is particularly crucial in any definition of political socialization. This is because, as students are likely to see in the different definitions presented above, the transmission of political culture from one generation to another, in a society, is basically what political socialization is about.

We may then ask again, what is political culture? According to Suberu (2004), political culture can be defined as a shared understanding of political values, norms, symbols, emotions and other politically relevant knowledge in a society. Similarly, to Alan Ball, a political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues. Eric Rowe also defines political culture as “a unique pattern of values, beliefs and emotional attitudes of a collection of individuals”.

It may be appropriate to round off this section by asking each student to carefully examine all the definitions presented here and consider, with sound academic reasons, which one he feels more appropriate. He may also wish to consult specialized dictionaries for political science or the social sciences in general and try to come up with his/her own definitions of political socialization.

### **Functions of Political Socialization**

From the definitions of political socialization in the preceding section, we can conclude that political socialization performs four key functions in the society. These are as stated below:

One, political socialization ensures the intergenerational transmission of political norms, values, symbols and ideas. In other words, political socialization helps to preserve, transmit and inculcate distinctive patterns of political culture across time.

Secondly, by facilitating the intergenerational transmission and inculcation of political culture, political socialization helps to maintain continuity and stability in the society.

Thirdly, political socialization helps to ensure some degree of discipline among members of a political community. In other words, political socialization curbs or controls disruptive behaviour by ensuring that members of a society behave in a manner that is socially acceptable.

Finally, political socialization is a means for role training. This is to say that political socialization equips the members of a society with the basic skills necessary for political participation or the performance of important political roles.

It is equally important to remind students before this section is summed up that political socialization is a continuous, rather than static process. In other words, it is not a process that is limited to the years of childhood but one that continues into adulthood.

### **Summary**

Political socialization is essentially concerned with the transmission of a society's political culture to successive members of that society. It is a continuous process of learning, which covers both the years of childhood and those of adulthood. The functions of political socialization include the intergenerational transmission of a society's political culture, the maintenance of stability, the regulation of the behaviour of members of a community in socially acceptable ways. It also includes the function of role-training.

Meanwhile, for the purpose of comparison, students are expected to identify key aspects of our discussions on different political cultures and use them to isolate similarities and differences that are peculiar to some countries or political systems.

### **Post-Test**

Make a second attempt at the multiple-choice questions at the beginning of this lecture and see if you are now better off answering them.

### **References/Further Reading**

**Ball, A. (1977).** *Modern Politics and Government*, London: Macmillan Press

**Rowe, E. (1969).** *Modern Politics – An Introduction to Behaviour and Institutions*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

**Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1965).** *The Civic Culture*, Boston: Little Brown.

## Lecture Six

### Patterns of Political Socialization

#### Introduction:

The main focus of this lecture is to examine some key categories that could be used to distinguish, in terms of comparison, between the different patterns of the socialization process. The first section of the lecture focuses on two of these categories, while the second also discusses two other categories.

#### Objectives;

At the end of the lecture, you should:

- (a) Be able to identify and distinguish between the agencies of political socialization for the purpose of comparison.
- (b) Be able to describe the scope or time-span of political socialization.

#### Pre-Test *(To be attempted before you read the lecture)*

1. The process of political socialization in the family is:
  - (a) Associated with an individual in old age
  - (b) Latent
  - (c) Largely irrelevant to the individual's socio-political development
  - (d) Secondary
  - (e) Manifest
2. The concept of change is used to:
  - (a) Distinguish between an individual's youthful and mature years.
  - (b) Monitor the transformation from childhood to adulthood.
  - (c) Illustrate the structural consequences of political socialization on the polity
  - (d) Distinguish between the agencies, processes and time-span of socialization.
  - (e) Describe the nature and quantum of the secondary agencies of socialization
3. The voluntary activities of members of a society in the selection of rulers is known as:
  - (a) Political socialization
  - (b) Political participation
  - (c) Political culture
  - (d) Political representation
  - (e) Political competition
4. The Political culture of a country is said to be participatory if citizens are:

- (a) Not allowed to join political parties of their choice
  - (b) Not allowed to criticize the government
  - (c) Allowed to say what they like
  - (d) Not allowed to own private properties
  - (e) Interested in voting and contesting elections
5. The knowledge and belief which individuals possess about their political system is:
- (a) Cognitive orientation.
  - (b) Parochial orientation.
  - (c) Mature orientation.
  - (d) Affective orientation
  - (e) Evaluative orientation.
6. The most prominent agent through which the State undertakes political socialization is the:
- (a) School.
  - (b) Family
  - (c) Peer group
  - (d) Pressure group
  - (e) None of the above
7. Manifest socialization is often associated with:
- (a) The secondary agencies of socialization
  - (b) The pressure group
  - (c) The interest group
  - (d) An individual's formative years
  - (e) None of the above
8. The varied attitude to norms and institutions in a political community is referred to as:
- (a) Political culture
  - (b) Political socialization
  - (c) Political participation
  - (d) All of the above
  - (e) None of the above.
9. A political concept that consist of attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of a society is called:
- (a) Culture
  - (b) Socialization
  - (c) Orientation
  - (d) System
  - (e) None of the above

10. The extent to which citizens regard the institutions, officials and activities of government as right and acceptable is known as:
- (a) Legitimacy
  - (b) Power
  - (c) Authority
  - (d) Influence
  - (e) Political hegemony.

**Content:**

**The Socialization Agencies and Process**

The agencies of political socialization are the institutions through which the political culture of a society or political community is transmitted. The most prominent of these include the family, schools and other educational institutions or learning centres, voluntary and peer groups, mass media (Press) and governmental agencies. For ease of reference, all these agencies can broadly be classified as primary and secondary agencies.

The primary agency refers mainly to the family, which can also be subdivided into nuclear and extended. On the other hand, the secondary agencies refer to those relatively formal and extra-familiar institutions in which a child moves from childhood to adulthood. The most prominent secondary agency is probably the school. Other secondary agencies include associational (peer group), occupational and professional groups, the press (mass media), political parties and some categories of government institutions.

The primary and secondary institutions are regarded as agencies of political socialization because, in both types of institutions, the individual comes across “authority patterns, social relationships, symbols and ideas, which invariably influence his attitudes toward political objects, values and institutions” (Suberu, 2004:27). For example, we can argue that an individual’s attitude towards public figures, institutions and authority, in general, is most probably a function of the type of relationship he had with his parents or guardians when he was growing up.

Another conceptual category that has been used to distinguish between different patterns of political socialization is process. Political sociologists and behaviouralists, particularly in the field of comparative studies, have argued that political socialization process may be latent or manifest. While latent socialization is more often associated with the primary agency of socialization (the family), manifest socialization is more often associated with secondary agencies. Thus, it can be said that latent political socialization entails the implicit and informal transmission of political symbols, values, norms and

ideas through the family. Manifest political socialization, on the other hand, involves the purposive, intentional, explicit, overt or conscious teaching and learning of political symbols and ideas through the school, mass media, voluntary and occupational and professional associations, agencies of government and political parties.

In brief, we have in this section attempted to distinguish between the patterns of political socialization by using two categories-agencies and process. These, in themselves, could be useful for the purpose of comparison. Take, for example, as an analytical or conceptual category, agencies enable us to distinguish between primary and secondary institutions of political socialization.

The primary agency is the family, in which a child is formally introduced to ideas, values and symbols within his or her environment, while secondary agencies refer to such extra-familial institutions of socialization as the school, mass media and political parties. On the other hand, the process of socialization can be either latent or manifest. Political socialization is latent when it is largely informal and takes place through the family (the primary agency), while it is manifest when it is consciously and explicitly undertaken by such secondary agencies as the schools, mass media or political parties.

### **Time-span and Change.**

Now, we will briefly examine and explain two final analytical categories to differentiate between patterns of political socialization, time-span and change. Ultimately, they are also adaptable for the purpose of comparison.

Time-span simply refers to the specific period or phase at which socialization takes place in an individual's life. Therefore, the time-span of socialization may involve an individual's childhood or formative years, or on the other hand, his adulthood or years of maturity, or both. Political socialization or the entire socialization process through the primary agency (family) is not only latent but also most often occur in the formative years of an individual. On the other hand, socialization through secondary agencies tends to be manifest and most often occurs during an individual's relatively mature years.

The final analytic category, change seeks to illustrate the structural consequences of political socialization on the polity or political system. Political change refers to a fundamental or far-reaching transformation in the distribution or exercise of authority in the political system. On the other hand, relatively insignificant or incremental changes in the patterns of political

participation and association, which do not alter or upset the existing distribution or exercise of power or authority in the polity can be described as a non-systemic change. Generally speaking, political socialization is a stabilizing process and hardly produces sudden or systemic change. The process of socialization becomes destabilizing or produces systemic change only under conditions of rapid modernization, transformation or general societal crisis.

Briefly, our discussion in this section of the lecture centred on the concepts of time-span and change as analytical platforms for understanding the various patterns of political socialization, and this may be in the formative (childhood) or mature (adulthood) stages of an individual's development or life. Change refers to the consequences of political socialization on the patterns of authority within the polity. Political socialization can produce systemic or non-systemic change. While the former refers to a sudden, fundamental or far-reaching change in the polity, the latter refers to a minor or incremental political change

### **Summary**

In this lecture we attempted to differentiate between the various forms or patterns of political socialization, through the use of some conceptual or analytic categories and platforms. These are namely agencies, process, time-span and change. The ultimate aim is to make these conceptual categories adaptable to comparative analysis.

### **Post-Test**

This is exactly the same as the pre-test for this lecture.

### **Reference/Further Reading**

**Bender, C.J. (1967).** Political Socialization and Political Change, *Western Political Quarterly*.

## **Lecture Seven**

### **Methods of Political Socialization.**

#### **Introduction**

In this lecture we shall attempt to discuss and analyze some important methods of socialization and the impact of political socialization on participation in politics or public affairs in general. It should be noted that the different levels of political participation in different polities or political systems are functions of the effectiveness of their processes of political socialization, and this may be adopted for the purpose of comparison. The family and the school are specifically selected for the explanation of the methods and these two agencies are separately analyzed in two different sections.

#### **Objectives**

At the end of this lecture, students are expected to:

- (a) Be able to describe the effect of socialization in the family on members' subsequent political participation
- (b) Have a relatively deep knowledge of the impact of socialization in the school on subsequent political participation by the student.

Pre-Test (To be taken before you read the material)

1. A group of people with a common history, ancestry, culture, language and territory constitute:
  - (a) Family
  - (b) Society
  - (c) Nation
  - (d) Country
  - (e) State.
2. The voluntary exercise by members of a family in the selection of representatives or rulers in a particular society is called:
  - (a) Socialization process
  - (b) Family affairs.
  - (c) Primary source of authority
  - (d) Political participation
  - (e) Political culture
3. Political socialization means all the following except the process by which:
  - (a) Individuals learn how to participate in politics

- (b) Young men are introduced to politics
  - (c) Individuals learn about various forms of government
  - (d) Artisans learn their trade.
  - (e) People through learning; come to understand their duties in society.
4. The acronym SES means:
- (a) Socio-economic status
  - (b) Social economic society
  - (c) Status environment symbol
  - (d) Simple economic sign
  - (e) None of the above
5. If a child is raised in an authoritarian environment, he or she will tend to:
- (a) Be too passive and insecure to participate in politics.
  - (b) Be aggressive in political participation
  - (c) Encourage thuggery in politics
  - (d) Be an activist in school political activities
  - (e) None of the above.
6. Children of politically active parents will tend to:
- (a) Be also politically active
  - (b) Avoid the mistakes of their parents
  - (c) Shun politics and political matters
  - (d) Be skeptical about politics
  - (e) None of the above.
7. A citizen can participate in the politics of the country by:
- (a) Acquiring high school qualification
  - (b) Attending international political meetings
  - (c) Contesting for an elective post
  - (d) Being a good sportsman
  - (e) Engaging in debates
8. Liberal child-rearing practices are more common in:
- (a) Countries practising liberal democracy.
  - (b) All families irrespective of status
  - (c) Highly religious families
  - (d) Higher status families
  - (e) Rural based families

## **Content**

Family socialization

There are several ways in which patterns of socialization in the family can influence the political behaviour of their offsprings, especially the participation of these offsprings in politics and participation of these offsprings in politics and public affairs later in their lives. Four of these methods related to authority patterns in the families, socio-economic status (SES) of the parents, civic orientations or knowledge of the parents and the parents' level of political participation. Let us now discuss each of these processes.

**(a) Authority Patterns in the Family:** An individual's predisposition to politics i.e. whether to be actively or totally withdrawn from participation may be influenced by his early relationship with his parents. For instance, in a family setting where authority is concentrated in one person (usually the father), where there is no closeness between the child and his parents, and where disciplinary patterns are extremely severe, like in most traditional and rural societies as well as the urban slums of many less developed countries, the child may grow up to become passive and too psychologically insecure to develop any interest in political participation or any sense of political efficacy. The case may be the reverse in a situation where authority in the family is dispersed, where there is warmth between the child and his parents, and where disciplinary control is more liberal as could be found in most advanced societies of the world. Thus, children raised in a liberal family environment are more likely to develop participant attitudes and also likely to have a higher sense of political efficacy i.e. the degree to which an individual feels he can act to influence or determine political decisions, than his counter parts brought up under stricter family conditions or control.

**(b) Socio-economic Status (SES) of Parents:** The socio-economic status of the parents can contribute to the child's political participation or activism in public affairs in many ways. In the first place, parents' SES is an important determinant of the offspring's own SES. In other words, there is a higher probability for a child from a background of high SES to also have a similar status later in life while one from a low SES background may find it more difficult to attain a high SES. Incidentally, children of high SES families also seem to be more confident to participate in politics and public affairs in general. Secondly, parents' SES is an important determinant of authority patterns in the family. For instance, high status families tend to adopt liberal child-rearing practices, while authoritarian practices tend to typify lower-status families. Consequently, offsprings of higher status families may be better disposed to participate in politics than children from poorer families. However, there are always exceptions.

In another dimension, it should be noted that children from higher status families are in a better position than children of poorer parents to benefit from institutions such as the mass media and elite schools, which encourage civic or participant attitudes.

**(c) Parents' Civic Orientation or Knowledge:** The orientation of parents towards civic matters or, in actual fact, their knowledge about civic and current political issues can influence their offsprings. Politically conscious or knowledgeable parents may encourage the discussion of politics in the home, thereby increasing the child's awareness and understanding of politics and implanting in him an activist orientation towards political issues. Meanwhile, the SES may also be a determinant factor in the level of the parents' orientation or knowledge.

**(d) Parents Political Involvement or Participation:** This factor draws directly or indirectly from the last one because the involvement of parents in political participation, which is a function of the level of their civic orientations or knowledge, also influences the children. In other words, the politicized atmosphere in a family, with politically active parents, stimulates activist tendencies or attitudes in their offsprings.

To sum up, in this section of the lecture, we discussed how children can be influenced to participate in politics or withdraw from it through such factors as authority patterns in the family, parental socio-economic status, civic knowledge and parental political involvement. It is important for students to note that the different factors, in respect of political participation, are quite useful for the purpose of comparison. Meanwhile, students can also get more useful information on this topic from Allan *Ball's Modern Politics and Government*

### **Socialization in the School and Participation in Politics.**

The educational system plays an important role in the inculcation of attitudes and values in the individuals as citizens of a particular political system or community. The whole gamut of the relationships between the school authorities and students, the pattern of relations among the students themselves, the content of civic courses and the general administration of the school system, all play a significant role in inculcating or discouraging participant attitudes in students.

In most places, it is at the secondary school level that most of these involvements e.g. exposing students to political ideas, information and orientations often begin. These include involvement in the activities of Literary and Debating societies, press clubs, quiz competitions and even

sports. In fact, such is the weight of the educational system as a factor in political participation that a school of thought argued that the impact of involvement in school activities exceeds the combined impact of authority patterns, parental SES, civic knowledge and parental political participation.

This is quite debatable and should generate serious thinking from the students.

Finally, we should not forget to point out the influence of other agencies such as peer and professional groups on political participation of the individuals. In other words, the peer groups (or age groups), voluntary organizations, professional associations and even religious bodies to which individuals belong, also often influence their levels of political participation.

### **Summary**

Authority patterns in the family, parental SES, civic knowledge and parental political participation as well as the individual's involvement in high school activities, all combine to affect the level of his participation as an adult. However, for the purpose of comparison, we must note that there are environmental or ecological peculiarities which, for instance, distinguish levels of participation in different societies. Students can draw examples from our past discussion on various types of political culture and their diverse environments for the point being raised here on environmental or ecological peculiarities and political participation.

### **Post Test**

Make a second attempt at the objective questions at the beginning of this lecture

### **References/Further Reading.**

**Suberu, RT. (2004).** "Lecture Seven" in POS, *303-Political Behaviour*, University of Ibadan Distance Learning Material

**Ball, A. (1977).** *Modern Politics and Government*, London: Macmillan.

## **Lecture Eight**

### **Selected Modes of Classification (Regime Types)**

#### **Introduction.**

This lecture essentially attempts to examine and discuss another method of comparison by looking at some prominent classifications of government types and types of institutions, which operate within governments. For the classification of government types, it will consider such systems of government as aristocracy, monarchy, oligarchy, democracy and similar others.

#### **Objectives**

At the end of this lecture it is expected that you will be able to:

- (a) Understand certain basic elements of some prominent systems of government.
- (b) Analyze differences between these systems and adopt them for comparison.
- (c) Suggest a most appropriate system for Nigeria.

#### **Pre-Test (To be taken before you read the course material).**

1. The principle of separation of powers implies that the three main organs of government work:
  - (a) independently but co-operatively
  - (b) disharmoniously
  - (c) against each other
  - (d) together so as not to impeach the President
  - (e) none of the above
2. Bicameralism has all the following merits except:
  - (a) ensuring the stability of government
  - (b) enabling people of mature political and administrative experience to participate in public life
  - (c) affording equal representation in a federation
  - (d) safeguarding against the despotism of a single member
  - (e) checking up on hasty and ill-considered legislation.
3. The notion of “checks and balances” guarantee that:
  - (a) the executive can stop all judicial actions

- (b) the legislature can control the executive
  - (c) each branch of government acts as a watchdog over other branches
  - (d) all accounts of government are balanced
  - (e) dud cheques are not issued by government
4. Which of the following is a basic feature of the rule of law?
- (a) Application of ouster clauses
  - (b) Establishment of special tribunals
  - (c) Equality before the law
  - (d) Secret trial of offenders
  - (e) Absence of immunity clause
5. Which of the following is not a form of government?
- (a) Anarchy
  - (b) Aristocracy
  - (c) Oligarchy
  - (d) Theocracy
  - (e) Monarchy
6. The terms, oligarchy and democracy, identify governments according to:
- (a) The number of people participating
  - (b) The philosophy of the state
  - (c) The distribution of powers between different organs of government
  - (d) Size of the executive
  - (e) Efficiency of the budget
7. Which of the following is not a popular characteristic of democracy?
- (a) Limited Franchise
  - (b) Regular Election
  - (c) Existence of political parties
  - (d) Popular Sovereignty
  - (e) Majority Rule
8. Aristocracy is the system of government in which the few rule for:
- (a) the benefit of all
  - (b) the benefit of their friends
  - (c) the benefit of their relations
  - (d) their own benefit

- (e) the benefit of their families alone
9. A social system in which power derives mainly from the control over land is called:
- (a) feudalism
  - (b) presidentialism
  - (c) oligarchy
  - (d) landocracy
  - (e) fascism
10. In democracy, the ultimate power to formulate law lies with the:
- (a) political party
  - (b) parliament
  - (c) presidency
  - (d) the people
  - (e) the cabinet

## **Content**

### **A. Classification by Government Types**

Government or regime types classification is quite useful and relevant in comparative politics because similarities and differences in such types of government or regime types can be adopted for certain explanations and analysis. These include explanations on why actors or players in these different types of government behave in certain ways and not otherwise. Explanations can also be advanced on why certain regime types are likely to attain higher levels of development than some others.

In fact, students may remember that one of the measures of the relatively low standing of political science as “science” is the unending dispute over the appropriate categories for clarifying political phenomena. In view of the fact that it is not possible to evaluate a political system without comparing it with others, and one cannot compare two or more political systems without inventing some meaningful scheme for classifying their various characteristics; it may be necessary to begin with at least some rudimentary typology or classification of governments.

The main focus here include government by one individual (e.g. monarchy); by few individuals (e.g. aristocracy or oligarchy); and by many people (e.g. democracy or mobocracy).

Following the suggestions and analysis by Plato, governments by one, the few, or the many may be distinguished as “good” or “bad” forms of government; each good form has its bad counterpart. For instance, it is not a foregone conclusion that if one man rules the state, his rule will automatically be good or bad. The question is answered in terms of whether he rules in his own self-interest or “benevolent monarchy”, while on the other hand, its bad counterpart is tyranny (i.e. derived from the activities of a tyrant). Rulership by the few who are good, humane or not particularly bad can be described as aristocracy (i.e. rulership by a few property – owning individuals), while its negative or bad counterpart can be described as oligarchy. Finally, rulership by the many is popularly described as democracy, while its bad counterpart can be described as “mobocracy” (i.e. the unruly activities of multitude of people or a mob).

We must note that although democracy is often regarded as the best form of government, especially because of its consideration for wide consultation, participation, transparency and accountability (e.g. indirectly suggestion that two good heads are better than one), the system can also, sometimes, be counterproductive. Take, for example, in view of the fact that number counts and majority carries the day in democracy, faulty decisions can be made (in terms of selection of candidate or even policy making) by an ignorant majority.

Similarly, supporters of monarchical government, even in contemporary times (e.g. in Ibadan, Oyo State of Nigeria), often argue that this type of government maximizes the chances of political stability. Students of comparative politics may also be impressed about the relatively high stability of contemporary states that have retained their monarchical institutions, e.g. in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Spain among others where the democratic system also accommodates the influence of the monarchy.

However, it should be noted that monarchies, aristocratic rulership and other administrative systems by the few have higher tendencies for becoming authoritarian, autocratic and dictatorial because divergent opinions are often not accommodated and tenure of office is limitless.

A very good example that should interest us as students of comparative methodologies is military rule.

### **Summary**

In this lecture, we carefully selected different types of government as well as institutions of government for the purpose of comparison.

These included governments by one individual (e.g. monarchy), by few individuals (e.g. aristocracy or oligarchy), and by many people (e.g. democracy).

### **Post-Test**

Same as in the Pre-test

### **References / Further Reading**

**Leeds, CA (1981).** *Political Studies*, Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans

**Anderson, C et al (1983).** *Introduction to Political Science*, Japan: McGraw Hill International Publishers.

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## Lecture Nine

### Classification by Institutional Forms of the State

#### Introduction.

Objectives, Pre-Test, Post-Test and References – students can find all of these in lecture eight, which is the main lecture fore this section.

#### Content

##### Government Institutions

The key types of institutional classification include parliamentary, presidential, unitary and federal institutional systems. Meanwhile, whichever institutional form is adopted by any modern society, it is important to note that there are three prime institutions or branches of government – namely legislature, executive and judiciary, which are concerned with different specific functions.

**1(a) Legislature** – this branch is responsible for making and changing laws, legislations or regulations. In Britain, for example, the legislature consists of the three sections of Parliament – the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the Crown. While in Nigeria, the National Assembly is made up of the Senate and House of Representatives at the Federal level, and at the State level, the State House of Assembly.

**(b) Executive** – This branch is responsible for the general direction of government and for administering the laws prepared by the legislature. This branch is widely considered as the government, since it consists of the leaders of the state and those responsible for the day-to-day or “everyday” running of the State. In Nigeria, the President is the head of this arm at the federal level, while the Governor is the head at the State level.

**(c) Judiciary** – This is the branch that is responsible for interpreting the laws, settling disputes between people, and imposing penalties in cases where the laws have not been observed.

Before we delve into the detailed explanation of the four (unitary, federal, presidential and parliamentary) institutional forms of the state that were highlighted in a preceding section, we need to note that the adoption of any particular institutional structure in a state is due partly to historical factors and partly to the wishes of the particular communities.

**(2) Unitary System** - This generally occurs in a society that is comparatively homogeneous in character. In essence, it means that there are no sharp linguistic, racial or religious differences between sections of the population. All powers and authority for the exercise of the functions of the state are concentrated in the hands of the central government. The various areas into which the state is divided for administrative purposes are created by the central government i.e. centralization. However, the powers and boundaries can also be altered by the legislatures. France, Britain and New Zealand are good examples of countries operating the unitary system.

**(3) Federal System** - "Federal" comes from a Sanskrit word meaning "to unite". A federal system often exists where the people are not ready to surrender all powers to a central government. It is well adapted to states with wide areas, where there are sectional diversities of race, language, nationality, religion and geography. For example, Switzerland has three nationalities and three official languages - French, German and Italian; and two religions. In Australia, although there are unifying influences of common nationality and common language, federalism is still adopted because the six colonies that came together to form the country had a history of separate governments. Other examples of countries that have adopted the federal system include USA, Canada, Germany and India among others. Nigeria is also a federal state, but its long experience under military rule distorted many aspects of its practice of federalism.

It is important to note that under the federal practice, authority for government is divided between the federal (central) government and various regional or state governments. The specific powers and functions of each level of government are defined in a written constitution. In other words, it is a common practice that the federal constitution is written.

In summary, most federal states have certain characteristics that may be necessary for us to highlight. These include:

**(i) Supremacy of the Constitution** - In simple terms, neither the central nor the regional governments should have the right to ignore or amend the constitution by itself to suit its own purposes.

**(ii) Supremacy of the central government in cases of conflict** - For example, certain powers (exclusive) are conferred on the central government- control of the army, currency or legal tender, airports, foreign policy, etc, while the rest (residual) are left to the regional governments may share authority and responsibilities.

**(iii) Bicameral Legislature** – At least two houses or arms of parliament must exist; one for each level of government.

**(iv) Right of secession generally denied** – No federal constitution, so far except that of the Soviet Union, grants federating units the right to secede. The American and Nigerian Civil Wars were, for instance, fought on the issue of secession. In USA, John Calhoun championed the cause of the Southern Slave States, while Emeka O. Ojukwu fought for the Igbos (Biafrans) in Nigeria.

**(v) Judicial interpretation of the constitution** – Generally, the authority of the Federal judiciary is recognized; especially in cases of conflict over jurisdiction between regional and federal governments. In Nigeria, for example, the Federal Court of Appeal or the Supreme Court intervened at different points in time to resolve issues of revenue allocation, resource control, local government creation, etc, between the state and Federal Governments.

**(4) Presidential and Parliamentary Systems** – Other important institutional classifications, which should be useful to students of comparative politics, include the presidential system, and parliamentary system. In the presidential system, the executive, as a branch of government, is separate from and equal to the legislature. Its chief officer, in Nigeria, for example, is the President (Federal), Governor (State) and Chairman (Local Government). Each is supposed to be chosen by the people (electorate) rather than by the legislative branch. The president acts both as the head of government and as the ceremonial head of state. The principle of separation of powers is generally followed.

On the other hand, in the parliamentary system, there is no strict separation of powers and the legislature is the source of authority for the executive. The government, its committee of leading members and the cabinet are chosen from among the representatives of the majority party or coalition group elected to the legislature. The government, headed by the Prime Minister, is responsible to the parliament for its actions and dependent on the support of the legislature to remain in office. Usually, the legislature can overthrow a government by passing a vote of no confidence.

While a parliamentary system is likely to be most successful if there are not too many parties, it can be unstable if the existence of too many parties means that a coalition government has to be formed. Such was the case in the French Fourth Republic, in which there were frequent changes, because members felt less loyal than if they were members of single-party cabinets. Most European countries and others influenced by British forms of

government operate this system. As a former British colony, Nigeria also practiced the parliamentary system in its First Republic.

Finally, other modes of classification can be based on written and unwritten constitutions.

## **Summary**

In this lecture, we discussed the presidential system, in which the president is both the head of state and head of government, unlike the parliamentary system with the Prime Minister as head of government, while there is also a ceremonial head of state/president. For the federal structure or federal institutional system, as in USA, Canada and to a lesser extent Nigeria, powers and authority are dispersed between different co-equal and co-ordinate (federal, state and local governments), while in the unitary system that is more popular in relatively homogenous societies like Britain and France, powers and authority are centralized.

## **Post Test**

Same as in the Pre-test.

## **References / Further Reading**

**Leeds, CA (1981).** *Political Studies*, Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans.

**Anderson, C et al (1983).** *Introduction to Political Science*, Japan: McGraw Hill International Publishers.

## **Lecture Ten**

### **Focus on Nigeria.**

#### **Introduction.**

One of the most important objectives of comparative methodologies, as a course of study, is to be able to adopt the knowledge acquired for comparative analyses of different countries and the numerous political and governmental systems that are operated there. Therefore, Nigeria as a country and political system, but more importantly our place of residency and citizenship, should also be a major point of focus for students of comparative studies.

Thus, this lecture is devoted to Nigeria. It is sub-divided into four main sections. These are namely, the parliamentary system; the presidential system; civil administration; and military rule. Although, there is no distinct section for the discussion of the adoption and practice of federalism in Nigeria, students should be informed that Nigeria has a federal political structure, where three levels of government exists. These are namely, the federal government (1), the state governments (36) and local governments (774 as at the beginning of the Fourth Republic in 1999).

#### **Objectives**

At the end of this lecture it is expected that you will be able to:

- (a) Understand the different systems of government that have been adopted by Nigeria since the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates.
- (b) Explain some derivable benefits from the different systems that were adopted at different points in time.
- (c) Suggest the best system that could probably be adopted in the country.

#### **Pre-Test (To be taken before you read the lecture notes)**

1. In a federation, the powers of the central government are:
  - (a) Exclusive
  - (b) Concurrent
  - (c) Residual
  - (d) Executive
  - (e) Exhaustive

2. In a presidential system, when a governor or president is tried and found guilty by the legislature, he is said to have been:
  - (a) Sanctioned
  - (b) Indicted
  - (c) Sentenced
  - (d) Marooned
  - (e) Impeached
3. Federalism in Nigeria's multi-ethnic structure is often described as:
  - (a) Limited unity
  - (b) Forced marriage
  - (c) Marriage of strange bed fellows
  - (d) Unity in diversity
  - (e) Unlimited unity
4. One of the features of a parliamentary system of government is that:
  - (a) Members of the executive are also members of the legislature
  - (b) Ministers are not responsible to any one
  - (c) The Prime Minister's tenure is limitless
  - (d) Members of the executive are from different parties
  - (e) The Prime Minister is from a minor political party
5. Which of the following can force a parliamentary executive out of office?
  - (a) A vote of no confidence
  - (b) Large scale corruptive tendencies
  - (c) Impeachment of the Prime Minister
  - (d) When the president resigns
  - (e) Formation of new political parties
6. The term "collective responsibility" means that:
  - (a) Cabinet ministers share praise and blame
  - (b) Prime Minister is responsible to the parliament
  - (c) Parliamentarians are accountable to their parties
  - (d) Parliamentarians are from a common party
  - (e) Tax collectors take responsibility for the actions of government.
7. One of the immediate actions of military governments after taking over in Nigeria is to:
  - (a) Suspend the constitution

- (b) Embark on a tour of different parts of the country
  - (c) Attempt to stay for as long possible in power
  - (d) Detain politicians
  - (e) Form new political parties
8. In a unitary system of government:
- (a) There is high degree of centralization
  - (b) Parliament is very weak
  - (c) Military laws are applied
  - (d) The military is considered as an alternative to corrupt political parties.
  - (e) There is high degree of decentralization
9. Nigeria's first executive president was:
- (a) General I.B. Babangida
  - (b) General Sani Abacha
  - (c) Alhaji Shehu Shagari
  - (d) Chief Olusegun Obasanjo
  - (e) Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa
10. Which of the following is the commonest feature of a federal system?
- (a) Written constitution
  - (b) Military coups
  - (c) Parliamentary system
  - (d) Weak presidency
  - (e) Weak legislature
11. Who among the following is more popularly identified with federalism?
- (a) Aristotle
  - (b) Marx
  - (c) Wheare
  - (d) Plato
  - (e) Fidelis
12. The longest serving Head of State in Nigeria was:
- (a) General Yakubu Gowon
  - (b) General I.B. Babangida
  - (c) General Sani Abacha
  - (d) General Mohammadu Buhari
  - (e) General J.T.U Aguiyi – Ironsi

13. The National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP) were the political parties established for:
- (a) Nigeria's Third Republic
  - (b) Ghana's Fourth Republic
  - (c) Burkina Faso's First Republic
  - (d) Nigeria's First Republic
  - (e) Liberia's Second republic
14. A confederal system of government means:
- (a) Strong regional governments and a weak central authority
  - (b) A very strong central authority and weak regional governments
  - (c) Strong central authority and strong regional governments
  - (d) Loose central authority and weak regional governments
  - (e) The coming together of large population of people
15. Under Nigeria's Republican Constitution of 1963, the President was elected by either of:
- (a) Absolute majority or two-third majority
  - (b) Membership of dominant or minor party
  - (c) Ethnic origin or party affiliation
  - (d) Secret ballot or open casting of votes
  - (e) Membership of a dominant party or the army
16. The head of the executive branch in a parliamentary system is called the:
- (a) Senate President
  - (b) Prime Minister
  - (c) Opposition Leader
  - (d) Majority Leader
  - (e) Speaker
17. In Nigeria's presidential system in 1979 and 1999, the head of the executive is called the:
- (a) Honourable Speaker
  - (b) Commander-in-Chief
  - (c) President
  - (d) Senate President
  - (e) Coordinating Minister of the Economy

## **Content**

### **A. Parliamentary System of Government**

Between October 1, 1960, when Nigeria attained political independence, and January 15, 1966, when the country's First Republic was overthrown in the first military coup, it practised the parliamentary system of government. Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe was the first President of the Federal Republic, while Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was the Prime Minister.

Although there were slight modifications in the 1954, 1960 and 1963 Constitutions of Nigeria, they were all improvements on all the earlier ones since the 1922 Clifford constitution and they all facilitated the operation of the parliamentary system of government in the country. In spite of the minor differences, we shall now adopt the 1963 republican Constitution for our explanations on the parliamentary system in Nigeria. *Students are implored to take note of the functions of the principal officers in the parliamentary system so as to be able to compare them with their counterparts under the presidential system.*

### **B. Republican Constitution 1963**

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1963, Nigeria became a Federal Republic. The 1963 constitution provided for a parliamentary system of government. The constitution retained the four-region structure of Nigeria. Apart from the federal constitution, what is common to all of them i.e. the federal and regional constitutions is a parliamentary system of government. Under the constitution, the position of head of state and head of government were separated. At the federal level, the head of state was called the President of the Republic while the head of government was the Prime Minister. At the regional level, the equivalent of the president was the Governor while the Premier was the equivalent of the Prime Minister.

### **C. The President of the Republic**

The president of the republic was also the commander-in-chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces. To be eligible to occupy the position, the candidate had to satisfy the following conditions.

- ✓ He must be a Nigerian who had attained the age of 40
- ✓ He should be a member of the House of Representatives who has won an election in a joint session of both Houses of Federal Parliament.
- ✓ He must have no criminal record
- ✓ He must not be indebted or bankrupt and so on

- ✓ President was elected through a secret ballot of the joint session of the House of Representatives and Senate with a two-third majority. If only one candidate, he must win absolute majority and if two candidates 2/3 majority was required. The Constitution did not provide room for a candidate to be declared unopposed.
- ✓ The election of the president was by means of the secret ballot of all the members of the federal parliament i.e. House of Senate and House of Representatives. If there was only one candidate contesting for the post, the constitution required that he wins an absolute majority (50+1) of the votes to be declared the winner. If there were two or more, the winning candidate was required to get 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the votes of all members of Parliament sitting in a joint session. If none of the candidates scored the required number of votes, the candidates with the least number will be required to withdraw while the remaining candidates will sit for another round of elections until somebody finally won.
- ✓ The president was normally elected for a period of five (5) years. The office of the president could become vacant at the expiration of the period or if the occupant died, resigned or was removed. The president could be removed from office for misconduct, ill health, physical or mental disability that prevents him from carrying out duties of this office.

The process required the submission to the President of Senate a petition signed by either 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the members of House of Representatives or members of Senate requesting that the conduct of the president of the republic or his mental or physical condition should be investigated.

The president of the senate was required by law to present the petition to the joint meeting of the two houses of parliament for consideration. If the petition was upheld then it could be referred to an investigation committee to look into the issues raised in the petition. The report of the committee was expected to be submitted to the parliament again and if the report was approved by 2/3 of the two houses sitting together, the president stood removed.

The president was designated as a nominal leader, the Head of State. The main powers were vested in the Prime Minister. An anticipatory clause was made for the Prime Minister to advise the President to appoint someone who was not elected, as a minister. The President was vested with powers of identifying an individual in the legislature who influenced a number of people as a Prime Minister.

If the two Houses sitting together adopted the report of the committee with a 2/3 majority then the office of the president ceased to be occupied. Whenever the office of the president was vacant, either due to removal or incapacitation of mental/physical disability, the constitution provided that the president of the senate should become the acting president of the republic. If the president of the senate is for any reason unable to occupy the position, then the constitution said that the speaker of the House of Representatives should become the acting president (whoever acted only did so for 3 months).

This does not imply that the president was absolutely powerless. As we explained earlier he was the commander-in-chief of the Armed forces of the Republic. He also exercises the important authority of identifying and choosing an individual who appeared to him after a general election to be Prime Minister. In other words, the president actually appointed the Prime Minister and members of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers was made up of the Prime Minister and other ministers appointed by the president on the advise of the Prime Minister.

To qualify to be appointed as minister, a person had to be a member of the House of Representatives or House of Senate. This implies that the person must have satisfied all the conditions that members of these two Houses were required to meet. The council of ministers was a unified body whose members were collectively responsible for acts of the council or its individual members to the parliament. Like the legislature, the tenure of the council of minister was five (5) years. Members of the council provided political leadership for the various ministries and departments of government.

One of them (members) was required to have a minimum of 10 years post call experience of holding a degree. He required special qualification. This was the Attorney-General.

The council of ministers was to advise the president and the president was bound to accept their advice. Like in most parliamentary systems, the president was actually dependant on the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister was expected to keep the president fully informed about all aspects of governmental affairs and policies and if the president actually requested for any information the Prime Minister was expected to furnish him with them.

## Summary

Right from our first lecture in this course, up to the immediate past, we concentrated on general ideas and knowledge about political life, political science and comparative politics. However, in lecture nine, we concentrated more on the attempt to utilize the broad knowledge in explaining the Nigerian situation. In other words, we attempted to apply the various broad concepts, theories and political ideas to explain specific experiences in Nigeria. For example, we looked at the country's experiences under parliamentary and presidential systems of government, as well as in its operation of a federal structure and under various military regimes. It should, for instance, be noted that political participation and involvement in public affairs dropped under the successive military regimes, while the civilian administrations, through political mobilization, party activities and similar others, encouraged more participation. It should also be noted that federalism in Nigeria tended to have done relatively better under the successive civilian administrations than under the military regimes.

## Post-Test

This is the same as in the pre-test

## References/Further Readings

**Yagboyaju, DA. (2010).** *The State and Governance Crisis in Nigeria*, Ibadan: College Press & Publishers.

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**Adamolekun, L. and Osuntokun, J. (1977).** *Government and Politics in West Africa*, Ibadan: Heinemann.

## **Lecture Eleven**

### **The Parliament and Parliamentary Procedures**

*Introduction, Objectives, Pre-Test, Post-Test, Summary and References–Students are Implored to check these in Lecture Ten.*

#### **Content:**

#### **THE PARLIAMENT**

The constitution established a parliament which consisted of the president and a bicameral legislature i.e. an upper House of Senate and a lower House of Representatives. The Senate was made up of 57 members as follows:

12 Senators from each region. These senators were actually appointed by the regional legislature from among people nominated by the Governor of each region.

Lagos also contributed 4 senators made up of Oba of Lagos and a white cap chief and two other persons (chosen by the Prime Minister). There were 5 other members that were expected to be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The constitution also established the House of Representatives. It constituted of 312 members or 313 members if the speaker was chosen from outside the House of Representatives. (Minimum age of the House of Representatives was 21). He must not be bankrupt, no criminal record, positive image within the community. He must contest an election in a federal constituency and win.

#### **THE POWER AND FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE**

The Constitution empowered the legislature with the power to make laws for all parts of Nigeria. The Constitution also established a legislative list consisting of the exclusive and concurrent lists. The authority to legislate on all items in the exclusive list was vested in the parliament. It also shared its responsibilities for legislation on all those items in the concurrent list where there was a conflict between an act of federal parliament and a law by a regional government on any of the items in the concurrent list, the constitution stipulated that of the federal parliament should supersede that of the region either completely or to the extent of the regional in compatibility of federal legislation. We should note that all those items not specifically listed in the exclusive and concurrent lists were regarded as falling within the exclusive jurisdiction of regional governments.

## PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES

The process of legislating both at Federal and regional levels is very similar. A law could begin either as a public or private member bill. A bill is just a proposal that either the government or a private member would like the parliament to consider and pass into law. Once a proposal has been drafted into a bill, it could be submitted to the legislature-usually the House of Representatives in the case of the federal parliament or the house of Assembly in case of regional government. In the house to which it is submitted, the bill goes through 4 stages. The 1<sup>st</sup> stage was the *first reading* followed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> *reading* followed by the *committee stage* and finally the 3<sup>rd</sup> *reading*.

Once a bill had passed the 3<sup>rd</sup> *reading*, it was sent to the House of Senate where it would go through the same process. The Senate had powers to reject any constitutional amendments; it also had powers to delay a money/appropriation bill for one month or non-money bill till the beginning of a new session of parliament. The Senate had powers to suggest amendments to any bill sent to it from the House of Representatives and if the suggestion is accepted by the House of Representatives, it became part of the bill. The relationship between the two Houses is paradoxical in the sense that while the Senate was the upper house, the House of Representatives enjoyed more powers.

The parliament also exercised some other powers apart from law making. Perhaps, the most important of this was the power to control/check the executive. The executive was collectively responsible to the parliament for the acts of the council of ministers and its individual members. The parliament could question any deed of the executive and there was provision for question-time in the legislative process during which the Prime Minister could be invited to account or provide information on any matter of relevance.

The ultimate power of the federal parliament to control the executive was the power to censure the executive. This could take the form of passing a vote of no confidence or a rejection of a very important bill of the executive. When the legislature passes a motion or vote of no confidence, the executive was required to resign. This was a very powerful instrument given to the parliament by the constitution.

## **Post-Test**

Same as in the pre-test

## **Summary**

As a follow up to Lecture ten, this lecture discussed the formation and functions of the parliament as well as legislative procedures in a parliamentary system of government.

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## **Lecture Twelve**

### **Presidential System of Government**

*Introduction, Objectives, Pre-Test, Post-Test, Summary and References– Students are implored to check these in Lecture Ten.*

#### **Content:**

#### **PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT**

After the collapse of the First Republic in 1966, Nigeria was under military rule until 1979 when the presidential system of government was first introduced to usher in the country's Second Republic. The same presidential system was also adopted for the short-lived Third Republic and the current Fourth Republic, which has been on since 1999.

Under the 1979 Constitution, Alhaji Shehu Shagari was elected as president in October 1979 and was in office, after his re-election, till December 1983, when his headship of the Second Republic was terminated in a military coup. Again, between 1991 and 1993, governors were elected on the basis of a presidential system, but the results of the election which should have made Chief M.K.O Abiola the second executive president were annulled. The Third Republic ended with the stepping aside of General Babangida in August 1993 and more profoundly with the coming to power of General Abacha in November of the same year. Nigeria returned to civil rule, again under the presidential system, in 1999 and since then, the Fourth Republic has been ongoing.

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo became Nigeria's second executive president and was in office from May 1999 to May 2007. He was succeeded by Alhaji Umar Yar'Adua, who was in office from 2007 till he died, before the expiration of his first term, in May 2010. President Goodluck Jonathan completed the term of Yar'Adua and was re-elected for another four-year term, which began in May 2011.

Under Nigeria's presidential system, the executive arm at the federal level is headed by the president, while the legislative arm (National Assembly) has the Senate President and Speaker as the heads of the Senate and House of Representatives respectively. There are 109 Senators, consisting of 3 members from each of the 36 states and 1 senator representing the Federal

Capital Territory (FCT). For the House of Representatives, there are 360 members without any member specifically representing the FCT.

At the state level, the Governor heads the executive arm, while the Speaker is the head of the parliament otherwise known as the State House of Assembly. Furthermore, the local government, which is the third level of government in Nigeria, has the Chairman at the top of the executive arm, while the legislative council also has a Speaker.

Some other important aspects of the 1999 presidential constitution that is still in operation in Nigeria include:

- (1) The giving of franchise to all qualified adults of 18 years and above.
- (2) The possibility of removing the president or the governor, as the case may be, through impeachment if he is found guilty of an impeachable offence e.g. violation of any part of the constitution or any other gross misconduct.
- (3) The protection of the president or governor, under the immunity clause, against any civil litigation while he is still in office.
- (4) The Chief Justice as the head of the Supreme Court, who is appointed by the president, subject to the confirmation by a simple majority of the senate. The appointment of other judges of the Supreme Court is done by the president on the advice of the Federal Judicial Service Commission subject to approval of a simple majority of the senate.
- (5) The appointment of Chief Judge and judges of the Federal High Court or the President of the Federal Court of Appeal is done by the president on the advice of the Federal Judicial Service Commission subject to the approval of a simple majority of the senate.
- (6) The Chief Justice and other federal judges could only be removed by two-thirds majority of the senate.
- (7) At the state level, the Governor appoints the Chief Judge and other judges of the State High Court in conformity to the advice of the National Judicial Commission and support of the State House of Assembly.
- (8) Both at the federal and state levels, the promotion or punishment of any of the judges could only be effected by the president or governor upon the advice of the National Judicial Commission.
- (9) The president is both the head of state and head of government as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

(10) The president has the right to appoint his cabinet ministers from within his political party or outside, just as the State Governor could appoint his Commissioners from anywhere within or outside the ruling party.

Other fundamental features in the Constitution include the recognition for the establishment of certain Commissions, Councils and Agencies. These include: (i) Council of State (ii) Federal Civil Service Commission (iii) Federal Electoral Commission (iv) National Defence Council (v) Federal Judicial Service Commission (vi) National Economic Council (vii) National Population Commission (viii) National Security Council (ix) Police Service Commission. There are similar others like the State Civil Service Commission and the State Independent Electoral Commission at the state levels.

For the purpose of comparison and in line with one of our objectives at the beginning of this section, we may now examine some of the merits and demerits of the presidential system of government and possibly recommend it or the parliamentary system for Nigeria. First, the merits:

1. It promotes stability in government and removes any ambiguity over the location of the executive power of government. This is unlike under the parliamentary system where there is the President and the Prime Minister and, therefore, possibility of conflict of roles.
2. Its emphasis on the principle of separation of powers gives room for effective checks and balances; unlike in the parliamentary system which fuses the roles of the parliamentarians and cabinet ministers.
3. The president through his power to appoint his ministers (and the governor-his commissioners) from any suitable place has the opportunity of selecting the best hand and "brain" for his cabinet, regardless of party affiliation.
4. Responsibility is easily located in a particular person in a presidential system of government.

And, then the demerits of the system include:

- (a) It has been argued that because the president can appoint his ministers from anywhere, he may abuse this power by making his close associates, who may be incompetent, his ministers; whereas in the parliamentary system, representatives of the people who were probably elected because of their competence are also the ministers.

(b) The president can also become autocratic if no effective check is imposed on his power.

(c) As experience has so far shown in Nigeria, if the president is unable to secure majority support for any of his programmes, he may have to take to lobbying. Meanwhile, unlike in the advanced countries such as USA, United Kingdom and Germany among others, where lobbying is essentially about consensus and compromise, money for bribery and corruption as well as corruptive tendencies are often introduced into lobbying in Nigeria. It should also be noted that even in the countries where lobbying is relatively cleaner and devoid of monetary or material inducement, it often leads to the abandonment of some lofty programmes by the president because lobbying generally involves “give and take”.

### **Post-Test**

Same as in the pre-test

### **Summary**

The lecture essentially focused on the presidential system of government, which Nigeria practised in its Second Republic (1979 – 1983); abortive third Republic (1992 – 1993); and the Fourth Republic (from 1999 till date). Alhaji Shehu Shagari emerged as the country’s first executive president in 1979 while, in view of Chief M.K.O Abiola’s annulled presidential election results in 1993, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo; whose administration was first inaugurated in 1999, and later in 2003, became the second executive president. Presidents Umar Yar’Adua (who died in 2010) and Goodluck Jonathan (2011 till date) respectively succeeded Obasanjo. The lecture also discussed some peculiarities of the current presidential system in Nigeria, which include the combination of the offices of head state and head of government, the immunity clause for the president and governors against civil litigations while still in office, and the existence of two separate arms of the National Assembly.

## **Lecture Thirteen**

### **Major characteristics of Military and Civil Rule in Nigeria**

*Introduction, Objectives, Pre-Test, Post-Test, Summary and References–Students are implored to check these in Lecture Ten.*

#### **Content:**

##### **Civil Rule**

Broadly speaking, civil rule in Nigeria has over the years implied no other thing than the examples analyzed under the parliamentary and presidential systems of government. For the purpose of comparison, we may just need to note that the basic distinctions between civil rule and military regimes that will be discussed in the subsequent section of this lecture include:

- (a) The existence of a constitution during civil rule and the revocation or setting aside of the constitution under military rule.
- (b) The existence or absence of the constitution under the two regime-types makes the probability of constitutional rule higher during civil rule than under military rule. In other words, it is more probable that such constitutional provisions as the rule of law, respect for human rights and dignity, accountability, openness and competition will be observed more during civil rule, particularly because the constitution is allowed to stay.
- (c) It also makes the probability of political stability higher.
- (d) Also, we can infer that the probability of development is higher during civil rule. However, there are several examples of military regimes under which many countries around the world experienced economic growth that may not lead to actual development.

##### **Military Rule**

This is another type of government or administrative system that is important to us as students of comparative methodologies because of many unique features and the adoption of the administrative system by many African countries, at different points in time, and particularly because of Nigeria's long encounter with the system until 1999 when the country returned to civil rule in its Fourth Republic.

Thus, we shall now quickly examine some of the major characteristics of military rule or a military regime. These include:

(i) **Rule by force** – Since the military always come to power through force otherwise known as coup d’etat, they need to remain in office by force. This explains why they usually abolish the constitution and proscribe political parties among other structures and institutions of democracy. This implies that military rule discourages competition and opposing views, all of which constitute major ingredients of democratic rule and the development agenda.

(ii) **No fixed term of office** – Unlike the civilian, military regimes have no fixed term of office. The military government relinquishes power whenever it feels so or whenever it is overthrown by another military group or through a revolution. This is why, in the case of Nigeria, military regimes have over the years stayed in power for different number of years’. These included Ironsi, 6 months; Gowon, 9 years; Murtala Muhammed, 7 months; Obasanjo, 3½ years; Muhammadu Buhari, 20 months; Babangida, 8 years; Sani Abacha, 5 years and Abdulsalami Abubakar, 7 months.

Obviously, without any fixed term of office, a regime is less competitive in character and this implies that it is likely to be oppressive and authoritarian than a civilian administration which can be removed through the electoral process at the end of a term.

(iii) **Suspension of the Constitution** – In order to ensure its capability to rule by force, the first thing the military does after seizing power is to suspend the constitution. For the purpose of comparison, we need to note that most of the developed countries of the world operate constitutionalism or constitutional rule. On the other hand, a country that is experiencing economic growth without constitutional rule is likely to do better under the operation of a constitution.

(iv) **Rule by decrees and edicts** – Still in accordance with the rule by force, the military promulgates decrees for the central government in Nigeria, while it has edicts at the state or regional levels. These are unquestionable law by the military.

(v) **Autocracy** – Drawing from all of the above, military rule is often autocratic and oppressive because it is not accountable to the electorate, which in the first place did not vote the military into power. Similarly, fundamental human rights are easily trampled upon because the military does not recognize the constitution and its provisions.

(vi) **Non-separation of the executive from legislature** - Under normal conditions, the military is part of the executive arm of the modern state, but when it is in power, it combines the functions of implementing laws (executive) with law making functions (legislature) through its decrees and edicts.

Ordinarily, the characteristics of military regimes listed and discussed above should tell us why it may not be as popular a system of government as democracy or any other participatory form of government.

### **Summary**

The lecture basically compared the general characteristics of military rule and civil rule. Ranging from the suspension of the constitution, the abolition of political parties, rule by force, to the non-separation of the executive and legislative arms of government and discouragement of competing interests, the lecture observed that these factors distinguish military rule and, therefore, make it a potentially more dangerous system of government.

### **Post-Test**

Same as in the Pre-Test.

## Lecture Fourteen

### Comparison of the Major Differences between Military and Civil Rule

#### Introduction:

As a follow up to our series of lectures, from lecture 10-13, this lecture will attempt to isolate the major differences between military regimes and civilian or democratic administrations. In line with our focus on Nigeria, right from lecture ten, this lecture will also concentrate on these two types of administrative systems with particular reference to Nigeria. Although there are many of these regimes and administrations that could be used, we shall select the Abacha military regime (1993-1998) and Obasanjo civilian administration (1999-2007) for illustration. This is because they are still relatively – recent in the country's history and, therefore, should be fresh in our memories.

#### Objectives

At the end of this lecture it is expected that you will be able to:

- (a) Isolate and discuss the basic differences between military and civil rule
- (b) Give a list of all past military and civilian administrations in Nigeria.
- (c) Differentiate between the regime of General Sani Abacha (1993-1998) and Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007).
- (d) Suggest and recommend either military or civil rule for Nigeria.

#### Pre-Test (To be taken before you read the lecture)

1. General Sani Abacha forcefully took over power as Head of State in:
  - (a) 1993
  - (b) 1998
  - (c) 1983
  - (d) 1992
  - (e) 1981
2. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's failed attempt to extend his tenure is popularly called:
  - (a) Civilian coup
  - (b) Third term agenda
  - (c) Political Abracadabra
  - (d) Godfatherism
  - (e) Cabal in action
3. Apart from the executive arm, which other prominent organ of government is allowed to operate under the military?
  - (a) Police Force

- (b) Military Tribunal
  - (c) Judiciary
  - (d) Traditional Institutions
  - (e) Political Parties
4. \_\_\_\_\_ was the Head of the Interim National Government from which General Abacha snatched power
- (a) Herbert Shonekan
  - (b) Ernest Shonekan
  - (c) Ellis Shonekan
  - (d) Abraham Adesanya
  - (e) M.K.O. Abiola
5. Chief Obasanjo's first term as a civilian president ended when?
- (a) 2003
  - (b) 2007
  - (c) 2005
  - (d) 1999
  - (e) 2011

### Content

The key points that we shall adopt to analyze the differences between the Sani Abacha military regime (1993-1998) and Olusegun Obasanjo civilian administration (1999-2007) in Nigeria include:

- (a) Enthronement of the Government
- (b) Tenure of Office
- (c) Respect for Human Dignity and Rights
- (d) The Economy
- (e) Independence of the Judiciary
- (f) Socio-Economic Competition

**(i) Enthronement of the Government** - The regime of General Sani Abacha came into office in November 1993 after it upstaged the Interim National Government (ING) of Chief Ernest Shonekan in a coup. Thus, this implies that the Abacha take-over of power was forceful and could probably have been impossible without the military force and the weapons that were available. In line with modern governance and administration, such a take-over is unconstitutional and is unlikely to bring development.

On the other hand, the Obasanjo civilian administration was sworn-in on May 29, 1999 after the then president and his Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) were declared, by INEC, as the winner of the presidential election held in that same year. This process, through which Obasanjo's administration

came into office, is more acceptable because it appears more democratic. For example, the then president, as the candidate of PDP, contested an election with some other presidential candidates like Olu Falae in 1999; Muhammadu Buhari, Kris Okotie and some others in 2003.

This democratic process, which encourages competition has over the years gained a lot of popularity and acceptability because it helps countries in which it is practised to attract various investments and development programmes.

However, this is not to say that the process is totally free from problems or abuse. In Nigeria, for example, the electoral processes through which the Obasanjo administration and almost all the other civilian administrations came to office were fraught with the problem of rigging and violence. And, all of these reduce part of the credibility of the process in the country

**(ii) Tenure of Office** – Although General Abacha and other top members of his regime promised that they would be in office for a short period and thereafter organize a transition programme for civilians to take-over; Abacha did not look prepared to vacate office as at the time he died in 1998. In fact, rather than prepare to vacate, he became the sole presidential candidate for the five political parties – UNCP, DPN, GDM, CNC and NCPN that his regime registered to participate in a fake transition programme.

In other words, but for his sudden death in 1998, Abacha could not have willingly left office because no tenure was fixed for him as at the time of his ascendancy to the office of Head of State.

For Obasanjo, on the other hand, it is clearly stipulated in the 1999 Constitution that his first term would terminate in 2003 and that he could seek re-election for another four-year term to end in 2007. This was why the rumoured attempt by President Obasanjo, to illegally extend his tenure by way of constitutional amendment (popularly called third term agenda in 2005), generated so much controversy until it finally failed.

**(iii) Respect for Human Dignity and Rights** – Most constitutions across the globe provide for citizens to have certain levels of freedom. These include freedom of association, e.g. to belong to any lawful association or group that the citizens desire; freedom of expression, e.g. to voice out one's opinion about general affairs in the country, etc. When all of these are respected and well observed by the government and citizens in a country, it is often said that such a country respects fundamental human rights.

Under Abacha, the constitution was revoked so there was no way fundamental human rights could have been regarded. That was why so many professional associations, student groups, newspaper houses and similar others were either proscribed or shut down at that point in time. Also, many lawyers like Gani Fawehinmi, Femi Falana and some others as well as journalists were detained in prisons and cells because they expressed opinions against the Abacha regime. Many other journalists who wrote critical articles were at different points in time charged for sedition and sometimes jailed as coup plotters.

Although the Obasanjo civilian administration was also not totally free of violations of fundamental human rights, victims were guaranteed by the constitution of a fair hearing in the court. Thus, it implies that the constitution prevented the Obasanjo administration from becoming as bad as the Abacha regime, in terms of infringements on the rights of the ordinary citizens.

**(iv) Economy** – Being a regime that was not accountable to the electorate, because they did not elect it, the Abacha regime prepared and implemented yearly budgets, awarded contracts, paid salaries, controlled the Central Bank of Nigeria, exported crude oil and did so many other things in Nigeria's economic sector the way it pleased the then Head of State and close associates. And, since these activities were not openly and properly debated, particularly by unbiased professionals, they were highly prone to errors, which adversely affected the national economy.

On the other hand, the economy under Obasanjo was directly and indirectly co-ordinated by the executive and other specialized agencies. In fact, the legislature also had a role to play, especially in the discussion of annual budgets and the appointments of officers into strategic offices, like the CBN and others that directly affect the economy. In the light of this, transparency and accountability seemed to have been higher and this accounted for the healthier economy under Obasanjo. You may be aware that the Obasanjo administration's relatively better economic management helped it in settling Nigeria's huge debt of \$30 billion to the Paris Club, World Bank and other international lenders in 2005.

**(v) Independence of the Judiciary** – In Nigeria, whether under the military or civilians, the functions of the judiciary are left unmerged with any other of the main organs of government like the legislature and executive. In other words, unlike the legislature, which for instance, is merged under the military with the executive, the judiciary is still relatively left untouched. However, we should note that under Abacha, like other military regimes in

Nigeria, there were still special military tribunals, which usurped part of the powers and functions of the judiciary.

In the light of this, the judiciary that is supposed to be the final arbiter when conflicts arise was hindered under General Abacha. Meanwhile, under the Obasanjo civilian administration, higher adherence to constitutional provisions ensured that the judiciary was far more independent than under the Abacha regime.

**(vi) Socio - Economic Competition** - Finally, in view of the fact that the Abacha military regime was more or less a closed system, it did not allow healthy socio-economic and political competitions, e.g. between political parties, economic groups, etc and therefore hindered growth and development that often accompany such healthy competitions.

On the other hand, even with the occasional attempts under President Obasanjo to cripple the opposition parties and other economic interests that were unfriendly with his government, the constitution provided the leverage through which the Nigerian Political System was constantly kept open for competition and the accompanying development.

## Summary

This lecture specifically isolated certain key factors like the enthronement of the government, tenure of office, respect for human dignity and rights, the economy, independence of the judiciary and socio-economic competition to compare the Abacha regime and Obasanjo civilian administration in Nigeria.

## Post-Test

Same as in the pre-test

## References

**Yagboyaju, DA. (2010).** *The State and Governance Crisis in Nigeria*, Ibadan: College Press & Publishers.

**Awofeso, O. (2006).** *Government Simplified*, Lagos: MacGrace Academic Resource Publishers.

## **Lecture Fifteen Summary**

### **Introduction:**

In this concluding lecture, we will summarize the main arguments and explanations in the preceding lectures. We should recollect that all the lectures concentrated on various aspects of the area of study called – the Methodology of Comparative Politics. In general, different ideas, concepts and theories were explained, and thereafter applied to explain happenings in Nigeria as a political system.

### **Objectives:**

It is hoped that at the end of this lecture, students will be able to recall or recapitulate the main points in the previous lectures in this course, and write a brief but succinct essay on any of the topics discussed in those lectures.

### **Pre-Test**

Beginning with lecture one, go over all the preceding lectures in this course and answer at least the first two questions in each of the previous ten major lectures (i.e. lectures 1-8 and lectures 10 and 14). By so doing, you would have answered twenty questions drawn from across all the previous pre-tests. Thereafter, you can then return to this final lecture.

### **Summary of the Course**

At the beginning of this course, we examined the subject matter of comparative politics by, first; proffering various definitions and, thereafter, explaining the need for the study of comparative politics as well as the benefits that such an exercise can bring for the entire area of study called political science.

In lecture two, we showed that the study of comparative politics; just like the whole of political science, can be based on three main approaches. These are namely normative-philosophical approach; descriptive-institutional approach; and behavioural approach. In short, the behavioural approach appears to be a revolution, which challenged the older Normative-Philosophical and Descriptive-Institutional Approaches to the study of comparative politics. It emphasized the need to make the study more scientific in orientation and more receptive to methodological developments in the

other fields of the social sciences like economics, psychology, geography and sociology. More specifically, we listed and discussed the foundation stones or principles of behaviouralism as enunciated by David Easton and which relate to regularities, verification, techniques, quantification, values, systematization, pure science and integration.

Lectures three and four concentrated on political culture and its various types, which include the mature or participant; subject and minimal or parochial political cultures. As a political concept in which different levels of participation in politics and public affairs, in general, could be assessed we adopted political culture as a tool for comparative analysis. In other words, we argued, for instance, that mature political cultures typify countries like USA, United Kingdom, Germany and Netherlands among several other places where the citizens are generally encouraged to participate in politics, while Russia, Spain under General Franco and some other countries where citizens are relatively passive and less interested in politics as examples of subject political culture just as in the case minimal and parochial, Nigeria and several other parts of the less developed world were selected as examples.

The basic elements of political culture that we discussed include cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. Also, we discussed such factors as history, geography, socio-economic status as well as political traditions and customs as essential components of political culture.

Finally, in this chapter, we examined the subject matter of political change and its various dimensions. Also, the effects of incremental and, on the other hand, fundamental changes on society were discussed.

In lectures five, six and seven, the main focus was political socialization. We looked at the meaning and roles of political socialization. In simple terms, political socialization was defined as entailing the induction of members into a society's political culture, while its roles were described as including the intergenerational transmission of political culture, the maintenance of stability, the regulation of the behaviour of individuals in socially acceptable ways, and role-training (also see Suberu, 2004:70).

Also, we discussed that socialization can be undertaken by primary (family) and secondary agencies (schools, peer and professional groups, mass media, etc). Similarly, we analyzed that the socialization process can be latent or manifest; that its time-span may embrace an individual's formative or mature years, and that it can produce either an incremental or a fundamental change.

Finally, we examined the impact of socialization on political participation. For this, we specifically examined the roles of authority pattern in the family, parents' socio-economic status, parents' civic knowledge, parental political involvement and child's involvement in high school activities. The combination of these five factors, but involvement in school activities in particular, was clearly analyzed to be important in shaping an individual's subsequent participation in politics and public affairs in general.

In lecture eight, we selected different types of government, ranging from the ones by an individual, e.g. monarchy; to those by few individuals, e.g. aristocracy and oligarchy; and the ones by many individuals, e.g. democracy. Also, we analyzed different institutional arrangements like federal structures, unitary systems, presidential and parliamentary systems of government as well as written and unwritten constitutions and their distinctive features that are applicable for the purpose of comparison.

In the ninth lecture, we examined and analyzed institutional forms in government. These included discussion of the functions of the legislature, executive and judiciary. Meanwhile, from lecture ten up to fourteen, we concentrated our focus on Nigeria by applying the knowledge acquired in the earlier lectures to discuss the country's specific experiences under the parliamentary and presidential systems, as examples of civil rule, on one hand, and the different military regimes, on the other hand. We equally listed the advantages of civil rule over and above military rule as we did a comparison of the features and characteristics of the two different regime types.

In this concluding lecture, an attempt is being made to provide a summary of the highlights of the preceding fourteen lectures. It is hoped that you have benefited immensely from this course. A careful reading and revision of our lecture notes, and the use of some of the texts cited in the references at the end of each lecture, for the purpose of further readings, will boost your understanding of the whole subject matter of the Methodology of Comparative Politics.

### **Summary**

The lecture has summarized the major points that were made in the nine preceding lectures.

### **Post-Test**

1. This is the same as the pre-test. Based on what you scored in the twenty questions drawn from previous tests in this course, it is hoped that you will make an effort to immediately revise any aspect of the course relating to those questions for which you have failed to provide the correct answers.

2. In addition to the objective questions, write an essay of not more than 1,000 words on each of any three of the following topics:

- (a) What constitutes methods and methodologies, and why is comparative politics desirable?
- (b) Political Socialization
- (c) Classification by regime types and institutional structures of government.
- (d) Highlight key aspects of two systems of government that have been operated in Nigeria and make suggestions as to which, in your own view, is the country's best option?

Since the four topics itemized above cover the main themes around which the entire course revolved, it is expected that these topics will guide your revision for the final examination in the course.

## **References**

Same as all the references in the preceding fourteen lectures.