DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF IMO STATE IN THE 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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Abstract

One of the contributions of democratic practices has been the development of a system of checks and balances to ensure that political power is dispersed and decentralized. It is a system founded on the deeply held belief that government is best when its potentials for abuse are curbed and when it is held as close to the people as possible. That is the reason why democracy as a system of government is now the most central and ascendant idea in world politics. Democracy is a culture that is lived out through participation. As a culture, it is patterned by the people, environment and the regulatory instruments of the people. The study tried to find out why people's participation which should be the hallmark of democracy is only minimally witnessed during general elections in Nigeria by evaluating people's participation in the 2007 general elections in Imo State. The study revealed that many people within the voting age did not vote and were not adequately mobilized to do so. It also showed that almost all the political activities before, during and after the general elections were carried out by the political party members other than the people or masses. Again, most political actions were carried out without taking into consideration the constitutional provisions for such. The paper concludes that Nigerian democracy not only lacks people's participation in all those political activities that gave meaning to democracy but also flouts some democratic principles.

Keywords: Democracy, Elections, Political Participation and Evaluation

Introduction

Democracy is a bargain between the government and the governed. This bargain is made up of two parts – the government's legitimacy, that is, claim of obedience to its laws as well as doing what the citizens want it to do. The second part is the arrangement that regulates this bargain of legitimacy in the competitive political election. The essence of the bargain is to ensure participation in policy making. This participation is the fundamental meaning of democracy. Democracy and political participation are two concepts that are interwoven; none can exist in the absence of the other. The process of establishing a democratic system requires the full participation of

the people. This participation may be direct or indirect and must be by the citizens. Participation refers to the different ways in which the public express opinions and ideally exert influence on political, economic, management and other social decisions. For a well-informed participation to occur, a radical transparency though not sufficient, is necessary. It is argued that people most affected by a decision should have the most say while those less affected should have less say. Participation has its objectives from the administrative perspective, to motivate the people and public support building activities. For the citizens, it facilitates useful information exchange regarding local conditions. It enables individuals and groups to influence agency decision in a representative manner etc. Political participation is that activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action. It is that aspect of democracy that deals with the political environment. Davies (1963) cited in Unanka (2004:20), defined political participation as "taking part in making the basic decision as to what are the common goals of one's society and as to the best ways to move towards these goals". Political participation expresses actions, reactions, interactions and role expectation as one finds oneself as an integral member of a society. It is a known fact that without significant citizen's involvement, the democratic process falls short of its goals. According to Ogunna (2003:24), political participation can be active, partial or passive.

Democracy, the actualized popular power through political structures that are based on mass participation and political sovereignty, is described by Powell, a well-known American political scientist, as quoted in Cayne (1993:777) as "an implicit bargain between the representative government and the citizens and a specific arrangement which regulates that bargain". He further stated that a true democracy is that system of government that is controlled by the people through their representatives. True democracy is universally accepted as a system of government that believes in and operates on the principle of law and order, with them as the ultimate repository and regulator of the social norms and practice. To the authoritarians and other critics, a common misapprehension is that democracies lack the power to oppress and also lacks the authority to govern. This view is fundamentally wrong. Democracies require that their governments be limited not that they be weak. They have also demonstrated remarkable resiliency over time and have shown that with the commitment and informed dedication of their citizens, they can overcome hardship, reconcile social and ethnic divisions and when necessary, prevail in time of war.

The above explication sounds logical, but the interpretation of what happens in the Nigerian type of democracy especially in the 2007 general elections in Imo State, shows that ours is democracy without democratic principles. What we practice in Nigeria as evident in the 2007 general elections in Imo State is a democracy where voting is the hallmark of democratic participation. The replacement of direct participation before, during and after elections with only voting in periodic elections is the fundamental expression of the abuse of democracy. Democracy is grossly abused when the citizens are not mobilized to be part of the governance through their participation in the democratic activities. In the 2007 general elections in Imo State, over 80% of the respondents believed that the turnout of people for political activities/elections was very poor because they were not adequately mobilized and that

candidates for the election were more or less handpicked by the political parties. Citizens' participation in the affairs of governance, though minimally, is only witnessed in general elections. The literature so far reviewed on this topic —'Democracy and political participation in Nigeria' - defined democracy and looked at the history of democracy and participation, the Nigerian type of democracy and participation etc. However, rhe attitude of Nigerians towards political activities that gave meaning to democracy, the use of "imported" political framework in an unsuitable environment like Nigeria where ethnicity, tribalism and religion are primary indicators in politics, are the areas yet to be covered by previous works, and thus the gap in the literature and the focus of this study. In view of the above, the following research questions were structured to guide the study:

- (i) Is there any significant relationship between citizens' mobilization and participation in the Nigerian politics?
- (ii) What is the relationship between the administrative practices of the government in Nigeria and democracy?
- (iii) Who controls politics in the Nigerian democracy?

The general objective of this study is to evaluate the Nigerian democracy in the context of political participation especially in Imo State. The specific objectives are to:

- (i) ascertain how people are mobilized to participate fully in Nigerian democracy.
- (ii) examine the institutional provisions for political mobilization / participation in the Nigerian democracy.
- (iii) assess the effectiveness of democratic rule in Nigeria generally and Imo State in particular, especially in the 2007 general elections.

To further guide the study, the following hypotheses were put forward for investigation:

- H_o that there is no significant relationship between the political mobilization of the citizens and political participation in Nigeria politics.
- H_A that there is a significant relationship between the political mobilization of the citizens and political participation in Nigeria politics.
- H_o that there is no significant relationship between the administrative practices of the government in Nigeria and democracy.
- H_A that there is a significant relationship between the administrative practices of the government in Nigeria and democracy.
- H_o that in Nigeria, the control of politics is not a function of the superior/subordinate relationship between party cabals and ordinary citizens.
- H_A that in Nigeria, the control of politics is a function of the superior/subordinate relationship between party cabals and ordinary citizens.

Methodology

The study used a survey technique. Data were generated through primary and secondary sources. The primary sources were through structured questionnaire items numbering 1-20. The secondary sources were books, journals, government publications, reports, newspapers, magazines, internet, etc. The population of the study was 700 persons consisting of all the traditional rulers, community leaders, party stakeholders and political/administrative staff of each of the three local governments namely old Owerri Municipal, Okigwe and Njaba Local Governments (an urban, semi urban and a rural local government respectively). The stratified random sampling technique was employed to select 150 respondents from the population of 700 based on those who were directly involved in the activities of the 2007 general elections in Imo State, made up of 10 traditional rulers, 10 community leaders, 10 party stakeholders and 20 political/administrative staff of each of the three local governments.

The data collected were analysed using basic statistical tools – the chi – square (x^2) , mainly to test the hypotheses and percentile to analyse the data. The study made use of 150 questionnaires and all were returned and none was void as a result of the researcher's careful grouping of the respondents. All questions were presented and analysed but only the relevant questions were selected for hypotheses testing as stated below:

 $X^2 = \underbrace{(0 - E)}_{-}$

Where $x^2 = Ch^{\text{E}}$ square

O = Observed frequency E = Expected frequency

Hypothesis 1 (One) – see research hypothesis no 1

H₀ There is no significant relationship between the political mobilization of the citizens and political participation in Nigerian politics.

H₁ There is a significant relationship between the mobilization of the citizens and participation in Nigerian politics.

See appendixx for data Presentation

QUESTION	YES	NO	UNDECIDED	ROW TOTAL
7	8	140	2	150
13	20	110	20	150
18	8	140	2	150
Column	36	390	24	450

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E.1.1	150 x 36 450	=	12
E.1.2	150 x 390 450	=	130
E.1.3	150 x 24 450	=	8
E.2.1	150 x 36 450	=	12
E.2.2	150 x 390 450	=	130
E.2.3	150 x 24 450	=	8
E.3.1	150 x 36 450	=	12
E.3.2	150 x 390 450	=	130
E.3.3	150 x 24	=	8

0	E	0 – E	(O – E) ²	(O – E) ²
8	12	-4	16	1.3333
140	130	10	100	0.769230
2	8	-6	36	4.5
20	12	8	96	8
110	130	20	400	3.0769
20	8	12	144	18
8	12	-4	16	1.3333
140	130	10	100	0.76923
2	8	-6	36	4.5
				42.28

Decision Rule

Accept H_0 if x^2 calculated value (x^2 cal) is less than x^2 critical value and reject H_0 if x^2 calculated value is more than x^2 critical value or observed.

Calculated value = 42.28

450

Critical or observed value is given by (R-1)(C-1)

Where R = No of rows

C = No of Columns

Thus (R-1)(C-1)

(3-1)(3-1) = 2 x 2 = 4 degrees of freedom

= 4 under (a = 0.05) = 9.488

Thus critical value = 9.488 Calculated value = 42.28

Cal. Value > Critical

Here we reject the null (H_0) and accept the alternative (H_1) hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2 (Two) – see research hypothesis no 2

- H₀ There is nosignificant relationship between the administrative practices of the government in Nigeria and democracy
- H₁ There is a significant relationship between the administrative practices of the government in Nigeria and democracy.

See appendix for data presentation

QUESTION	YES	NO	UNDECIDED	ROW TOTAL
11	20	120	10	150
13	20	110	20	150
Column	40	230	30	300

	150 40							
E.1.1	<u>150 x 40</u> 300	=	20	0	E	0 – E	(O – E) ²	(<u>O – E</u>) ² E
E.1.2	150 x 230	_	115	20	20	0	0	0
L.1.2	300	_	115	120	115	5	25	0.21739
E.1.3	150 x 30 300	=	15	10	15	- 5	25	1.6666
E.2.1	150 x 40 300	=	20	20	20	0	0	0
	150 x 230			110	115	- 5	25	0.21739
E.2.2	300	=	115	20	15	5	25	1.6666
E.2.3	150 x 30 300	=	15					3.76798

See appendix for data presentation

QUESTION	Α	В	С	D	ROW TOTAL
14	15	15	05	75	110
15	20	05	05	100	130
Column	35	20	10	175	240

E.1.1
$$\frac{110 \times 35}{240} = 16.04$$

E.1.2 $\frac{110 \times 20}{240} = 9.2$
E.1.3 $\frac{110 \times 10}{240} = 4.58$
E.1.4 $\frac{110 \times 175}{240} = 80.21$
E.2.1 $\frac{110 \times 35}{240} = 10.83$
E.2.2 $\frac{110 \times 20}{240} = 10.83$
E.2.3 $\frac{110 \times 10}{240} = 5.4$

0	E	0 – E	$(O-E)^2$	(O – E) ² E
15	16.04	-1.04	1.0816	0.06743142
15	9.2	5.8	33.64	3.65652174
05	4.58	0.42	0.1764	0.03851528
75	80.21	-5.21	27.1442	0.3384129
20	18.96	1.04	1.0816	0.0570464
02	10.83	-5.83	33.9889	3.1384026
05	5.4	-0.4	0.16	0.02962963
100	94.8	5.2	27.04	0.2852320
				7.6111apx.

Decision Rule

Accept H_0 if x^2 calculated value (x^2 cal) is less than x^2 critical value. Again reject H_0 if x^2 calculated value is more than x^2 critical value or observed.

Calculated value = (a) 3.76

(b) 7.67

Degree of freedom (d.o.f) is given by (R - 1)(C - 1)

Where R = No of rows

C = No of columns

Thus (R-1)(C-1)

(a) $(2-1)(3-1) = 1 \times 2 = 2$ degrees of freedom

Critical value is the cut-off point of x^2 for the d.o.f

Cal value < critical

The critical value = 2 under (a = 0.05) = 5.991

(b) (2-1)(4-1) = 1×3 = 3 under (a = 0.05) = 7.815

Calculated < Critical

Here, we accept the null (H_0) hypothesis and reject the alternative (H_1) .

Hypothesis 3 (Three) – see research hypothesis no 3.

H₀ In Nigeria, the control of politics is not a function of the superior/subordinate relationship between the party cabals and ordinary citizens

H₁ In Nigeria, the control of politics is a function of the superior/subordinate relationship between the party cabals and ordinary citizens.

See appendix for data presentation

QUESTION	Α	В	С	D	ROW TOTAL
9	5	110	10	25	150
12	0	20	130	0	150
Column	25	250	150	25	450

E.1.1	150 x 25 450	=	8.33
E.1.2	150 x 250 450	=	83.33
E.1.3	150 x 150 450	=	50
E.1.4	150 x 25 450	=	8.33
E.2.1	150 x 25 450	=	8.33
E.2.2	150 x 250 450	=	83.33
E.2.3	150 x 150 450	=	50
E.2.4	150 x 25 450	=	8.33
E.3.1	150 x 25 450	=	8.33
E.3.2	150 x 250 450	=	83.33
E.3.3	150 x 150 450	=	50
E.3.4	150 x 25 450	=	8.33

		1		
	E	0 – E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
5	8.33	-3.33	11.0889	1.3312
110	83.33	26.67	711.2889	8.5358
10	50	-4 0	1600	32
25	8.33	-8.33	69.3889	8.33
0	8.33	-8.33	69.3889	8.33
20	83.33	-63.33	4010.69	48.1302
130	50	80	6400	128
0	8.33	-8.33	69.3889	8.33
20	8.33	11.67	136.1889	16.3492
120	83.33	39.67	1344.6889	16.13691
10	50	-40	1600	32
0	8.33	-8.33	69.3889	8.33
				343.833

Decision Rule

Accept H_0 if x^2 calculated value (x^2 cal) is less than x^2 critical value and reject H_0 if x^2 calculated value is more than x^2 critical value or observed.

$$(R-1)(C-1)$$

 $(2-1)(4-1) = 1 \times 3 = 3$

The critical value = under (a = 0.05) = 6.3

Critical = 6.3 Calculated = 343.833

Cal. Value > Critical

Here the critical value is less than the calculated value so we reject the null hypothesis H_0 and accept the alternative hypothesis H_1 .

Summary of Discussion and Findings

The following table gives chi-square results of the tested hypotheses.

	Calculated Value	Critical Value
Hypothesis I	42.28	9.488
Hypothesis II	(a) 3.76	(a) 5.99
	(b) 7.67	(b) 7.815
Hypothesis III	343.833	6.3

It is clear from our preceding analysis that:

- (i) Inadequate mobilization of the citizens resulted in poor participation of the people in Nigerian democracy.
- (ii) The administrative practices in Nigeria or politics are not in line with the democratic principles.
- (iii) The Nigerian politics is controlled by the party cabals and not the citizens.

The findings show that the Nigerian type of democracy is conditioned by certain environmental factors that tend to water down the democratic principles. Factors like religion, zoning etc. — where citizens especially the politicians or party members that control politics, take into consideration which religion or from which zone one comes from, these have some effects on political participation. The findings also show that the political activities in the Nigerian democracy are carried out by mainly the party members and not the citizens, especially in the 2007 general elections in Imo State. Again the findings show that political activities in Nigeria and Imo State in particular, especially in the 2007 general elections witnessed poor participation of the citizens because they were not adequately mobilized to participate.

The study revealed that many people within the voting age did not vote and were not mobilized to do so. It also showed that almost all the political activities before, during and after the general elections were carried out by the political party members other than the people or masses. Again most political actions were carried out without taking into consideration the constitutional provision for such.

Conclusion

The study evaluated Nigerian democracy in the context of political participation, to find out the position of the Nigerian citizen in the operation of the democracy. The study also revealed the negative attitude of Nigerians especially in the 2007 general elections in Imo State, towards political activities that gave meaning to democracy. It further revealed that the political framework applied was not suitable in the Nigerian environment where ethnicity, tribalism and religion are the primary indicators in politics. An effective democracy requires more than free and fair elections and majority rule. Functional democracy requires strong/effective political institutions and basic rights both political and civil, such as freedom of speech, association and information. It requires all round citizen participation.

Recommendations

Based on the above findings, the study recommended as follows:

- The review of the constitutional provisions on democracy and political participation in order to make adequate provisions not only for political participation, but for mobilization of the people to participate as well as democratization of the political parties.
- The establishment of a mobilization commission as may be provided by the constitution, that will train, retrain and mobilize the people right from the grass

- root level. Compulsory political education in the 6:3:3:4 education programmes in Nigeria should be pursued.
- To move Nigeria forward requires mobilization of the people appropriately. To this end, Akindele and Ajila (1992:85) have this to say: "The attainment of democratic governance in a society is contingent on the psychological readiness and positive mental state of the citizen". Accordingly, the need for the reform, review and innovation of our electoral process should not be over emphasized. This is necessary because democracy is not just an ideal which all citizens of a given society should strive to attain, but a way of life that should preset all social institutions and human activities in that society.

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APPENDIX I

1. Did you participate in the election?

Table 3.5 QUESTION NO 5 ELECTION PARTICIPATION

	Options	Responses	Total Response	% Response
Α	Yes	142	142	94.67%
В	No	6	6	4%
С	Undecided	2	2	1.33‡%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

2. Would you describe the elections in your L.G as free and fair?

Table 3.6 QUESTION NO 6 FREE AND FAIR ELECTION

	Options	Responses	Total Response	% Response
Α	Yes	15	15	10%
В	No	130	130	86.66%
С	Undecided	5	5	3.33‡%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

3. Were people adequately mobilized to vote in the last elections?

Table 3.7 QUESTION NO 7 ADEQUATE MOBILIZATION

	Options	Responses	Total Response	% Response
Α	Yes	8	8	5.33‡%
В	No	140	140	93.33‡%
С	Undecided	2	2	1.33 4%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

4. What was the turnout like?

Table 3.8 QUESTION NO 8 TURNOUT

	Options	Responses	Total Response	% Response
Α	Very Good	0	0	0%
В	Good	8	8	5.33‡%
С	Fair	12	12	8%
D	Poor	130	130	86.66‡%
	Total	150	150	100%

5. Who were the people that participated most in the last elections?

Table 3.9 QUESTION NO 9 PARTICIPATION AND ELECTION

	Options	Responses	Total Response	%
				Response
Α	Registered voter	5	5	3.331/4%
В	Party members/paid voters	110	110	73.33 1/2%
С	Underage/Non Registered voter	10	10	6.66%
D	All of the above	25	25	16.66%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

6. Would you say that the turnout of voters in the last elections in Imo State in general and your Local Government in particular was impressive?

Table 3.10 QUESTION NO 10 TURNOUT OF VOTERS

	Options	Responses	Total Response	% Response
Α	Yes	20	20	13.33%
В	No	120	120	80%
С	Undecided	10	10	6.66%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

7. In selecting candidates for the elections, did the political parties follow the provisions for that?

Table 3.11 OUESTION NO 11 CANDIDATE SELECTION

	Options	Responses	Total Response	% Response
Α	Yes	20	20	13.33%
В	No	120	120	80%
С	Undecided	10	10	6.66%
	Total	150	150	100%

8. What was the level of participation of people in your Local Government in the political activities – like attendance to political meeting, rallies, etc?

Table 3.12 QUESTION NO 12 ATTENADENCE TO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

	Options	Responses	Total Response	% Response
Α	Very active	0	0	0%
В	Active	20	20	13.33 4%
С	Inactive	130	130	86.66 %
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field Data

9. In your opinion are the democratic Institutional arrangements in Nigeria well partnered to facilitate democracy?

Table 3.13 QUESTION NO 13 DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT

	Options	Responses	Total	% Response
		_	Response	_
Α	Yes	20	20	13.33 %
В	No	110	110	73.33 %
С	Undecided	10	10	13.33 %
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

10. If your answer in 13 above is No, mention the ways the Institutional arrangements (constitution) in your opinion did not make adequate provision for a smooth democratic process?

Table 3.14 QUESTION NO 14 DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

	Options	Responses	Total	% Response
			Response	
Α	Political Education of the citizen	15	15	15%
В	Political Mobilization of the people	15	15	15%
С	Voting in an election	5	5	5%
D	All of the above	75	75	75%
	Total	150	150	100%

11. Do you consider Nigerian democratic System too expensive to maintain?

Table 3.15 QUESTION NO 15 COST OF DEMOCRACTIC SYSTEM

	Options	Responses	Total	%
			Response	Response
Α	Yes	130	130	86.66%
В	No	5	5	3.33%
С	Undecided	15	15	10%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

12. Do you consider Nigerian democratic System too expensive to maintain?

Table 3.16 QUESTION NO 15 COST OF DEMOCRACTIC SYSTEM

	Table 5:10 Question no 13 cost of Democracite 3131Em			
	Options	Responses	Total	% Response
			Response	
Α	Because our democracy is an imported one with too many representative	20	20	13.34%
В	Because we are beginners	05	05	3.33%
С	Because Nigeria is not ripe for a democratic system	05	05	3.33%
D	Because the constitution did not make adequate provision for the Nigerian democratic activities	120	120	80%
	Total	150	150	100%

13. From your own assessment, has there been any remarkable improvement in the quality of life of the Nigerian citizens in the past eleven (11) years of her democracy?

Table 3.17 QUESTION NO 17

	Options	Responses	Total	% Response
		_	Response	-
Α	Yes	40	40	46.66%
В	No	90	90	60%
С	Undecided	20	20	13.33%
	Total	150	150	100%

14. Is democracy all about voting in an election?

Table 3.18 QUESTION NO 18 DEMOCRACY AND VOTING

	Options	Responses	Total	% Response
		_	Response	
Α	Yes	8	8	5.33%
В	No	140	140	93.33%
С	Undecided	2	2	1.33%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

15. Do people participate actively in the democratic activities after elections e.g. Communication, input, demands from the masses through the representative?

Table 3.19 QUESTION NO 19 APRTICIATION AFTER ELECTIONS

	Options	Responses	Total	% Response
			Response	-
Α	Yes	40	40	46.66%
В	No	90	90	60%
С	Undecided	20	20	13.33%
	Total	150	150	100%

Source: Field data

16. Table 3.20 QUESTION NO 20 SUGGESTIONS

	Options	Responses	Total	% Response
			Response	
Α	Change of government	02	02	1.3%
В	Provision of a new constitution	60	60	40%
С	Political Education/mobilization	81	81	54%
	of the people			
D	All of the above	7	7	4.7
	Total	150	150	100%