MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN NIGERIAN LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

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CERTIFICATION

Peter Ese Oriavwote, a postgraduate Student in Political Marketing at St. Clements University, Turks and Caicos Islands, British West Indies with Matriculation Number 9828, has satisfactorily completed the requirements for course and research work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Marketing.

The work embodied in this Thesis is original and has not been submitted in part or in full for any other diploma or degree of this or any other university.

PROF DAVID IORNEM   DR. DAVID J. LE CORNU
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DEDICATION

To my father - Mr. Johnson O. Oriavwote.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to provide solutions to the problem of managing the marketing communications function with respect to voting behaviour during local council electioneering campaigns in Nigeria. Previous researches have concentrated on examining the impact of marketing communications on voting behaviour in congressional and presidential elections.

The study tested the importance attached to campaign media and communications tools by voters through a structured questionnaire administered on 750 registered voters generated through systematic random sampling. The performance of political parties and candidates in the December 5, 1998 local council election in respect of campaign media and communication tools was also tested through structured questionnaire administered on 80 elected Local Government chairmen (candidates) interviewed through random sampling. A scale of 1 to 5 was used for the tests where 1 represented not at all and 5 represented either very important or very often. The mean results obtained were then subjected to two-dimensional and four-quadrant geometrical configuration to yield the four importance/performance segments.

The study also examined the many campaign media and communications tools and through factor analysis reduced the dimensions to a few manageable significant factors at 0.05 level of significance. The significant factors were then subjected to logarithmic transformation of the logit model of multiple regression using the maximum likelihood estimation and hypotheses tested using Chi-square at 0.05 level of significance. And this multiple regression analysis yielded two composite models of campaign media and communications tools ideal for local council electioneering campaigns.

To determine the inter correlation between voters' socio-economic characteristics and their perception of the importance of marketing communications factors, partial correlation was carried out between voters' sex, marital status, age, occupation, income and education and campaign media/communications tools using Z-score to test hypotheses at

0.05 level of significance. Though there were significant relationships, no definite pattern of correlation was obtained.

To find out whether the characteristic influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour is significantly different between rural and urban local governments of Nigeria, One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out and hypotheses tested using the F-ratio at 0.05 level of significance.

Radio was rated by voters as the best campaign media when the media were ranked on a likert scale of 0 to 9 where 0 stands for tenth position (or least score) and 9 stands for first position (or best score). Posters ranked second, followed by television. Newspapers and Magazines were rated 9th and 10th position (least scores) respectively.

On the other hand, it was revealed that door to door canvassing was rated the best marketing communications tool. Packaging of candidate placed second, while publicity came third closely followed by Advertising. Sales promotion and Event Sponsorship came 9th and 10th (least scores) respectively.

The study showed that voting behaviour is dependent on the consideration of a significant number of marketing communications factors. Using model chi-square at 0.05 level of significance in the logit regression model the following campaign media were found to be significant; television (negative regression), magazine, newspaper (negative regression), billboards, posters (negative regression), house to house, candidate's contact with voters, political rally and oramedia (traditional media). The significant communications tools obtained were image commercials, issue commercials (negative regression), candidate's personal appearance, candidate's voice and speeches, posters displayed during campaign (negative regression), event sponsorship (negative regression), posters displayed at polling booth, promises made by candidate (negative regression), donations made by candidate, activities of opinion leaders, face caps (including vests and stickers), and statements made to local press.

Two composite models were derived from this probabilistic regression analysis; one for local council campaign media named Peter 1 and the other for communications tools labelled Peter 2. Voting behaviour is the dependent variable (y_i) while marketing communications factors are the independent variables (x_i). The guide to the use of the models are the importance/performance

analysis results shown in the two-dimensional four quadrant configuration, voter influence means of campaign media and communications tools, the arithmetical sign (+ or -) of the variable parameter, and of course, the model equation must be nearly equal to one (1) to arrive at a yes or vote situation. Otherwise, a no or don't vote (for party or candidate) situation is arrived at which would imply that the parameters in the model do not influence voters in their vote choice, all other endogenous or exogenous campaign variables remaining constant.

In testing whether the characteristic influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour is not significantly different between rural and urban local governments of Nigeria, it was found, using analysis of variance (ANOVA) at 0.05 level of significance that seven (7) campaign media are significantly different. These were radio, television, newspaper, magazine, posters, opinion leaders and political rallies. While six (6) communications tools were found to be significantly different among the rural and urban Local Governments. These were advertising, selling, event sponsorship, door to door canvassing, sales promotion, and point of voting displays.

High importance/high performance segments indicate areas or variables in which parties and candidates are doing well and it is recommended that the tempo be maintained. High importance / low performance segment shows variables of high priority which candidates and parties must give attention to during campaigns. Low importance/high performance quadrant indicates region of overkill which campaigners must de-emphasise to save time, energy and campaign funds. Low importance / low performance segment reflects region of low priority where lesser attention has to be paid.

The implications of the findings for campaign managers, party workers, candidates and political parties are that a flexible approach has to be adopted in local council campaigns by using the models (Peter 1 and 2) through the application of varying parameter weights for media and communications tools from time to time, depending on the circumstances.

The two composite models developed in this study have been duly validated and found to be reliable when applied to local council election scenarios. Theoretically, this is the first field survey in Nigeria that examines the marketing communications strategy of local council electioneering campaigns especially as it relates to modelling voting behaviour.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER FIVE

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

1.0 <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

1.1 <u>BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY:</u>

The use of marketing communications techniques during electioneering campaigns in Nigeria has gained prominence. This is so, mainly because Nigerian politicians and communications experts have realised that marketing communications strategy is important as it determines the message or sequence of messages which should be shared with specific target audiences through the optimum communications mix. The local electorate has been continuously bombarded with campaign messages through all forms of media available to politicians. Campaign messages are conveyed through communications channels using certain tools. The communications tools are made up of personal selling (salesforce), advertising, sales promotion; direct marketing (database marketing); public relations; sponsorship; exhibition; corporate (party) identity; packaging; point-of-sale promotion and merchandising; word of mouth; Internet, and publicity. When combining these into a Marketing communications mix, the marketer needs to take into account their particular appropriateness for the target market, the rate at which each tool will generate sales or awareness, and the rate of sales response. The importance of each communications tool will vary according to the type of customer and the general pattern of communication in a market (Smith <u>et al,</u> 1997: 9 – 10).

The target market in this study is the electorate in the local government area in Nigeria while the product on offer is the chairmanship candidate. For this reason, a description of the target market has to be made.

Ekpouko (1994:17) described Nigeria as "one of the most populated countries of Africa". According to the November, 1991 Census, Nigeria has a population of 88

million. The country is located on the West Coast of Africa. Nigeria gained her independence from Britain on October 1, 1960.

Since 1967, the Federal Government of Nigeria has continued to create states from the former four Regions (Northern, Western, Eastern, and Midwestern Regions) mainly for reasons of economic development.

Also, the government is emphasizing the importance of bringing the government closer to the people hence, the Local Government Reform Decree of 1976 and subsequent amendments of the 1990s. The Local Government relates to the administration and development of those many services and duties, such as health, education, public services like road transportation system, parks and recreation centres, which require day-to-day control by local rather than national or state body. Its duties are conducted by a **council** whose members represent the people of the local community concerned, through the appointed staff who carry out its decisions. Ogunna (1996:8) had this to add "The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria today does not only recognise the Local Government but goes further to establish them with independent status, definite functions, powers, structures, organisation and other principles of operation".Ogunna continued that "although Local Governments are generally regarded as the creation of State/Central Governments with exclusive powers over them, Local Governments in Nigeria today enjoy the status of "third tier of government" of the federation created by the constitution like the state (second tier) and Federal Government (first tier)". He concluded that "it is no longer a "council" but a "Government".

There are two categories of local governments in Nigeria: Urban and Rural. The Local Government Reforms Decree of 1976 states that an Urban Local Government should have a population of not less than 150,000 inhabitants while Rural Local Governments are those with a population of less than 150,000 inhabitants (Okpouko, 1994:34).

The implication of this is that the rural and urban Local Government inhabitants may not be reached by politicians with the same message and/or media during electioneering campaigns. At the time of promulgation of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, there were seven hundred and seventy-four (774) local government areas. Different messages and/or different media may therefore be used in canvassing for the votes of the rural and urban inhabitants in Nigeria; because some marketing communications tools and media used in the urban communities during political campaigns may not be suitable for use in the rural areas. This is why convenient and appropriate marketing communications strategy may have to be formulated for use at Local Government electioneering campaigns in Nigeria.

Hence, Smith et al (1997:88) outlined the benefits derivable from communications strategy as follows:

"-it enables each tactical activity to build on the others creating strength of communications through continuity and consistency;

- it helps to create sharper selling messages appropriately directed to target customers at various stages in their buying process;

- tactical planning of each communications tool is made that much easier and quicker when clear strategic direction is agreed;

- it facilitates integrated marketing communications (IMC) which saves time, money and stress as well as providing IMC's other associated benefits of consistency and clarity;

- it can facilitate the development of joint promotions and strategic alliances;

- it can encourage the development of hybrid marketing systems. The addition and integration of new communications tools/channels (for example, telemarketing) to existing communications tools/channels (for example, advertising or the sales force) can create such a hybrid marketing system.

- As well as driving the external communications, a good communications strategy (when communicated internally) creates a bond within an organisation so that everyone knows what everyone else is trying to achieve."

1.1.1 HISTORY OF LOCAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA:

During the Colonial era and upto 1975, there were loose local administrations in Nigeria governed by political appointees called the District Officers. Uniform local council elections were not held nation wide until the Local Government Reform of 1976. The reform introduced a uniform system of Local Government throughout Nigeria.

In his book on Elections and Voting Behaviour in Britain, Denver (1989:2-3) stated that "in traditional democratic theory, elections give sovereignty or ultimate power to the citizens. It is via elections that the citizen participates in the political process and ultimately determines the personnel and policies of government . . . Elections, then are central to democracy, occasion mass political behaviour, determine who governs and thus affect the lives of all". By studying elections, the author continued, "one seeks to deepen an understanding of how a key process of democracy operates, to discover how citizens make their voting decisions and to explain election outcomes". In Britain and the United States of America, elections to Local Governments are held on schedule regularly. However, this has not been the case in Nigeria where military incursion in Federal Government Administration often altered local government election schedules. Instead, Sole Administrators or Caretaker Committees are appointed by the military rulers to take charge of Local Governments.

An elective Local Government was first introduced in Nigeria in 1950 when the former Eastern Nigeria adopted a Democratic Local Government System fashioned on the English model (Ogunna, 1996:237). "This Local Government system was, infact, introduced in 1948 by Eastern Nigeria for the purposes of tax collection and ease of communication with the communities as the warrant chiefs did not command the respect of the people. It was latter adopted by the government of the then Western Region in 1952. Local Government Councils in the Eastern, Western, Midwestern Regions and Lagos Federal Capital Territory during the first Republic were elected by adult males and females who had attained the age of 21 years and were ordinarily

resident in their respective council wards. Council elections were by secret ballot. As the majority of the electorate were illiterates, the electoral system adopted the multiple ballot box system with distinctive symbols for each candidate. Ogunna (1996:238) emphasized that "a few traditional elements were injected into each Local Government Council of Western Nigeria, while the Local Government Councils of Eastern Nigeria rejected chiefs as members of council". Elections were direct except in the Western Region where elections to District and Local Councils were indirect. And for the Divisional Councils, the District Councils served as electoral colleges. Northern Nigeria continued with the undemocratic Native Authority System with occasional moderate adjustments aimed at gradual democratization until the Native Authority Law of 1954 introduced Local Government elections in the Northern Region for the first time ever (op.cit). The Native Authority Law provided secret ballot system with multi-ballot box as in the Eastern and Western Region but females were disenfranchised, only adult males who had attained the age of twenty-one years were qualified to vote in the North. The elections to District and Town Councils in the Northern Region were direct while elections to the Native Authority Councils, Outer Councils and Provincial Councils were indirect and the District Councils served as electoral colleges. The Regional Governments generally conducted the Local Government elections between 1950 and 1966 which made it feasible for each Regional Government and its controlling party to influence and manipulate the election results.

Between 1966 and 1976, Local Governments operated without elected Councils except in the East Central State where the Divisional Administration System of the East Central State provided for elective Councils. That was the era of General Yakubu Gowon's Military Administration.

Following the Local Government Reform of 1976, Local Government elections were held on December 28, 1976 nation wide (Nwadike, 1997:92). One major feature of the elections was that each State Government was empowered to determine its voting

system – direct and indirect. Another significant feature of that election was the expansion of the suffrage to include voters (both men and women in the North and Southern parts of Nigeria) from the age of 18 years. "Major characteristics of that election are as follows. One, Councillorship positions were not keenly contested as a large number of candidates were returned unopposed, hence the turn out of voters at elections was low. This is because there were neither political parties nor organised political education and political mobilisation of the people for renewed political activities. Second, the choice of the chairman of the Local Government was undemocratic as the ultimate selection was made by the Governor of the State, out of three nominees by the Local Government Council.

When the military returned to the barracks and handed over the mantle of leadership to the civilians in 1979, the reforms were abused with impunity. During the period 1979 to 1983 (under President Shehu Shagari) no local election was held and when the tenure of those elected in 1976 expired, they were replaced by caretaker committees which consisted of party loyalists appointed by the state Governors (Nwadike, 1997: 93). The Caretaker Local Government Model of the second Republic gave way to a more undemocratic system of 'Sole Administrator' when the military took over political power in December, 1983. In an attempt to make the Local Government less dictatorial the local Government management committee model was introduced in April 1986 by President Ibrahim Babangida Administration (Ogunna, 1996 : 241). In line with these three Reforms, Local Government elections were held in December, 1987 on a non-party basis. The chairmen, so elected, became executive chairmen who in turn appointed supervisory councillors from the rank of elected councillors. Significantly, the election of the chairman of the Local Government was for the first time done by the entire qualified voters in the Local Governmect area, which is now the constituency of the chairman. Second, there was a low level of political education which resulted in inadequate knowledge of the political issues and the candidates involved in the election, and of the voting procedure (resulting in so many void ballot papers). Third, there was political apathy

which resulted in low percentage turnout. Fourth, the absence of political parties affected efficient nomination of candidates, effective electioneering campaigns and political education of the electorate, and keen competition in the electoral race. Finally, however, the 1987 Local Government election was the first to be conducted by the Federal Government through the National Electoral Commission. Previously, Local Government elections were conducted by State Governments.

Another set of Local Government elections was held in December 1990 on party basis using the open ballot system. The two political parties, the Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention, nominated their candidates in all the council wards throughout Nigeria and sponsored them in the election. It was the first election in the history of Nigeria where the national leaders of political parties embarked on nation-wide campaigns for the election of councillors and chairmen (Ogunna, 1996: 242). Money played a significant negative influence at that election over nomination of candidates and the overall electoral behaviour. The ban on old politicians gave rise to the emergence of political barons, who, working behind the political scene, employed the force of their wealth to determine the candidates to be nominated in their parties. Money was distributed to voters by the barons through trusted agents to ensure the success of their sponsored candidates. Second, too many stringent qualification requirements that bordered on age, party membership, National Electoral Commission clearance, tax clearance certificate, academic qualification, place of residence and cash deposit prevented many candidates from standing for election.
New Local Government areas were created in August and September 1991, and bye-elections into the councils held in November 1991.

Following the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election, and the ousting of the Interim National Government, the Military junta under General Sani Abacha organised Local Government elections between March 16 and 27, 1996 on non-party basis using the delegate system. This election witnessed the huge use of money in

manipulating delegates in the choice of candidates. This election was conducted by the National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON).

Another local government election for councillors and executive chairmen was conducted by NECON on March 15, 1997 on party-basis using the modified secret ballot system. On that day the five political parties (newly registered at that time) fielded candidates for the election. These parties were United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP), Congress for National Consensus (CNC), National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), and Grassroot Democratic Movement (GDM).

Following the mysterious death of General Sani Abacha on June 8, 1998 and the collapse of General Abacha's political structures and transition, caretaker committees were appointed for the Local Governments.

The most recent local government election on party basis was held on December 5, 1998. Nine political associations participated at that election. These were Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Peoples Party (APP), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Democratic Advance Movement (DAM), Movement for Democracy and Justice (MDJ), National Solidarity Movement (NSM), Peoples Redemption Party (PRP), United Democratic Party (UDP), and United Peoples Party (UPP). The performance of these associations at that election formed the basis for registration of three political parties viz: Alliance for Democracy (AD), All People's Party (APP), and People's Democratic Party (PDP). The political parties and their candidates embarked on massive campaigns nation-wide during the December 5, 1998 Local Government Election and a lot of communications tools and media were freely used.

This picture shows how inconsistent the democratic setting has been in Nigeria and how one set of registered political parties has not taken part in repeated local elections since the Local Government Reforms in 1976. This has made it very

difficult to make definite projections about future local government elections on party basis.

1.1.2 <u>HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO POLITICAL MARKETING IN NIGERIA:</u>

In developed nations, politics and marketing have much in common in the sense that while the marketers use marketing techniques to convince their customers that their products are the best in the market, the politicians do the same to persuade the electorate that they are the best candidates especially during elections (Orsaah, 1992 : 30). Hence, Nimmo (1970: 19) stated that the tone of a political campaign is strongly influenced by the attributes of the electorate, their political attitudes, and their voting behaviour. "As a fledging industry campaign management is a direct descendant of the public relations profession that matured in America after the 1920s" (Nimmo, 1970:35). In Nigeria, some elements of marketing application to politics can be identified in every election campaign from the formation of the National Council for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) (in 1944), the Action Group (AG) and the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) (both in 1951) to the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), All People Party (APP), and the Alliance for Democracy (AD) (the last three parties formed in 1998) (Oriavwote, 1999:32). Iornem and Nzeribe (!997:1) have emphasized that "every succeeding election, 1959, 1965, 1979, 1983, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993 has seen more marketing application to politics". More marketing has been involved in the electioneering campaigns of 1997, 1998, and 1999.

Before independence in 1960, the colonial administration had organised a couple of general elections but no deliberate and systematic marketing communications programme was undertaken in any of them (Nzeribe, 1992:45). However, this situation has gradually changed after independence. It was during the 1963 elections that advertising was used, notably by Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Action Group, to send messages to the public. Chief Awolowo used helicopters to write campaign

messages in the sky, that is, skywriting, to propagate his campaign messages. During the series of elections conducted in 1979 to usher in the second Republic, it was obvious that deliberate efforts were made by virtually all parties to persuade voters by use of advertising. The momentum was increased in 1983 with the hiring of advertising agencies by some of the political parties to promote their candidates. The National Party of Nigeria, for example, hired Saatchi and Saatchi from Britain. The two political parties, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC) which contested the series of elections between 1991 and 1993 carried the use of professional advertising agencies further. This reflected also in the quality and creativity of their campaigns. The SDP had a foreign team comprised of British and American experts that worked with Nigerian advertising agencies. Sunrise Marketing Communications, Grant Advertising and DBN were used by the SDP at one time or the other. The NRC was not left behind as they syndicated creative campaign efforts through Nigerian and foreign experts (Iornem, 1995: 160). Political marketing tools were freely used by the political parties and their candidates during Gen. Sani Abacha's regime. These parties were United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), Congress for National Consensus (CNC), National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN), and Grassroot Democratic Movement (GDM). The best of times for Political Marketers in Nigeria came in the era of Gen. Abubakar, Nigeria's last military Head of State in the 20th century, between June 1998 and May 1999. Starting from October 1998 when political parties' primaries for Local Government chairmanship and councillorship aspirants took place to the presidential elections for February 1999, political marketing gained an unprecedented prominence during that regime. During this period, marketing and management consultants were hired, advertising and Public Relations experts were engaged and the mass media (print and electronic) were fully utilised. And of course, this paid off as level of political awareness that reflected in votes cast increased to 75 per cent in 1999 presidential election up from 36.8 per cent in 1979 Presidential election (Oriavwote, 1999: 37). Hence, political marketing has become indispensable machinery in Nigerian politics.

1.1.3 **ANNULMENT AND MANIPULATION OF ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA:**

In Nigeria mass rigging, electoral manipulation and annulment of concluded elections have distorted the expected gains of effectively implemented political marketing programmes. A cursory look at the State by State Results of the June 12,1993 Presidential election (table 1.1) shows how an election widely acclaimed to have been won by Chief M. K O Abiola of the Social Democratic Party was annulled by General Ibrahim Babangida's Military administration. By all standards, the Presidential electioneering campaign of the Social Democratic Party was better planned and managed than that of the National Rebublican Convention. The Social Democratic Party was, in fact, a grassroot political party. It was, therefore, an irony that the election was annulled probably because Alhaji Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention, preferred by the Military junta and the Northern (Hausa-Fulani) oligarchy, did not win. That annulment heralded the instability that bedevilled the polity from June 12,1993 to June 8, 1998 when General Sani Abachi (Nigeria's last Military autocrat) died. That political instability lasted because voters felt that Chief Abiola's well-deserved mandate had been unjustly scuttled. At that Presidential election, Chief M. K.O Abiola secured 58.5 percent of the total votes cast and had a winning spread in 29 of the 30 states at the time, excluding the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja) where he also garnered 52.16 percent of the votes. By the electoral regulations a candidate is deemed to have won if he/she secures at least 25 percent of the votes cast in each state in at least two- thirds of all the states and scores simple majority of the total votes. International observers, stated that the election was the most free and fairest Presidential election they had ever withnessed in Nigeria hence, Iornem (1998:63) emphasised that "the purpose of the annulment was to manipulate the situation to create a conducive atmosphere for the continued stay in office of the Babangida regime". This type of frustration meted out to voters after their choice of a candidate in a well-conducted election gave rise to the general voter apathy that followed subsequent elections until 1998.

S/NO	STATE	VOTES CAST			% ON TOTAL	
		ABIOLA	**TOFA**	**TOTAL**	**ABIOLA**	**TOFA**
1.	ABIA	105,273	151,227	256,500	41.04	58.96
2.	ADAMAWA	104,875	167,239	308,114	45.72	54.28
3.	AKWA IBOM	214,782	199,342	414,124	51.86	48.14
4.	ANAMBRA	212,024	135,029	347,053	61.09	38.91
5.	BAUCHI	339,339	524,836	864,175	39.27	60.73
6.	BENUE	246,830	186,302	433,132	56.99	43.01
7.	BORNO	153,496	128,684	282,180	54.4	45.6
8.	CROSS RIVER	189,303	153,452	342,755	55.23	44.77
9.	DELTA	327,277	145,001	472,278	69.3	30.7
10.	EDO	205,407	103,572	308,979	66.48	33.52
11.	ENUGU	263,101	284,050	547,151	48.09	51.91
12.	IMO	159,350	195,836	355,186	44.86	55.14
13.	JIGAWA	138,552	89,836	228,388	60.67	39.33
14.	KADUNA	389,713	356,860	746,573	52.2	47.8
15.	KANO	169,619	154,809	324,428	52.28	47.72
16.	KATSINA	171,162	271,077	442,239	38.7	61.3
17.	KEBBI	70,219	144,808	215,027	32.66	67.34
18.	KOGI	222,760	165,732	488,492	45.6	54.4
19.	KWARA	288,270	80,209	368,479	78.23	21.77
20.	LAGOS	883,965	149,432	1,033,397	85.54	14.46
21.	NIGER	136,350	221,437	357,787	38.11	61.89
22.	OGUN	365,266	72,068	437,334	83.52	16.48
23.	ONDO	883,024	162,994	1,046,018	84.42	15.58
24.	OSUN	425,725	59,246	404,971	87.78	12.22
25.	OYO	536,011	105,788	641,799	83.52	16.48
26.	PLATEAU	417,565	259,394	676,959	61.68	38.32
27.	RIVERS	370,578	640,973	1,011,551	36.63	63.37
28.	SOKOTO	97,726	372,250	469,976	20.79	79.21

29.	TARABA	101,887	64,001	165,888	61.42	38.58
30.	YOBE	111,887	64,061	175,948	63.59	36.41
31.	FCT - ABUJA	19,968	18,313	38,281	52.16	47.84
	TOTAL	**8,357,304**	**5,927,858**	**14,285,162**	**58.5**	**41.5**

Table 1.1: State by State Results of the June 12,1993 Presidential Election

Source: Iornem, D (1998) How To Win Elections: Tactics and Strategies, JVC Press, Kaduna, Nigeria, P.64.

How have political marketing communications techniques utilized during presidential campaigns been adopted at local election campaigns? Do candidates and campaign managers face the urban and rural dwellers with the same communications tools during local elections campaigns? Is it really necessary to consider the near limitless array of marketing communications factors for utilisation during local election campaigns? These are some questions that will be answered by this study.

1.2   **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:**

In local campaigns, candidates and party workers put up posters, wear party vests and face caps, deliver leaflets, canvass for votes, hold meetings, make statements to local press, advertise in the print and electronic media and try to get their supporters to the polls on election day (Denver, 1989: 94) with a view to achieving their objective of winning the elections. The basic marketing communications tools are advertising, personal selling, sales promotion, public relations, point of sale, packaging and merchandising, exhibition, corporate identity, and publicity. A marketing communications strategy outlines how the marketing communications objectives will be achieved. In fact, many organisations have a marketing strategy and an advertising strategy but they do not have a marketing communications strategy that drives and

integrates all of the communications tools in a single purposeful direction (Smith <u>et al</u>, 1997:87), so do local electioneering campaign organisations. The marketing communications strategy determines the message or sequence of messages which ought to be shared with particular target audiences through the optimum communications mix (for example, advertising or personal selling).

So many factors, including marketing communications factors, may influence the electorate in their voting behaviour in Local Government elections. It is important to mention, however, that marketing communications tools are generally used in conjunction with product, price, and distribution because their potential can be fully realised when their development follows the other marketing tools (Rothschild, 1979:11). Some marketing communications tools used in the urban communities during political campaigns may not be suitable for use in the rural areas. Studies carried out by scholars in the field of political marketing communications – Lazarsfeld <u>et al</u> (1944), Mott (1944), Nimmo (1970), Swineyard and Coney (1978), Smith (1980), Doris (1981), Devlin (1987), Neuman (1987), Weaver-Lariscy <u>et al</u> (1987), Nwosu (1990), Sarwate (1990), Okigbo (1992), Butler and Collins (1994), Iornem (1995), Iornem and Nzeribe (1997), and Oriavwote (1999) – have mostly concentrated on presidential and congressional elections. Only a few studies carried out in Britain – Roper (1978), Denver (1989) and Rallings and Thrasher (1997) – have dealt sparingly on the marketing communications aspect of Local Government electioneering campaigns.

In choosing chairmanship candidates during Local Government elections, voters in the rural and urban areas are faced with several marketing communications tools used by campaign organisations of candidates and/or political parties. It is thought that candidates and their political parties often waste time and energy on too many marketing communications tools before and during local electioneering campaigns, some of which may not be relevant to that situation. As a result, some registered voters have reacted by absenting themselves from voting on election day. Others

have merely become induced into voting for candidates whom they, ordinarily, may not choose to cast their votes for.

This has become a problem for the management of political campaigns for local government elections and even the voters (buyers) themselves who sometimes get confused with too many influences. Given the above scenario, an in-depth study that could provide answers to this problem of management of local electioneering campaigns in Nigeria has become imperative. It is, therefore, apparent that political communications strategy models, that can be relied upon by campaign managers, candidates, political parties, and the electorate in the context of local government electioneering campaigns in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria, have to be developed.

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY:

This study was based on the ordinalist Theory of Choice (Wentz and Eyrich, 1970: 176). The ordinalist theory is based on the premise that a buyer (voter) has an ordered system of preferences – that he prefers product (political party or candidate) A to B, B to C, C to D and so on – and that he will act rationally in making choices between goods (political parties or candidates).

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

It is obvious that most political parties, candidates and their campaign managers in Nigeria are often faced with this complex problem of how to formulate marketing communications strategies and manage local electioneering campaigns. In this regard, the major objectives of this study are:

(i) to identify the various marketing communications techniques currently used by political parties, candidates and campaign managers during local electioneering campaigns in Nigeria;

(ii) to design marketing communications strategy models capable of solving the campaign communications management problems in Nigerian rural and urban areas during local elections.

(iii)   to validate the designed models in order to assess their performance when applied to future Local Government electioneering campaigns.

(iv)   to identify more manageable marketing communications factors to be used for strategy formulation in local electioneering campaigns;

(v)   to evaluate the usefulness (or otherwise) of current marketing communications strategies used in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria during local electioneering campaigns;

(vi)   to examine socio-economic characteristics of the electorate, and other factors that may influence voters perception of marketing communications techniques used in local electioneering campaigns.

1.5   **RESEARCH QUESTIONS:**

The following research questions arise from the research objectives stated in section 1.4 above:

(i)   What are the various marketing communications techniques currently used by political parties, candidates, and Campaign managers during local council election campaigns in Nigeria?

(ii)   To what extent are current marketing communications strategies used in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria during local electioneering campaigns useful?

(iii)   Do voters in rural and urban areas of Nigeria perceive the marketing communications factors in the same manner in local electioneering campaigns?

(iv)   What is the relationship between socio-economic characteristics of voters and their perception of marketing communications techniques used in local electioneering campaigns?

(v)   Which of the various marketing communications factors are significant in the formulation of strategy for local electioneering campaigns in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria?

(vi)   Are marketing communications strategy models capable of solving the campaign communications management problems in Nigerian rural and urban areas during local elections?

(vii)   Will time and energy be saved when the important marketing communications factors are identified for emphasis?

(viii)   How reliable are the marketing communications strategy models developed in this study when applied to future local council electioneering campaigns?

1.6   **FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES:**

The following hypotheses have been framed to address the research questions in section 1.5 above:

(i)   Ho: Voting behaviour is not dependent of the consideration of a significant number of marketing communications factors.

            Ha: Voting behaviour is dependent of the consideration of a significant Number of marketing communications factors

(ii)   Ho: There is no significant relationship between voters' socio-economic characteristics and their perception of the importance of marketing communications factors.

            Ha: There is significant relationship between voters' socio-economic characteristics and their perception of the importance of marketing communications factors.

(iii)   Ho: The characteristic influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour is not significantly different between rural and urban Local Governments of Nigeria.

            Ha: The characteristic influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour is significantly different between rural and urban Local Governments of Nigeria.

1.7   **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:**

The rational behaviour in campaign management dictates that a candidate should not seek to capture the votes of all the voters. Although this is desirable, yet in reality it is hardly possible because the candidate's constituency is not a homogenous aggregate. There are differences in race, ethnicity, religion and socio-economic status, which affect the choice which the voter makes. "What the candidate has to do, therefore, is to make a discriminatory judgement of what segment of voters to focus upon for purposes of eliciting positive reaction which will assure him/her success at the polls" (Omoruyi, 1991: 11). Allen (1990:73) called this discriminatory judgement, and explained "targeting" as "the fine art and science of determining who and where (a candidate's) high priority voters can be found and how (the candidate) can persuade them to vote for him/her". Targeting is not effectively carried out by political parties, candidates, and campaign workers in Nigerian local elections: too many campaign tools are used on every voter at the same time.

This study fills the gap for the following significant reasons:

(i)   Marketing communications strategy utilized during local electioneering campaigns in the rural and urban areas by political parties, candidates and party workers has considerable influence on voters' choice;

(ii)   Socio-economic characteristics of the electorate in the rural and urban communities of Nigeria influence their perception of marketing communications tools used in local electioneering campaigns;

(iii)   Models of marketing communications strategy developed for use in local electioneering campaigns in Nigeria will go a long way in making the management of election campaigns more effective;

(iv)   Time and energy will be saved when significant marketing communications factors are identified for emphasis by political parties, candidates, and campaign managers;

(v)   The government, electoral and democratic agencies will benefit from this study;

(v)   This work will be useful to various scholars in the fields of Marketing, Political Science, Sociology and Management as well as Postgraduate students undertaking courses in the areas of "Communications Strategies", "Political Campaign Management", and "Model Building".

1.8   **STATEMENT OF ASSUMPTIONS:**

This study assumed that the voter exhibits rational behaviour; that when faced with more than one party or candidate, he /she will choose rationally.

The study further made the assumption that voters will behave in a similar manner when faced with any local government election other than that of December 5, 1998.

Finally, this study proceeded with the assumption that marketing communications Strategy is an indispensable element in Electioneering Campaign Management.

1.9   **SCOPE OF THE STUDY**:

This study covered five (5) out of the thirty-six (36) states in Nigeria. One state each was chosen at random from the Midwest, West, East, North, and Middlebelt of Nigeria. These states were representative of the former regions in the Country. The northern region was split into two-North and Middlebelt-for the purposes of this study to give that region proportionate representation because of its population strength.

Two sets of questionnaire were structured; one was administered on local government chairmanship candidates of the December 5, 1998 election and the other

on registered voters resident in rural and urban local government areas of each of these five states. Once again, five (5) local government areas were randomly selected in each of the five (5) states.

The study covered the voting behaviour of the electorate in the December 5, 1998 Local Government Chairmanship election vis-a-vis the Marketing Communications strategy of political parties and their candidates during the campaigns.

1.10   **<u>LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY</u>**:

This study had a limitation of being focused on a sample of the population of Nigeria and was, hence, confined to responses from that sample of voters.

Another limitation is that the study covered five of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. That is, the South South, the South West, the South East, the North Central, and theNorth West were covered. The North East geopolitical zone was not covered. However, this limitation is made up for by similarities in behavioural pattern of voters in the North West and North East geopolitical zones.

Yet another obvious limitation was the inability of illiterate voters to read and offer responses to the questionnaire. However, this limitation was overcome with the use of trained interviewers proficient in the local languages.

1.11   **C<u>ONCEPTUAL DEFINITION OF TERMS</u>:**

The following terms require special conceptual and theoretical definition in this study:

<u>Choice</u>: This refers to the act of selecting one alternative in preference to one or more other possibilities.

<u>Communications</u>: Communications is the means of transmitting a message or information from one person to another, usually from a source to a receiver through a medium with a feedback mechanism.

Effective Communication: This means making one's ideas and feelings clear to others with a view to producing the intended result.

Election: Election can be defined as an instance of choosing by votes one or more of the candidates for a position. Elections are the means by which the great mass of citizens can participate directly in the political process.

Electioneering: This refers to the activity of trying to influence people to vote for a particular candidate in an election especially by visiting their houses or making speeches (Crowther, 1995: 372).

Electioneering Campaign: This means a series of planned activities with a particular political aim of influencing people to vote for a particular candidate in an election.

Local Election: Local election can be defined as an instance of choosing by vote one or more of the candidates for the position of chairman or councillor of a local government area.

Management: Management, in the context of this study denotes the function of managing. Managing is the process of getting things done by and through others (Hicks and Gullett, 19988: 7).

Marketing: The Chartered Institute of Marketing, England, defines Marketing as the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating, and satisfying customers' requirements profitably (Quarterly Review of Marketing, 1990, vol.15, no. 4 , P.1).

Marketing Communications-mix: The Marketing Communications-mix consists of the following communication tools: sales force (personal selling); advertising; sales

promotion; direct marketing, public relations; sponsorship; exhibitions; corporate identity; packaging; point of sale promotion and merchandising; word of mouth; Internet and publicity (Smith et al 1997: 9).

Marketing Communications Strategy: Marketing Communications Strategy determines the message or sequence of messages, which should be shared with specific target audiences through the optimum communications mix. Strategy summarizes how objectives will be achieved (Smith et al, 1997:77).

Media: This term refers to the means or channels through which the message is transmitted from the source to the receiver (Nwosu and Ekwo, 1996:11). Basically, there are two types of mass media: print media (which entails all forms of printed materials like outdoor bill boards, newspapers, magazines, journals, and electronic media (which include audio-visual channels like radio, television, computer (Internet)).

Model This is a formal framework for representing the basic features of a complex system by a few central relationships. Models take the form of graphs, mathematical equations and computer programmes (Aigbiremolan, 1998:19).

Rational Behaviour: This is simply viewed, in this study, as a matter of making rational choices between alternative candidates or parties by the voter acting on his set of preferences selecting that combination which yields the greatest satisfaction (Wentz and Eyrich, 1970: 173). An individual can rely on his own rational thought as a means for deciding that something is correct. To act rationally means to choose the course of action that best satisfies one's goals (Brams, 1979: 15).

Voting: This refers to the action of formally indicating one's choice of candidate or political party at an election.

Voting Behaviour: The term voting behaviour implies the way the voter (buyer) acts in making his choice of candidate or political party at an election.

Politics: Politics is about power, influence, interests, and values. Politics refers to "all those activities which are directly or indirectly associated with the seizure of state power, the consolidation of state power, and the use of state power" (Nnoli,1986:7).

Political Science: This term represents a set of techniques, concepts, and approaches whose objective is to increase the accuracy of our understanding about the political world (Danziger 1991:5).

Political Marketing: As used in this study, political marketing is the performance of marketing functions, and the use of marketing systems, methods or strategies for the attainment of political goals. Specifically, it is the use of marketing techniques in politics to influence the voting (buying) decision of the electorate (consumers) (Orsaah, 1992: 31).

Rural Local Government: This term, in the contest of this study, describes a local government that is situated in an area of villages which lack the basic infrastructural amenities present in the cities but with total population of less than 150,000 persons, (Okpouko, 1979:33). A locality with less than 20,000 people is taken as a rural community (Onokerhoraye,1995:33).

Urban Local Government: This term describes a local government that is situated in a city or town where the basic infrastructural amenities are present and has a population of more than 150,000 persons (Okpouko, 1979: 33). The urban local government area is often densely populated. A settlement with 20,000 or more inhabitants is referred to as urban (Onokerhoraye, 1995:33).

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0   LITERATURE REVIEW:

This chapter is subdivided into two major sections viz:

(i) Theoretical Framework and (ii) Review of Related Literature.

2.1   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

In this section several frameworks, relevant to consumer/voting behaviour, marketing communications and campaign management have been outlined. The section concerns itself with the theories of these three subjects; that is, consumer/voting behaviour, marketing communications, and campaign management. The first step in formulating a marketing communications strategy is to identify, analyse and ultimately understand the target market and its buying behaviour (Smith, 1997:65). So, a consideration of voting behaviour is pertinent for discussion at this point.

2.2.1   VOTING BEHAVIOUR:

In discussing consumer behaviour and its implications for marketing strategy, it is necessary to examine the role voting behaviour plays in the development of marketing strategy. In order to develop successful marketing strategies, marketers must understand how markets are segmented and how consumer behaviour differs from one market segment to another (Hawkins et al, 1989: 5). All behaviour is guided by theories, however informal and implicit those theories may be. Until recently, consumers have increasingly been viewed as less rational in their approach to buying but the current perspective has implicitly redefined rationality from the formal definition of economics to one that is more appropriate to the study of individual consumers (Horton, 1984: 11). A Theory provides a clear description of the behaviour of the buyer. A good theory enables the prediction of buyer behaviour. In addition, theory provides insights into how buyer behaviour may be influenced.

And of course, a good theory provides a framework for integrating a wide range of findings.

2.2.1.1 **THEORIES OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR:**

The voter goes through similar decision making process as the buyer or consumer in his choice of candidate or political party. In voting behaviour, choice is often influenced by familiarity with the candidate, or sometimes the level of trust in the candidate and/or his political party. There are however, many conscious and unconscious reasons underlying why people vote the way they do. Some of these reasons are rational while others are emotional. The split between the two is called the "emotional/rational dichotomy" (Smith, 1997: 67). Hence, familiarity can be generated by actual experience and/or increased awareness boosted by advertising. If one candidate can get into the front of the mind of a voter ("front of mind awareness") through advertising for instance, then he will stand a better opportunity of being voted for in a simple voting situation unless the voter has a preferred set of candidates which specifically excludes a particular candidate. In this section, consideration is given to a description of models of buying behaviour and then a look taken at how the "intervening variables" of perception, motivation, learning, memory, attitudes, beliefs, personality and group influence may influence the communication process and ultimately voting behaviour. The models treated here are response hierarchy models, black box models, personal variable models and complex models. It is worthy of note that there is a distinction between theory and model. The term model has a much more practical ring than does theory. The term model is reserved for relatively specific, quantitatively specific relationships among a set of variables that have been derived from a more general theory. However, the two terms are used interchangeably in the buyer behaviour literature (Horton, 1984: 29). The models of buying behaviour discussed here have been well articulated by Smith (1997: 69 - 76).

Models of Buyer Behaviour:

Figure 2.1 is a simple buying model, which serves as a useful checklist to see whether a buyer is filling in all the communication gaps in the buying process. The model should not be hierarchical since in reality there are loops, for example between information and evaluation as the buyer learns about new criteria not previously considered. However, the model is quite relevant for a high-involvement purchase like voting at elections.

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   Problem Recognition   │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                ↓
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   Information Search    │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                ↓
                      ┌───────────────────┐
                      │    Evaluation     │
                      └───────────────────┘
                                ↓
                        ┌───────────────┐
                        │   Decision    │
                        └───────────────┘
                                ↓
                          ┌─────────┐
                          │   Buy   │
                          └─────────┘
                                ↓
                   ┌──────────────────────────┐
                   │  Post – Purchase Decision │
                   └──────────────────────────┘
                      ↙                    ↘
  ┌──────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────────┐
  │   Dissatisfaction    │        │   Satisfaction           │
  │  = Brand Candidate   │        │     = Loyalty            │
  │      Rejection       │        │     = Repeat purchase    │
  └──────────────────────┘        │       (at re-election    │
                                  │        time)             │
                                  └──────────────────────────┘
```
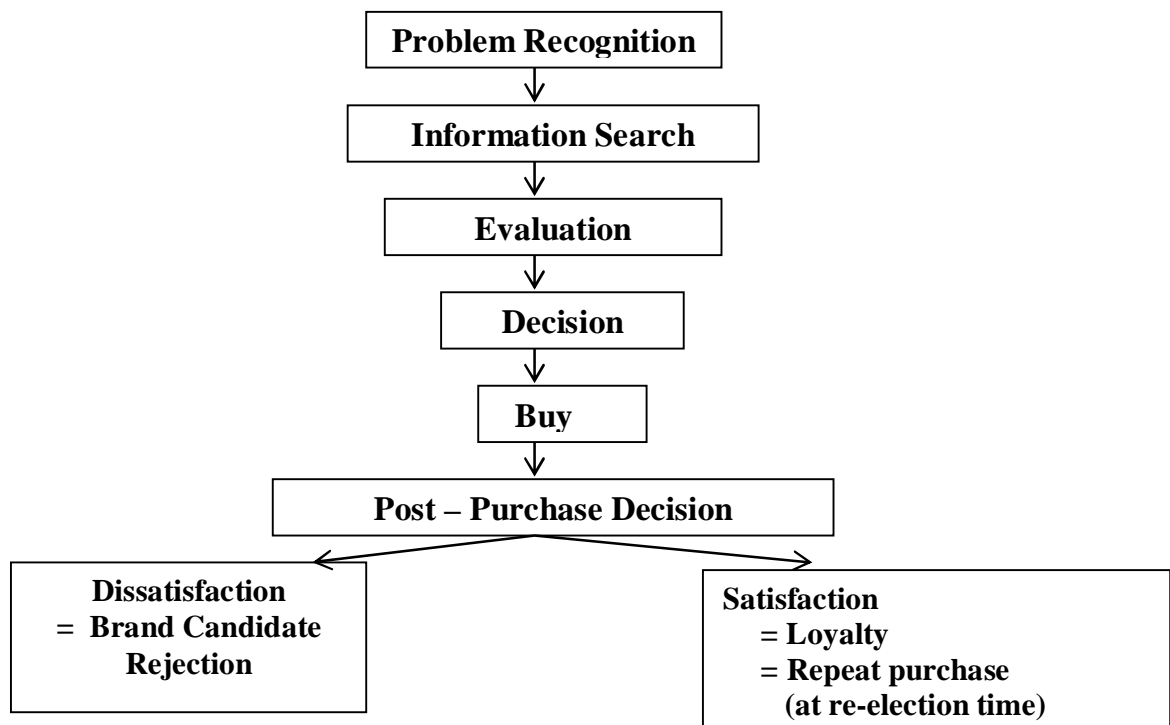
Figure 2.1.   **A Simple Model of the Buying (Voting) Process**

Source: **Smith, P.R (1997) Marketing Communications: An Integrated Approach, Kogan Page, London, P.70.**

A description of buying process could be done using the voting situation for electing candidates. If someone tells his friend that there is a need to vote at a local government election, this is problem recognition, which will be followed by "information search". This may involve adverts and editorial in newspapers, attendance at political rallies and debates, and discussion among friends. Next comes evaluation. Leaflets, adverts and discussions are amassed and a set of criteria is further refined. Finally, a decision is made to choose a

particular candidate. After voting for a candidate, doubts or "post-purchase dissonance" can be addressed by reassuring voters with thank you messages and elected officials living up to the promise made during electioneering campaigns. And if the candidate (product) matches the promise then both repeat voting during re-election and word-of-mouth referrals are more likely over the longer run.

Response Hierarchy Models:

Stage	AIDA	Lovidge & Steiner	Adoption	DAGMAR	Howard & Sheth (Specified)
Cognitive	Attention	Awareness ↓ Knowledge	Awareness	Unawareness ↓ Awareness ↓ Comprehension	Attention ↓ Comprehension
Affection	Interest ↓ Desire	Liking ↓ Preference ↓ Conviction	Interest ↓ Evaluation ↓ Trial	Conviction	Attitude ↓ Intention
Behaviour	Action	Purchase	Adoption	Action	Purchase
	Strong (1925)	Lavidge and Steiner (1961)	Rogers (1962)	Colley (1961)	Howard and Sheth (1969)

Figure 2.2   Communication Models

Sources: **1. Strong,E.K (1925) The Psychology of Selling,McGraw Hill, New York, P.51.**

2. **Lavidge, R.C and Steiner, G.A (1961) "A Model for Predictive Measurements of Advertising Effectiveness", <u>Journal of Marketing</u>, 25(oct), P.60.**

3. **Rogers, E. M (1962) <u>Diffusion of Innovations</u>, Free Press, New York, P.84.**

4. **Colley, R.H (1961<u>) Defining Advertising Goals for Measured Advertising Results</u>, Association of National Advertisers, New York, P.39.**

5. **Howard, J.A and Sheth J.N (1969) <u>The Theory of Buyer Behaviour</u>, Wiley, New York, P.26.**

The Communication Models in figure 2.2 show what are perceived to be the sequence of mental stages through which a voter passes on his journey towards voting. These models, sometimes called "message models" or "response hierarchy models", help to prioritize the communication objectives by determining whether a cognitive, affective or behavioural response is required, that is, whether the political party or campaign organisation wants to create awareness in the target audience's mind, or to change an attitude. It is noteworthy that these message models are helpful but not conclusive because (i) not all buyers go through all stages (ii) the stages do not necessarily occur in a hierarchical sequence and (iii) impulse purchase contract the process.

These hierarchical communication models identify the stages through which buyers generally pass. An understanding of these stages helps to plan appropriate marketing communications. Buyers can avoid following the hierarchy of stages when making a more considered purchase (extended problem solving). For instance, during the evaluation stage, a potential voter may go back to the Information stage to obtain more information about a candidate before making a decision to vote.

Ideally, these models should allow for loops caused by "message decay" (or forgetting), changes in attitudes, competitive distractions, and so on. The models also

ignore the minds "intervening variables", some of which are identified in both the "personal variable models" and the "complex models". The models allow for the loops and the complexities of the intervening variables.

The black box model is another buyer model that needs consideration.

The Black Box Models:

Stimulus Variables (inputs)	→	Intervening Variables (black box)	→	Response Variables (outputs)
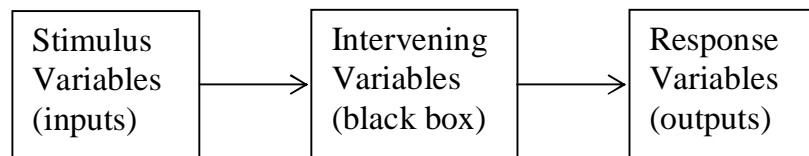
Figure 2.3   Black Box Model
Source: Smith (ibid: 73)

Inputs/stimuli	**Processor**	**Outputs/behaviour**

Product
Price
Place
Promotion:
   Advertising
   Selling
   Sales promotion
   Publicity
   Packaging
   Point-of-sale
   Merchandising
   Exhibition
   Corporate identity
   Sponsorship
   Sales literature
   Direct marketing
   Word-of-mouth
	Buyer	Product purchase
		
		Brand purchase
		
		Brand loyalty/
		Repeat purchase
		
		Size of purchase
		
		Frequency of
		purchase

Figure 2.4   **An Enlarged Black Box Model**

Source: **Op.cit**

The black box models are not concerned with the complex range of internal and external factors, which affect the behaviour. The complexities of the mind are left locked up in a "black box" as shown in figure 2.3. The black box (or stimulus-response) models focus on the input for example, voting behaviour and ignore the complexities of the mind (including the intervening variables such as perception, motivation, attitudes and so on).

According to Williams (1989:39), "black box models treat the individual and his physical and psychological make-up as an impenetrable black box". Only the inputs and outputs are measured. Figure 2.4 shows an enlarged black box model displaying some instances of "input" and "output".

This limitation necessitates a discussion of the personal variable models.

<u>Personal Variable Models:</u>

The personal variable models take a look into the black box of the mind. These models involve only a few personal variables like beliefs, attitudes, and intentions. Sometimes, the models could be used within more complex models. The three most relevant types of personal variable models are: linear additive", threshold", and trade-off".

Linear additive models are based on the number of attributes which a particular product (say candidate) has, multiplied by the score each attribute is perceived to have, multiplied by the weighting which each attribute is deemed to have. The model opens up attitudes by indicating which attributes are seen to be important to the customer (voter) and how each attribute is scored by the customer (voter). However, attitudes are not always translated into purchasing behaviour. Though intentions are not always translated into action, marketing strategies can be built around changing beliefs about attributes, and altering their evaluation or scores.

The threshold models posit that most purchases have cut-off points or thresholds beyond which the buyer (voter) will not venture. In these models, the buyer (voter) has a selection process, which screens and accepts those products (Candidates) within the threshold for either further analysis or immediate purchase (voting).

The trade-off models maintain that buyers (voters) generally posses a wide array of choices, most of them with different kinds and amount of attributes. A trade-off occurs when the buyer (voter) accepts a product (candidate) which is lacking in one attribute but strong in another. Then, a sort of compensatory mechanism occurs as these attributes can be traded off against each other.

Complex Models:

The complex buying models actually open the lid and look inside the mind's black box. These models try to incorporate into the hierarchical communication models the intervening variables of perception, motivation, learning, memory, attitude, beliefs, group influence and so on. The complex models of relevance are Nicosia, Andreason, Engel, Kollat and Blackwell, and Howard and Sheth models.

Nicosia Model:

Field One: From the Source of a Message to Consumer's Attitude
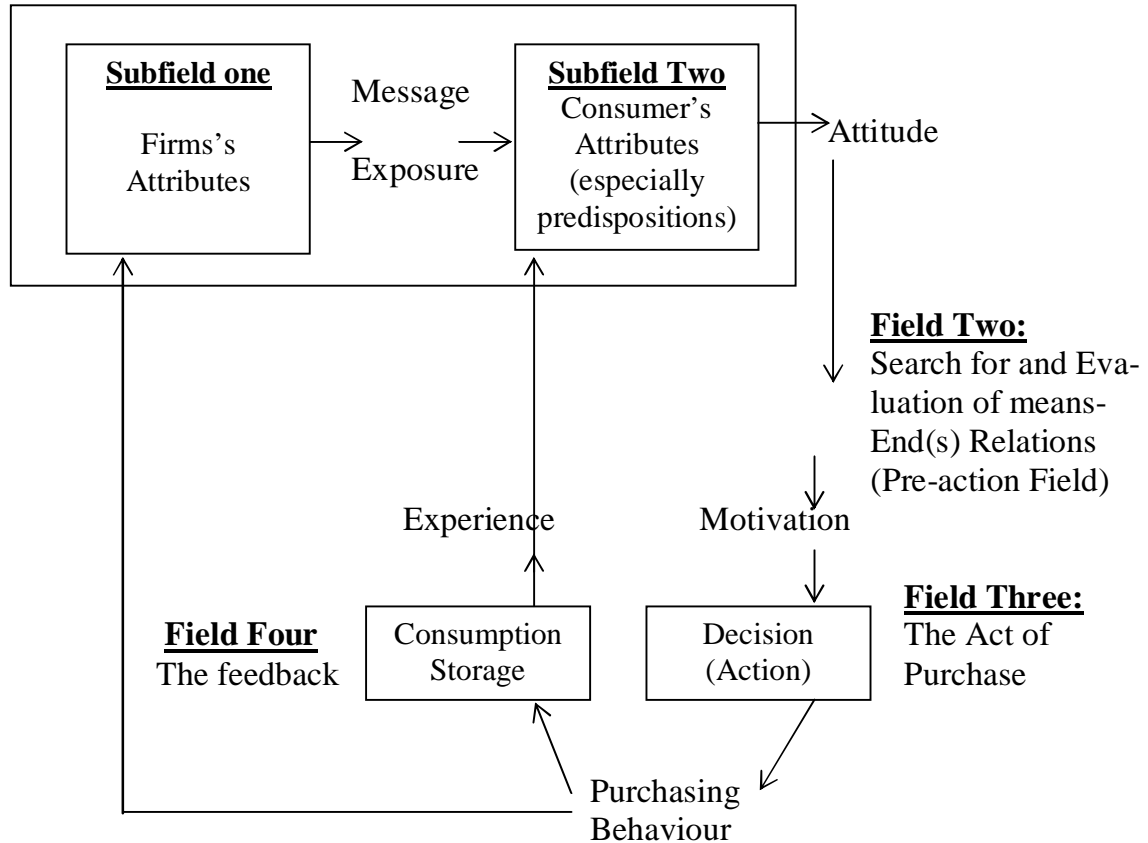
Figure 2.5:   **A Summary Description of the Nicosia Model**

Source: **Nicosia, F.M (1966) <u>Consumer Decision Processes</u>, Prentice Hall, New York, P. 156.**

The Nicosia model is mainly concerned with the buying decision for a new product (first-time candidate). Nicosia used as a base for his model a computer flow chart technique, divided into four district "fields". The output from each field becomes the input to the succeeding field (Baker <u>et al</u>, 1983 : 66). The model depicts a message (for example, an advertisement for a first time candidate) flowing from its source (in this case, the campaign organisation of the political party and/or candidate) in the direction of an eventual decision outcome by the customer (voter).

The Nicosia model is the only comprehensive model of buyer behaviour that explicitly includes the firm (Campaign organisation or political party) (Horton, 1984: 31.) Like most comprehensive models of buyer behaviour, Nicosia model has certain limitations. One, the model tends to present all buyer behaviour as highly rational. Two, the model has received little empirical testing (Zaltman et al., 1973: 109) and many of its variables are not satisfactorily defined (Horton, 1984: 32). Finally, Nicosia attempted to define his model mathematically, which has frequently been criticised as premature (Ehrenberg, 1986:334).

Andreason Model:

Figure 2.6   **Andreason Model of Consumer Behaviour**

Source: **Andreason, A.R. (1965) " Attitudes and Customer Behaviour: A Decision Model" In Preston, L (ed) <u>New Research in Marketing</u>, Institute of Business and Economic Research, University of California, Berkeley, P.12.**

Andreason model, primarily, addresses the problem of how a consumer decides whether or not to purchase a new product (first time candidate). The schematic representation of the model is shown in figure 2.6, the solid lines represent direct flows while the dashed lines represent feedback to previously defined variables. Information has a major function in this model. The main thrust of the Andreason model is attitude. Information gives rise to attitude. Attitude (seen as a predisposition to act towards the attitude object (a particular candidate or brand), gives rise to behaviour. Hence, behaviours may be changed by changing attitudes.

In Andreason's model, attitudes may be changed in a number of ways. For instance, a consumer (voter) who changes group affiliation is likely to conform to the new group norms. Limitations of the Andreason model are: one, it is limited to the development of the initial decision to purchase (to vote) and has little to say about repeat purchases (re-election voting for second time candidates); two, it gives extraordinary weight to attitudes at the expense of other variables, which might have been included or more fully developed. Finally, another limitation is that the relationship among many of the variables are not very well specified (Horton, 1984: 31).

Engel, Kollat, and Blackwell Model:

Figure 2.7:   **The Engel, Kollat, and Blackwell Model of Consumer Behaviour for High Involvement Decisions.**

Source: **Engel, J.F and Blackwell, R.D (1982) <u>Consumer Behaviour</u>, 4th ed., The Dry Press, Chicago, P.42.**

Search, yielding/acceptance, and external search variables were deleted in the low involvement version of the Engel, kollat, and Blackwell model.

This model is described as the first to provide the organisational framework for consumer behaviour. It is a complete model of buying behaviour, which uses as a base the five steps in decision-making – problem recognition, search, alternative evaluation, choice and outcomes.

The contributions of the three basic internal processes – perception, learning and motivation – represent major steps in the model, while personality and attitude are seen to exert pressure upon the movement through the steps.

Howard and Sheth Model:
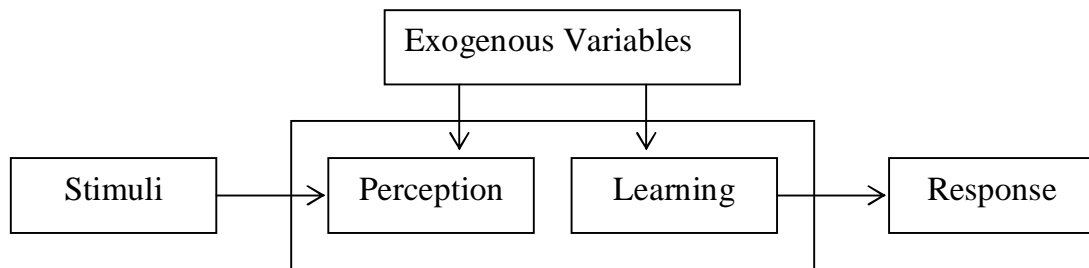
Figure 2.8:   **A simplified version of Howard – Sheth Model**
Source: **Smith (ibid: 75)**

Input
Stimulus display **Perceptual constructs** **Learning constructs** **Output**

Significative
(a) Quality
(b) Price
(c) Distinctiveness
(d) Service
(e) Availability

Symbolic
(a) Quality
(b) Price
(c) Distinctiveness
(d) Service
(e) Availability

Social
(a) Family
(b) Reference groups
(c) Social class

Overt search

Stimulus ambiguity

Attention

Perceptual bias

Confidence

Attitude

Motives

Choice criteria

Brand compre-hension

Satisfac-tion

Informa-tion

Purchase

Intention

Attitude

Brand compre-hension

Attention

Figure 2.9: **Howard – Sheth Model of buyer behaviour**
Source: **Howard and Sheth (ibid: 28).**

The Howard and Sheth Model is the only comprehensive theory of buyer behaviour to have been extensively tested or to have been submitted to anything even approximating a comprehensive text of the theory (Farley and Ring, 1970: 431)

The complete complex model in figure 2.9 includes perception, learning, attitudes and motivation. Stimulus ambiguity implies inadequate information to make a decision. Perceptual bias basically means that there is a certain amount of distortion in the way that an individual perceives a stimulus (Smith, 1997.75).

Though the Howard-Sheth model provides a useful insight into the possible working of the mind, it is not without some limitations. It lacks a clear definition of the relationship between some of the variables and a lack of distinction between the endogenous variables (within the model) and exogenous variables (external to the model.)

Generally, comprehensive models of buyer behaviour have considerable value in identifying important variables and their possible relationships, integrating existing knowledge, and suggesting new hypothesis for empirical testing (Horton, 1984: 47).

The Intervening Variables:

The relationship between the good theory and its practical application is not a simple one-way flow (Baker, et al, 1983:70). The intervening variables discussed below offer areas of application of the consumer behaviour theory.

(a)   **Perception**

Perception has been defined as the process by which the brain constructs an internal representation of the outside world (Bourne and Ekstrand, 1979:67). While Smith (1997: 76) explained that "perception means the way stimuli, such as commercial messages, advertisements, packaging, shops, uniforms, and so on are interpreted". He re-iterated that perception is selective hence we see what we want to see, and conclude that perception is inextricably linked with past experience, motivation, beliefs, attitudes and the ability to learn.

Baker et al (1983: 72) reported that social psychologists have observed that it is not possible for the human being to perceive and internalise the multiplicity of sensory stimulation with which he is surrounded. Consequently, Bauer and Greyser (1968:17) have applied this concept to the field of advertising; out of a potential exposure to some 1,500 advertisements per day, the consumer was found in that study to perceive only 76, and perhaps 12 of these could be related to his subsequent behaviour. This has equally been the case with perception of political advertising messages.

The existence of the perceptual field has a further implication for the marketing practitioner in view of the growing body of opinion that indicates

that brand (political party of candidate) choice is not merely a matter of brand (political party of candidate) awareness, but also of the consumer's evaluation of the brand (political party or candidate) into a set, or group, of products within the perceptual field (Baker et al, 1983: 72). It has been argued (Howard and Sheth, 1969: 58) that consumers select from the brands (political parties or candidates) of which they are aware a smaller group of brands (political parties or candidates) from which eventual choice will be made. This eventual choice group has been termed **evoked set.**

Parallel to the positively evaluated "evoked set", it has also been suggested that within the brands (political parties or candidates) included in a consumer's overall awareness set are negatively evaluated brands (political parties or candidates **- inept-set –** and a third group, **inert-set,** towards which the consumer (voter) is neither negative nor positive (Narayana and Markin, 1975: 19). Baker, et al (1983: 72) have consequently demonstrated that this recognition of **set** relationships is relevant to the marketing tools of product (political party or candidate) positioning and market segmentation.

(b)   **Motivation:**

Motivation is defined as the drive to satisfy a need (Smith, 1997: 80). Smith explained that some motives are socially learned (for example wanting to get married) and others are instinctive (for example wanting to eat when hungry); that many motives are unconcious but active in that they influence every-day buying behaviour. Smith further asserted that brands (political parties or candidates) carry covert messages which are fleetingly understood at a subconcious level and concluded that this deeper meaning is the actual reason why people (voters) buy (choose) products or services (political parties or candidates). Hence, Horton (1984: 114) emphasised that when a person is observed engaging in an action (such as voting for a particular party or candidate) the inclination is to ask why this action, or behaviour, occurs

because the person is **motivated** to do it. Perhaps, the hypothetical buyer (voter) is motivated by a need to change the status quo by choosing a more pragmatic candidate and by voting out the incumbent or, perhaps there is some other reason for this particular action. Theories of motivation have been designed to offer explanations as to why buyers behave as they do, hence the motive concept is concerned with the reasons that behaviour occurs.

Research into the role of motivation has attempted to discover the underlying and subconscious reasons for purchase actions, analysed within a frame-work of Freudian theory (Baker, et al, 1983: 76).

(c)   **Learning:**

Horton (1984: 138) stated that learning refers to a relatively permanent change in behaviour caused by experience and practice. Unobservable behaviour, such as memorising a brand (poilitical party) name, is part of learning. And, an observer can only determine if learning has occurred by observing some overt behaviour, such as the ability to recall a brand (political party) name.

Interest in learning theories took off from Pavlov's early work in classical conditioning, which broadly established that much human behaviour is learned behaviour. Learning in this context can be described as "All changes in behaviour that result from previous behaviour in similar situations (Berelson and Steiner, 1963:191). Learning theory becomes applicable in the context of consumer action, where in numerous purchasing situations the behavioural outcome can be related to past experience according to Baker et al (1983: 73). Baker and his colleagues continued that reinforcement of stimulus was a central characteristic of the classical conditioning model. They added that it is this area of message repetition that has been the most assiduously examined, giving rise to the general observation that distribution of an advertisement over a period of time is more effective in achieving perception and retention

than a heavy concentration of the same advertisement in a limited time period. Hence, Myers and Reynolds (1967:57) concluded from their research studies that continuity of an advertising campaign over a period of time is more effective for an established product, while for a new product which requires some thought on the part of the consumer, a greater impact can be achieved through concentrating the message repetition into a short time span, which is in accord with the views of psychologists regarding established patterns of behaviour (that is previously learned behaviour), and the formation of new patterns of behaviour.

Smith (1997: 78) opined that marketers obviously want customers to learn about firstly, the existence of their brand or company, and secondly, the merits of their particular brands. Knowledge of the learning process is therefore useful in understanding how customers acquire, store, and retrieve messages about products, brands and companies (political parties and candidates).

(d)   **Attitudes:**

Buying (voting) behaviour is affected by **attitude.** Smith (1997:82) defined an attitude as a predisposition towards a person, a brand, a product, a company (or political party) or a place. Attitudes have been described by Smith to be learned and tend to stick, they can be changed, but not very quickly. Thus, Williams (1989: 81) stated that "If a marketer is able to identify the attitudes held by different market segments towards his product, and also to measure changes in those attitudes, he will be well placed to plan his marketing strategy".

Attitudes are sometimes formed without direct experience and, of course, some products are bought without any prior attitude.

Attitude has three basic components often described as **"think, feel, do"** or **"cognitive, affective** and **conative"** respectively (Smith, 1997: 83). The cognitive component is the awareness of, say, a brand or political party or candidate. The affective portion is the positive or negative feeling associated with the brand or political party or candidates while the conative element is the intention of purchase (or vote). Identifying the levels of each attitudinal element helps to set tighter communication objectives. For instance, creative strategy for increasing brand (political party) awareness would be different from the strategy required to change the target market's feelings (or reposition the brand or political party).

Attitudes influence behaviour and behaviour in turn influences attitudes. Hence, knowledge of consumer attitudes provide a sound basis for improving products, redesigning packages and developing and evaluating promotional programmes (Baker, et al 1983: 78).

Attitudes play a vital role in the process known as communication, in the bringing of individuals into contact with new stimuli from the world around them. Therefore, much of what are generally refer to as political behaviour can best be understood in the context of certain attitudes that people hold (Manheim, 1982: 8).

(e)   **<u>Culture:</u>**

Anthropologists have agreed that culture is not easy to define in specific discernible and measurable components. However, Baker et al (1982: 78) affirmed that "the persuasive nature of cultural influence is a force shaping both patterns of consumption and patterns of decision-making from infancy; it both describes and prescribes the way of life of the specific society". Then, Tham (1998:7) defined culture as "a shared and commonly held body of

general beliefs and values which define the "shoulds" and the "oughts" of life for those who hold them".

The vast differences among cultures in terms of demographics, socio-economics, values, languages, and the physical and social infrastructure that support each makes importance of cultural variables to the development of effective marketing strategy self-evident (Horton, 1984: 328). Thus, White (1959:44) concluded that "advertising can operate within the limits of culture to create new expectations for the consumer".

An important facet of the cultural variable lies in the existence of subcultures (sub cultures are groups within known and identifiable societies with distinctive characteristics of their own, some of which may be very different from the total pattern of that society). Subcultures are of significance to the marketer because of their influence upon the mainstream, and because of the different types of products and services which they might demand, opening up sometimes unexpected opportunities (Baker, et al., 1983:79).

Manheim (1982: 49) has seen political culture as a set of common attitudes and beliefs about common objects where the primary belief is that these objects bear a relationship to the political system. He concluded that reference may be made to the intangible body of agreement that results from the fundamental attitudes and beliefs held by individuals in common, as the political culture of the society.

(f)   **Personality:**

Personality is closely related to both attitudes and values. There is no generally accepted definition of personality but different theories of personality are united by "the concept of consistent responses to the world of stimuli surrounding the individual" and reflect the fact than "man does tend to

be consistent in coping with his environment"(Kassarjian; 1971:409). Kassarjian has further pointed out the inconclusive nature of studies that have been undertaken in a review of personality and consumer behaviour.

(g)   **Group Influence:**

According to Smith (1997:83), "Much of human behaviour, and buyer behaviour in particular, is shaped by group influence; social groups affect an individual's behaviour patterns - groups develop their own **norms** or standards which become acceptable within a particular group.

Man spends much of his life in group situations, exposed to the norms of his particular social world and motivated to conform to the identity of the group.

Stafford (1966: 38) in his field study aimed at relating empirically the theories of reference group influence and consumer behaviour found that "in more cohesive groups the probability was much higher that the members would prefer the same brand as the group leader".

2.2.2 **THEORIES OF MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS:**

Elections are won and lost largely on the ability of campaign managers to use communication effectively (Okigbo, 1992: 123). While, Garber (1981: 195) put it aptly as follows; "Politics is largely a word game. Politicians rise to power because they can talk persuasively to voters and political elites. Once in power, their daily activities are largely verbal-commands, dialogues, debates, formulation of proposals, laws, order, decisions, and legal opinions. The skill with which they wield the tools of political discourse, adapting them to the needs of various audience and the goals to be achieved, determines their success."

To this extent, marketing communications is an indispensable component of electioneering campaigns. As an act, communication sends information from the

mind of one person to the mind of another person (Smith, et al, 1997:28). Hence, there must be a sender, a receiver, and a message passing from one person to the other. And, because communication is a rather complex activity, Smith et al (1997: 28) stated that the following concepts and relationships ought to be considered by the marketer:

(a)   Communication is an interpersonal activity that is dependent on the social context in which it takes place. The sender of the message will do so in a variety of ways, all at the same time;

(b)   the sender will need to identify in advance the person or persons to whom the message will be sent, and will hence need to know how the receiver (the audience) will interpret it. Market research often establishes this;

(c)   the sender will equally need to see evidence that the message has not only been received but also understood;

(d)   the sender will also need to persuade the receiver that the message is worth listening to, and the message itself will need to be in a form of language which the receiver can understand; therefore communication must be effective;

(e)   there will need to be a clear and unobstructed route or channel through which the message can be sent and through which the receiver can indicate that the message has been received and understood; hence, the message will need to be recognised through the distractions (noise) in the channel, and the feedback will need to be interpreted correctly.

The prime purpose of this section is to explain the theoretical underpinnings of marketing communications. So it is pertinent to mention that the ingredients of marketing communications mix are the components of promotion (one of the elements of the four Ps of marketing). The basic ingredients of marketing communications according to Smith (1997: 19) are "selling, advertising, sales promotion, direct marketing, publicity (and public relations), sponsorship, exhibition, corporate identity, packaging, print-of-sale and merchandising, and word of mouth." So all of these are used as means of communication. "Communications" reminds us

that individuals in a marketing communication's audience are not passive recipients but active participants (Baker et al, 1983:118). This is because the audience's cooperation in responding to the message is needed (this response may, of course, be positive or negative). Marketing communications is, therefore, a transaction because the process is both a planned initiative by the communicator and a purposeful act of consumption behaviour by the audience.

Sarwate (1990:51) opined that as a planned initiative, "communications decisions play an important role in political marketing and that persuasiveness is the key word in communication. He reiterated that for effective planned initiative by the communicator, the marketing communications mix (also called the promotion mix) should be collapsed into tools (called promo-tools). These four tools were stated as Advertising, Publicity, Personal Selling and Sales promotion. Before under taking a discussion of communications mix, let us first carry out a discussion of two important theories-Theory of Attitudinal Effects and Theory of Perceptual Effects; two theories that have to do with persuasion, the bedrock of political marketing communications influence on voting behaviour.

2.2.2.1 **THEORY OF ATTITUDINAL EFFECTS:**

Since political campaigns consist largely of persuasive communications, there is need to explain their impact through a review of the findings of communications research into the types of effects persuasive messages have on personal attitudes (Nimmo, 1970: 164).

A person's attitudes direct his behaviour by predisposing him to respond in certain ways to a stimulus – positively, negatively, or with indifference – this is an assumption. To change behaviour a leader must first change the attitudes related to it. Attitudes are affected by the diffusion of campaign information and appeals.

Nimmo (1970: 165) reported that although existing studies suggest different categories of attitude-change, their conclusions can be summarised by describing the converting, modifying, and creative effects of campaign communications. A campaign's effects are converting when persons committed to a given party, candidate, or cause forsake that commitment in favour of opposing appeals. However, conversion occurs relatively infrequently. The modifying effects of campaign consist of altering the intensity of personal attitudes without necessarily changing their direction (conversion). Thus, a stern Democrat may become moderate in his partisanship. Although modifying effects can take several forms, reinforcement (a strenghtening of intensity) of held convictions is the most common. The reinforcement effect probably applies to the majority of the electorate exposed to campaign propaganda. In the case of diminishing of attitudinal intensity or partial conversion, voters lose their enthusiasm for a favoured candidate, perhaps even growing undecided at some point, but ultimately voting for him when election's day brings an end to their wavering. Another type of modification, crystallization, occurs when voters enter a campaign undecided between candidates and finally reach a choice congenial to their unconscious leanings (Ibid: 166). Exposure to campaign propaganda provides the mildly interested voter with a rationale for choice by "identifying for him the way of thinking and acting that he is already half aware of wanting" (Lazarsfeld et al (1948:102). If crystallisation results in voting rather than merely thinking about it, activation of attitudes has occurred. A candidate does not win converts by activating complacent supporters, but he can win close elections by instilling interest

The creative force of persuasive communications refers to the latent effect campaigns have in forming attitudes where none previously existed. This effect is not easily measured because it is not readily apparent, but persons do acquire attitudes through campaign exposure. The fundamental impact of election campaigns is to reinforce, crystallize, or activate longterm voter loyalties; campaigns are therefore relatively ineffective when it comes to winning adherents from the opposition. If the majority

of voters with fixed convictions make up their minds even before the campaigns begin, vote switches resulting from campaign appeals- no matter how professional and sophisticated the campaign – will be unusual. This general view is capsulised in the "law of minimal consequences". That law states that "the conversion potential of mediated appeals is progressively reduced by the presence, within the communication situation, of a host of intervening variables, each one of which tends by and large to minimize the likelihood of a response disjunctive with prior inclinations"(Cohen, 1964:110). When the function of campaign is to change attitudes in order to switch votes, this law operates through a consideration of limiting conditions in the communication setting and limiting behaviour in voting behaviour. Limiting conditions in the communication setting are personal, social, source, the message and the media; while limiting conditions that shape voting behaviour and minimize the efficacy of political campaigns are personal, social and political (party orientation, candidate orientation, issue orientation and media orientations). Nimmo (1970: 177) stated that a conflict between fundamental loyalties and immediate perceptions generates a delay in making voting decisions. For those who are undergoing such conflict as well as for those who are indifferent to the campaign until its closing weeks, the source of information on which to base their ultimate voting decision is frequently the mass media. The most general proposition relating media orientation to voting behaviour for example, is that the persons who actually expose themselves most are those who are least likely to shift their voting intentions during a campaign. Similarly, Berelson et al (1954: 252) have held the view that "the more exposure to the campaign in the mass media, the more correct their percepion of where the candidates stand on the issues". Available evidence on the attitudinal effects of media orientations in general, and of television exposure in particular, does little to negate the law of minimal consequences (Nimmo, 1970: 179)

2.2.2.2   <u>THEORY OF PERCEPTUAL EFFECTS:</u>

A small proportion of voters (perhaps one third of voters in national elections and for higher proportions in primary, statewide, and local contests) decide between competing candidates during the course of the campaign (op. cit)

One, therefore, needs to turn to the theory of perceptual effects – an alternative explanation of voting behaviour.

The purpose of persuasion is not to change the attitudes of the committed, but to shift the perceptions of voters with low involvement. If persuasive communications are successful, the audience learns the messages and modes of behaviour acceptable to the persuader without being converted, a process labelled "learning without involvement" (Krugman, 1965: 353). Message repetition plays an important part in shifting perceptions. Repetition of a commercial or political spot helps overcome their lack of awareness as well as their weakened perceptual defenses (Nimmo, 1970: 182). Many Americans have only low involvement in their political community, especially below the level of presidential elections (op. cit) perhaps this may be the case in a developing country such as Nigeria. For lesser involved citizens a campaign is effective to the degree that it gratifies inner needs rather than converts basic beliefs. The theory of perceptual effects rests on a use – and – gratification approach.

The uses – and – gratification approach recognises that people use the mass media in their every day lives, that they derive gratifications from their exposure to it, and that a citizen contributes to an interaction between himself and the mass media. The function of the media is not really to inform but to act as a source of subjective play.

2.2.2.3   <u>COMMUNICATION MIX:</u>

The elements of each of the four promotools (Advertising, Publicity, Personal Selling, and Sales promotion) for purposes of political marketing have been enumerated by Sarwate (1990: 52).

Advertising:

Sarwate defined Advertising as any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services by an identified sponsor . Elements of advertising are:

- Print advertisements
- Audio-visual advertisements
- Mailings
- Posters
- Hoardings
- Symbols and logos
- Reprints of advertisements
- Wall paintings
- Transit advertising

Publicity:

This has been defined by Sarwate (1990: 52) as non-personal stimulation of demand for a product, service, organisation or a person by planning significant news about it in a published medium or obtaining favourable presentation of it upon radio, television or magazine that is not paid for by the sponsor. Publicity elements in political marketing in Sarwate's views are:

- Press Kits
- Write ups
- Reporting in Print and Audio-visual media
- Charitable donations
- Public Relations
- News letter
- Lobbying

Personal Selling:

This is person-to-person communication by way of conversation or speeches with one or several prospects for the purpose of winning them over. This traditional approach used in political marketing has the following elements:

- Door – to – door visits

- Group meetings

- Public rallies

- Telephone calls

- Fund raising dinners

Sales Promotion:

Sarwate (op.cit) classified any form of promotion that is not advertising as sales promotion and gave its elements as:

- Exhibitions

- Entertainment programmes

- Audio cassettes

- Video cassettes

- Leaflets and stickers

- Presents (Calenders, Diaries, Vests, Facecaps, give-aways etc.)

- Currency

Sarwate (1990:53) continued that selection of the elements of each of promo-tools by marketing communicators is on the basis of the following criteria:

- the party and the candidate;

- the voter size to be reached; including its distribution and location;

- the communication medium available;

- effectiveness of each tool;

- objectives in communication

- the political competition;

- the budget.

However, Onah and Thomas (1993:181) added that when a market is widely dispersed, the distribution and location of consumers and the promotional media available for the marketer are important considerations in selecting elements of the promo-tools to use. They continued that advertising often forms a substantial part of the promotional mix of a firm or organisation and thus certain basic rules must be followed for effective advertising to occur. As a result, Onah and Thomas have stated **ten basic rules for effective advertising** as follows:

Rule 1: Advertising must **attract Attention.**

Rule 2: Advertisng must be addressed to a **clearly defined target audience,** possibly a target customer, because there is nothing like Everybody in the world.

Rule 3: Advertising must promise the consumer a **meaningful benefit.**

Rule 4: Advertising must aim at **selling one idea at a time,** because the more the idea the less the impact of the message.

Rule 5: Advertising **must be interesting.**

Rule 6: Advertising must be **simple or easy to understand.**

Rule 7: Advertising **must be credible and sincere.** Free of half-truths, misleading statements, lies and exaggerations.

Rule 8: Advertising **must be morally, legally and culturally acceptable.**

Rule 9: Advertising **must be consumer oriented,** so it should state what the consumer wants to hear or see rather than what the advertiser wants to say or show.

Rule 10: Advertising **must give the brand a personality or image.**

It is apparently important therefore to discuss models of the communications process.

2.2.2.4   **MODELS OF THE COMMUNICATIONS PROCESS:**

Smith et al (1997:28) have been quoted as saying that "having a clear model of the business system and the marketing process engaged in can help the `marketer identify quickly what need to be done next, what others need to do next, in what order this should be done, and what may be wrong with what is being done". To that extent, a model is similar to a checklist. And like a checklist it can be learned and absorbed into the routine of everyday practice. Unlike a checklist, however, a marketing model also helps to explain the how and why of what is being done. It represents the characteristics of the real world, and compresses the complexities of that real world into a simpler, usually graphic form, so that the relationships between different parts of a process can be understood and related to some specific marketing activity. The more a marketing model is used, the more it becomes a part of a marketer's experience, and therefore of a marketer's implicit assessment of a problem.

The communications process is full of complexities.
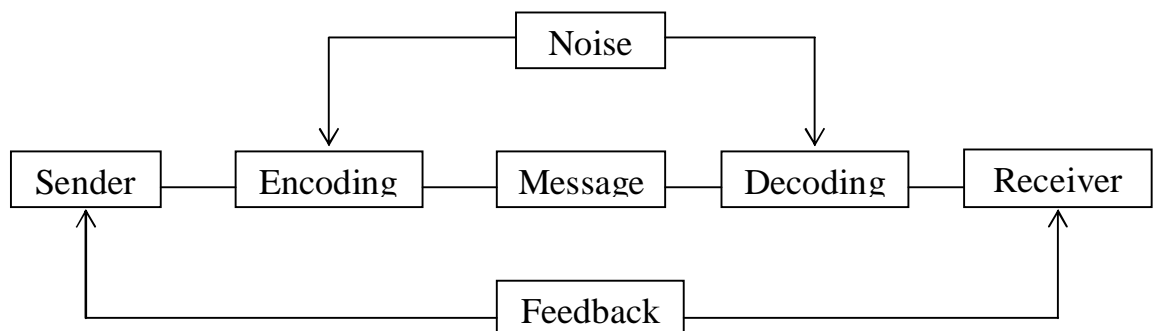
Figure 2.10: **The Basic Communication Process**
Source: **Smith (ibid: 59)**

However, Smith (1997:60) concluded that the simplest thing is to reduce the basic theories and models of communications to three models made up of:

-       Single-step communications models

-       Two-step communications model

-       Multi-step communications model.

The most basic communications models identify three parts; sender of a message, receiver of a message and a message passing from a sender to a receiver.

(a)   **Single-Step Communications Model:**

Sender	→	Message	→	Receiver

Figure 2:11:   **A simple communications model**
Source: **Smith (ibid:58).**

The Simple Model assumes that the sender is active, the receiver is inactive or passive and the message is comprehended properly. In the real sense, this is not practicable. The reason is that the message has to be coded in an appropriate manner, sent through a media channel, got through the noise, be decoded by the receiver, and finally, monitored by the sender. This feedback (for example, whether the receiver changes his behaviour, facial expression beliefs or attitudes) enables the message (and/or the channel) to be modified or changed.

Mass communication is of interest to many marketing communicators because despite the attractions of one-to-one marketing, mass communications such as television and radio advertising are still considered attractive as they reach a large audience quickly and cheaply (when comparing the cost per thousand individuals contacted) (Smith, 1997: 59).

The single-step communications model is a kind of inaccurate model of mass communication as stated in figure 2:12.
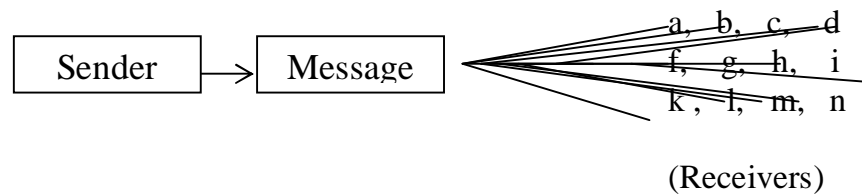
Figure 2:12: **Single-step Communications Model**
Source: **Smith (ibid: 59).**

This is the single model that suggests that the sender has the potential to influence an unthinking and non-interacting crowd.

As can be seen in the two-step communications model in the next discussion, the audience or receivers are active in that they process information selectively and often in a distorted way. This is because people see what they want to see; receivers talk to each other and opinion leaders can be key players in the communications process.

(b) **Two-step Communications Model:**

Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955: 29) hypothesised the two-step communications process. The two-step communication model helps to reduce fears of mass doctrination by an all-powerfull media. It also assumes that mass message filter through opinion leaders to the mass audience (Smith, 1997:60), as can be seen in figure 2:13.
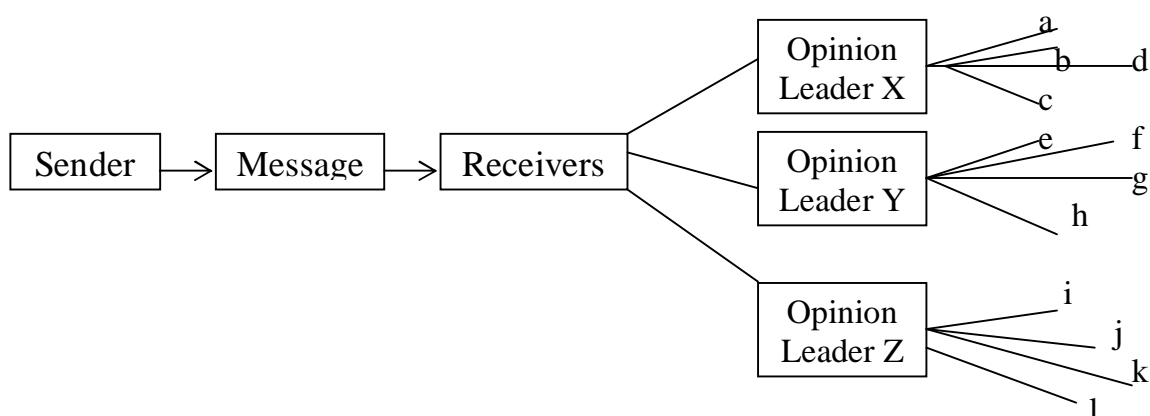
Figure 2.13: **Two-step Communications Model**

Source: **Smith (Ibid:60).**

From this theory it is learnt that during election campaigns, information usually flows from the mass media to opinion leaders, who then pass them on to others whom they unavoidably influence in doing this. In other words, media influence during elections is often indirect and usually takes place in the midst of interpersonal and institutional connections or communications. During elections, families, friends, co-workers, churches, and similar institutions, can and do have their own direct influences. Studies have also shown that because of individual and social differences, the mass media influence different categories of people differently (Nwosu, 1990: 33).

The voter behaviour studies by John P. Robinson that began in 1968 have presented much data that demonstrate the strength of newspaper editorial endorsements in influencing voting behaviour. Robinson's study of five election campaigns concluded that even when other factors are taken into account, voters' choices are related to endorsements by the newspapers to which they are exposed. That study pointed out the significant impact which newspaper endorsements can have on a small segment of voters that can sometimes make the difference in a close election. (Robinson, 1975:213).

In spite of the useful research insight offered by researchers like Robinson and Kraus, the emphasis among experts now seems to be on the influence or role of the mass media at the level of cognition, awareness or political information acquisition by people during elections, more than at the level of attitudinal and behavioural changes. Consequently, there now seems to be more research evidence in support of the belief that during elections, the mass media tend to inform rather than to change attitudes (Martin, 1976:29).

The shift in research emphasis and knowledge can be traced back to the sets of consistency theories that emerged in the 1950s and turned around the Lasswellian model. The Lasswellian is concerned with "who said what, to whom and with what effect" by emphasising the question "who needs to receive what message from whom? These theories, which stressed information seeking or avoidance by audience members rather than information transmision or efforts at opinion change by political and other communicators were led by Leon Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance Theory (Nwosu, 1990 : 35). The Cognitive Dissonance theory states that "people like their beliefs and judgements about things to be consistent with one another. So in order to reduce the dissonance created by inconsistencies, they expose themselves to information that is consistent with those beliefs or judgements and thereby shut out contradictory information to avoid dissonance. They also sometimes engage in selective perception and selective recall of messages (Festinger,1957: 45).

According to Nwosu, (1990: 35), "one fact that came out of these consistency theories and informed many studies in the 1970s and 1980s is the understanding that in political electioneering and other information campaigns, one deals, most of the time, with active audience members who purposively search for information, accepting some and rejecting others. In fact, the uses and gratification model, the co-orientation research tradition, and the agenda-setting hypothesis, fully recognise and make use of this active- audience-member philosophy of modern communications (op.cit.). For example, the basic message of the Uses and gratification model is that in any communication situation (such as in an election information dissemination situation) the individual audience member (for example, a potential voter) usually has specific information needs and consciously exposes himself to communication mainly to satisfy or gratify those needs.(Blumler and Katz,1974:314). Nwosu then affirmed that to succeed in election information campaigns, these dispositional and behavioural characteristics of mass audiences need to be taken into account.

In testing the Agenda-setting hypothesis, McCombs and Shaw (1977:121) used data collected after an American presidential election and found among other things that there was a strong positive correlation between the issues the voters deemed important and those emphasised by the mass media. Even though scholars like Tipton, Haney and Baseheart (1975:18) have provided data to suggest that media agenda-setting may be less strong in local elections than in national. McCombs and Shaw (1977:153) insisted, even in their later studies, that "in fact, the major political role of the mass media may be to raise the salience of politics among…the electorate".

Communication is a multi faceted, multi-step, and multi-directional process. This leads us to a discussion of the multi-step communications model.

(c)   **Muti-step Communications Model:**
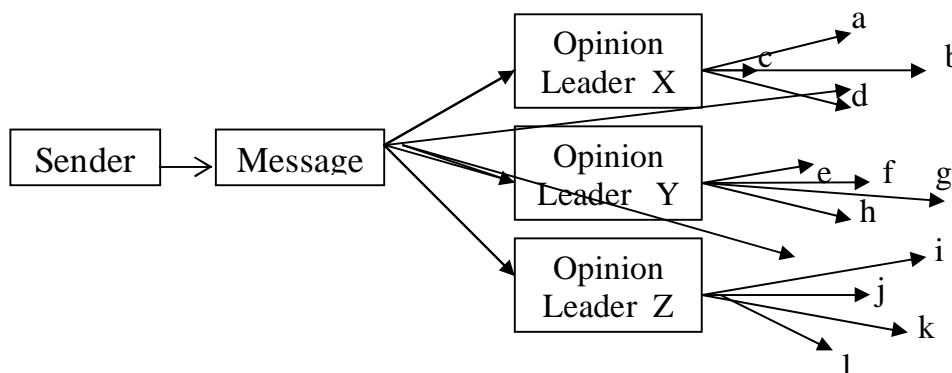
Figure 2.14:   **Multi-step Communications Model (a)**
 Source: **Smith (ibid:60).**
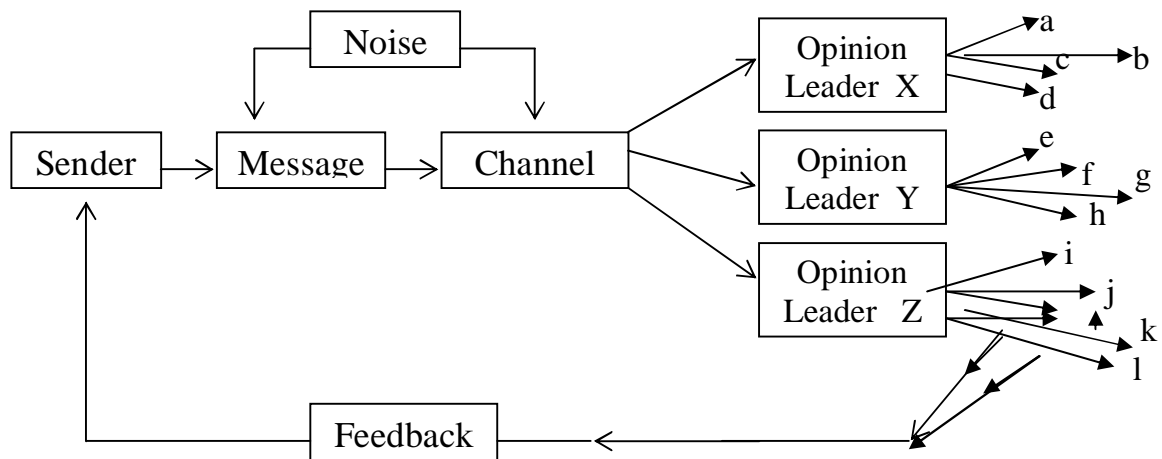
Figure 2.15:   **Multi-step Communications Model (b)**
Source: **Smith (ibid:61).**

Figure 2:14 shows that opinion leaders talk to each other and talk to their listeners, while listeners talk to each other and subsequently feedback to the opinion leaders. Some listeners, readers, however, receive the message directly.

Figure 2.15 shows an addition of noise, channels and feedback to the multi-step model to make it more realistic. Smith (1997:60) explained that all the intervening psychological variables can be added into the communications model to show how perception, selection, motivation, learning, attitudes and group roles all affect the communications process. Smith (1997:61) reiterated that individuals do talk to each other, especially when sharing personal product experiences; that dissatisfied customers tell upto another eleven (11) people about their bad experience, whereas satisfied customers tell only three or four.

An understanding of the multi-step communications model helps political advertisers to communicate directly to potential voters (through the mass media) and indirectly

through opinion leaders, innovators, early adopters, influential individuals and opinion formers. Advertisers have realised that there are smaller target markets of opinion leaders in each market who influence other members in the market-place. So political parties can maintain their credibility by talking (advertising) specifically to these leaders as well as talking to potential voters through other media channels (sometimes with messages tailored for the two groups). Special offers to opinion formers (such as journalists) can work wonders (Kotler, 1988: 286) as these offers would prevent them from writing conflicting and inaccurate reports about a political party or candidate.

Marketers in political markets can equally focus on the people who are the first to appreciate party's programmes and first-time voters. The importance of early adopters in the political market place can be appreciated by taking a look at the adoption model in figure 2:16.
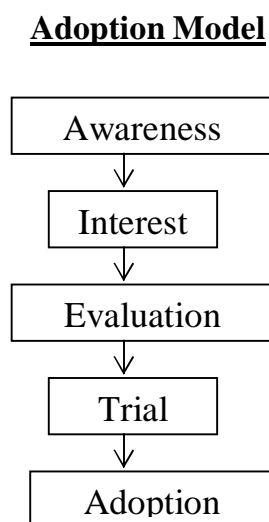
Adoption Model

Figure 2.16: **Adoption Model**
Source: Rogers, E.M (1962) <u>Diffusions of Innovations</u>, Free Press, New York, P.71.

The Adoption Model developed by Rogers (1962: 71) is a hierachical message model which attempts to map the mental process through which an individual passes on his

journey towards purchasing, and ultimately adopting (or regularly) purchasing a new product or service. This model is useful for identifying communications objectives and appropriate communications tools. For instance, television advertising may create awareness while a well-trained political canvasser or expertly designed brochure may help the individual in the evaluation stage. An individual may however move directly from awareness to trial.

The key to political marketing is to identify, isolate and target resources at the innovators and early adopters rather than everyone (because 84 percent of potential voters will not like to vote until they see the innovators and early adopters vote first). The innovators represent approximately 2.5 percent of all voters who will eventually adopt the political party. The early adopters form 13.5 percent of the total market, early majority 34 percent, late majority 34 percent and the laggards 16 percent.

In the communication process, marketing communications feedback is very important, and this comes from both the receiver (customer) and sender (source). Feedback can come from the Receiver in form of market research, customer purchase activity, and customer interest activity, and from the sender in form of market research analysis, salesforce reports, customer relations reports, and agency research (Smith et al, 1997: 34).

What, therefore, are the steps involved in the development of a communications strategy?

2.2.2.5:   **MAJOR STEPS IN DEVELOPING A COMMUNICATION STRATEGY**

Marketing communications strategy determines message or sequence of messages that should be shared with a specific target audience through the optimum communications mix, for instance, advertising (Smith, et al, 1997:77). Schultz, Tannenbaum and Lauterborn developed an integrated marketing communications

model in 1993 which proposed that, unlike the classical communications model, marketing communications should start with what the customer is doing – purchasing activity. If that is the point at which the effect of advertising on sales can be measured, then that is the point at which advertising objectives should be set (Smith et al 1997: 66). The scholars further showed that this approach of starting analysis with the customer rather than with the marketer sending the communication fits appropriately well with the marketing concept. They further suggested initial analysis using a database of demographic, psychographic and purchase history details. And the scholars concluded that if this coordinated marketing communications effort is to be built around the customer, clearly, the starting pointof the model needs to be the customer's way of perceiving the product/service offering and their different types of buying process. Integrated Marketing Communications (IMC), therefore, focuses development of the marketing communications mix on the relationship between customer activity in relation to the brand and marketer activity in relation to the brand (Smith et al 1997: 67). To properly package a communications strategy in the context of Integrated Marketing Communications some steps have to be followed.

The major stepts involved in developing a communications strategy as applicable to political marketing and as conceptualised by Sarwate (1990:53-54) include:

(a) **Identifying the target audience:**

The political party must start with a clear target audience in mind. The target audience is often identified through marketing research and segmentation (past voting records and voting patterns are used). The target voters influence the communicator's decisions on "what" is to be said, "how" it is to be said, "when" it is to be said, "where" it is to be said, and, "who" is to say it. The image perceived by the voters and the image that the party would like to project give a prelude to setting communications objectives.

(b) **Setting Communications Objectives:**

The communications objectives are part of the marketing objectives that, of course, are a part of the entire party objectives.

Party objectives may include:

- to win a certain number of seats in the election;

- to aim at coming to power;

The marketing objectives may include:

- to create a favourable image as desired in the minds of the voters;

- to motivate the voters to vote for the party

- to paint a negative picture of the opposition party

While the communications objectives may include:

- Awareness building

- Comprehension building

- Legitimacy

- Preference

- Conviction

- Voting

In fact, strategy sums up how the communications objectives will be achieved. And at any level, whether political party (corporate), marketing, total communications or just advertising, strategy flows from the simple yet logical structure of the SOSTAC planning system – which applies to any kind of plan and any kind of strategy.

The acronym SOSTAC has the following meaning:

S -   **Situation** (where are we now?)

O -   **Objectives** (where do we want to be?)

S -   **Strategy** (summarises how we are going to get there)

T -   **Tactics** (the details of strategy)

    A -   **Action** or implementation (putting the plans to work)

C - **Control** (which means measurement, monitoring, reviewing, updating and modifying).

Many organisations, including political parties, have a marketing strategy and/or an advertising strategy but they do not have a marketing communications strategy that drives and integrates all of the communications tools in a single purposeful direction (Smith, et al, 1997: 87).

Before considering the components of a marketing communications strategy, it is important to first take a look at the benefits of a marketing communications strategy as outlined by Smith, et al (1997: 88).

The benefits derivable from developing a marketing communications strategy are:

-    it enables each tactical activity to build on the others creating strength of communications through continuity and consistency;
-    it helps to create clearer, sharper selling messages appropriately directed to target customers at various stages in their buying process;
-    Tactical planning of each communications tool is made that much easier and quicker when clear strategic direction is agreed;
-    It facilitates integrated marketing communications which saves time, money and stress as well as providing Integrated Marketing Communications' other associated benefits of consistency and clarity;
-    It can facilitate the development of joint promotions and strategic alliances;
-    It can encourage the development of hybrid marketing systems (the addition and integration of new communications tools/channels for example telemarketing, to existing communications tools/channels for instance, advertising can create such a hybrid marketing system;

- A good communications strategy (when communicated internally) as well as driving the external communications, creates a bond within a political party so that everyone knows what everyone else is trying to achieve.

2.2.2.6   **COMPONENTS OF A MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY:**

First, what are the components of a marketing strategy? The components of a marketing strategy could be summarised as follows:

- Products
- Markets/Customers
- Strengths/competitive advantage
- Scope/scale
- Objectives
- Resources
- Timing

Now, the key components of a marketing communications strategy shown by Smith, et al (1997:89) are:

(a)	**Positioning**	Strategy should restate and consolidate the positioning
(b)	**Benefits:**	Strategy should reinforce benefits wanted by customers (and unfulfilled by competition).
(c)	**Strengths:**	It draws on the sustainable competitive advantage.
(d)	**Competition:**	It has a competitive dimension
(e)	**Customers:**	Strategy segments, targets the market, and considers steps in the buying process from generating awarenesss and enquiries through to maintaining repeat sales.
(f)	**Direction:**	It gives clear direction (in terms of positioning, strength and so on).
(g)	**Tools:**	Strategy defines the range of communications tools, for

example,above or below the line.

(h) **Integration:** It ensures the communications tools are integrated

(i) **Sequence of tool:** Does the advertising need to build brand or candidate awareness before converting to sales or votes with direct mail? Does the Public Relations break before the sales or campaign launch?

(j) **Time scale:** Strategy is longer term than tactics and operational activities.

(k) **Resources:** Strategy indicates the emphasis and size of expenditure on certain tools (whether the communications are going to be advertising led or sales force driven).

(l) **Objectives:** Can make reference to the overall objectives of the strategy.

(m) **Marketing Strategy:** Marketing communications strategy should be consistent with and draw from the overall marketing strategy.

An alternative list of fundamental components of marketing communications strategy can be developed from the acronym "STOP & SIT" (Smith, et al 1997: 89) interpreted as:

S - Segmentation

T - Targeting

O - Objectives (fulfilling)

P - Positioning

&

S - Sequence (of tools)

I - Integration (of the tools)

T - Tools (the communications tools to be used).

Somehow in a communications strategy, the main tool(s) have to be mentioned and preferably their sequence (e.g advertising mailing before… and so on). STOP & SIT explains whether the Communications strategy breaks up the market into **Segments** and **Targets** the right customers. It asks the question " will the strategy fulfil the marketing and communications **Objectives**? It equally asks "Is the **Positioning** made crystal clear? And it finally asks the question "what **Sequence** of **Intergrated** communications **Tools** will be used ?

Hence, it is pertinent to consider tactics adopted in implementing a marketing communications strategy.

2.2.2.7   **TACTICAL DECISIONS IN A MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY:**

(a)   **Advertising decisions:**

    (i)   **Designing the Messages:**

        There are certain standard approaches in designing the messages; this is more of an art than a science and it is here that the creativity of a visualiser comes into play.

The message should get "attention", hold "interest, arouse "desire" and obtain "Action". "Action" means voting for the political party or candidate.

Formulating the message will require getting answers to four questions:

-     What to say (message content)
-     How to say it logically (message structure)
-     How to say it symbolically (message format)
-     Who should say it (message source)

Message Content:

The marketing communicator has to figure out what to say to the target audience to produce the desired response. This can be called the appeal, theme, idea or the unique selling proposition (USP). Three alternatives can be considered:

- **Rational appeals:** This will appeal to the voters' self interest. It will show that the party will fulfill the expectations.

- **Emotional appeals:** This will attempt to stir up some negative or positive emotion that will motivate voters, for example fear appeals have been used effectively in political marketing.

- **Moral appeals:** These are directed towards the voters' sense of what is considered appropriate. They are often used to urge people to support social causes such as emancipation of women, welfare of the under priviledged, and so on.

- **Message evaluation and selection:** The communicator needs to evaluate the possible messages. Twedt (1969:13) suggested that messages be rated on the basis of "desirability" "exclusiveness" and "believeability". Twedt' concept was developed for products but can be applied to political marketing. The messages must say something desirable or interesting about the party.

- **Message execution:** The impact of the message depends not only upon what is said but also on how it is said. The communicator has to put the message across in a way that first catches the attention of voters and evokes interest. Here, the creative person will have to show his work. Creative people must find a suitable style, tone, words and formats for executing the message.

- **Execution style:** A message can be presented in so many different ways such as slice-of-life, mood of image, personality symbol, statistical evidence, testimonial audience.

- **Tone:** The communicator must also choose an appropriate "tone" for the advertisement. The rival political party uses both alternatives – a "positive" or a "negative" tone. For example:

Positive tone: "A vote to party A means improvement in your quality of life"

Negative tone: "For the last 10 years, what did party B give you – inflation, unemployment and poverty".

- **Words:** The words in advertisement give the headlines and the copy. The headline must be catchy. Ogilvy (1983: 51), the father of modern advertising, has opined that he personally prefers a short copy. An advert copy must not be too verbose otherwise hardly will anybody read it. Some examples of catchy headlines are "My heart bleeds for Nigeria" (an emotinal headline), "Labour does not work" "How long are you going to suffer under party A"?

- **Format elements:** Every advertisement has certain physical elements to it. A minor rearrangement of mechanical elements within the advertisement can improve its attention getting power by several points. The major elements are:

Advertisement size: Normally stated in terms of page or columns, larger size advertisements gain more attention.

Colour: Colour advertisements are noticed more than black and white advertisements. Colour advertisements are, however, more expensive.

Illustration:
An attractive illustration of picture, sketch or photograph without any doubt will catch attention. Humour using cartoons is quite common in political advertising.

Typography
The actual words can be offered in different types like family (Roman, Italic and so on), type face (Times, Garamond, and so on) and type size (8 point to 72 point).

(ii) **Deciding on the Media:**
Channel is needed to communicate the campaign message in political marketing. The political party or candidate has a number of media to choose

from; this is referred to as media planning. Selection of media is based on reach, frequency, and impact, and these form the media variables.

- <u>Media Variables:</u>

* <u>Reach:</u>

Sarwate (1990:59) explained that **reach** is represented by the number of voters exposed to a particular media schedule at least once during a specified time period. Reach for print media is decided on the basis of its readership. The reach for radio is expressed in terms of <u>listenership</u> while that for television is expressed in terms of <u>viewership.</u> The mass media with the largest reach is preferable in political marketing since a great number of voters have to be reached.

* <u>Frequency:</u>

Frequency specifies the number of times within a specified time period an average voter is exposed. For instance, a newspaper has a daily frequency, magazine weekly usually, and journal semi-annually (op.cit).

* <u>Impact:</u>

This refers to the qualitative value of an exposure through a given medium. In highly illiterate societies, radio and television have the greatest impact, asserted the renowned researcher, Sarwate (1990:60).

* <u>Media Selection:</u>

"The professional campaigner's selection of a particular media, or combination of media, to carry the candidate's appeal depends on the audience sought and the purpose of the message"(op.cit). Sarwarte further emphasised that if, for example, the target audience consists of the uninformed, uninterested, and independent voters, television plays a prominent role.

The major media types of Newspapers, Television, Radio, Magazines, outdoor, Direct mail, Publicity, Sales promotion, and Personal selling have been adequately explained by Sawarte (1990: 60-64).

*   <u>Newspapers:</u>

"In India, Newspapers are published in as many as 85 languages" stated Sarwate (1990:60). But the largest numbers of newspapers in Nigeria are published in English language followed by Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Tiv, and Urhobo. Professional campaigners use newspapers for image-making, publicity, advertising, and editorial endorsements. Newspapers have the advantages of flexibility, timeliness, good local market coverage, broad acceptance and high credibility.

However, Newspapers have the limitations of short life, poor reproduction quality, and small "pass-along" audience.

*   <u>Television:</u>

There are so many television stations in Nigeria, owned by government or private investors. Television combines the merits of sight, sound and motion thus appealing to the senses' high attention and high reach. The demerits are high absolute cost, high clutter, fleeting exposure, and less audience selectivity.

*   <u>Radio:</u>

"In India, for example, the production of radio receiver sets has reached a level of over 1.5million people per annum" (Ibid: 60). In most countries, the population of radio receiver sets is very large and this gives a very high listenership level. Radio is very available for political advertising in Nigeria.

The advantages of radio are mass use, high graphic and demographic selectivity and low cost. While the disadvantages are that it has only audio presentation, has low attention than television, non-standardised rate structures, and fleeting exposure.

*   <u>Magazines:</u>

These are annuals, quarterlies, monthlies, fortnightlies, weeklies and others. Most magazines available for political advertising in Nigeria are weeklies. Merits of magazines are high geographic and demographic selectivity, credibility and prestige, high quality reproduction, long life, and good "pass along" readership.

*   <u>Outdoor:</u>

The outdoor media include a large number of alternatives such as billboards, hoardings, wall paintings, banners, railways and buses and kiosks. Advantages of outdoor media are flexibility, high repeat exposure, low cost, and low competition.

*   <u>Direct Mail:</u>

Reaching voters by mail is a method also used by several political parties in developed countries but this is not common in developing countries like Nigeria yet. Advantages of direct mail are audience selectivity, flexibility, no advert competition within the same medium, and personalisation. The disadvantages are relatively high cost and "junk mail" image.

*   <u>Publicity:</u>

According to Sarwarte(1990: 63) "Publicity is part of a larger concept, that of "public relations". Publicity has several objectives including obtaining favourable publicity for the party, its candidate, the issues,

and handling adverse rumours and stories that breakout. Voters, by their pschology, believe more in such news-writeups than in advertising done by the political party.   The print media plays a major role in providing publicity services to the political parties and their candidates. Hence, the political parties must cultivate good public relations.

*   <u>Sales Promotion:</u>

These are traditional methods like printing posters, stickers, diaries, calenders, face caps, T-shirts carrying the party logo. Others are leaflets and handbills.

*   <u>Personal Selling:</u>

Voters are generally delighted when they meet a candidate contesting for elections, exceptions are candidates who do not make a good impression as public speakers. Consequently, candidates often apply door-to-door canvassing; and meetings are arranged with different groups of voters. This is because the candidate must identify the opinion leaders and meet them to solicit their support. However, since time is a characteristic limitation in most campaigns, candidates and political parties engage volunteers who are own party workers and committed voters to handle most aspects of contact with voters.

Having taken a look at the theories of marketing communications and peeped into major aspects of marketing communications strategy, it is pertinent to briefly take a look at the theories of campaign management.

2.2.3 **<u>THEORIES OF CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT:</u>**

Early management practitioners, according to Iornem (1998:49) in his book "How to be a Good Manager in 10 minutes", advocated the development of

management theory. Fayol (1949:57) lamented that " there exists no generally accepted theory of management emanating from general discussion, that there is no shortage of personnel theorising, but failing any accepted theory each one thinks that he has the best methods." The recent explosion of theories has become so great that it was felt that the situation was becoming confusing (Iornem,1998:50).

The major theories that rapidly came about have been listed by Iornem (op. cit) as follows:

- The Process Theory of management championed by Fayol and to which Frederick Taylor (1947) significantly contributed.
- The Socio-technical Theory of management advanced by Bernard (1938).
- The Decision Theory of management.
- The Mathematical Theory of management emphasising mathematical models in tackling management problems.
- The Bureaucratic Theory of Max Weber.
- The Human relations Theory of management advanced by Elton Mayo (1933).
- The Organisation- development Theory.
- The Systems Theory of management.
- The Contingency Theory of Management.
- Motivation Theories.
- Theory X and Theory Y.
- Theory Z.
- The Theory of Unity of Command.
- Expectancy/valence Theory.
- The Social responsibility Theory.
- Business Process Re-engineering (BPR) of the 90s.
- Total Quality Management (TQM) of the 90s.
- ISO 9000 Quality Management System of the 90s.

Iornem (1998:55) noted that the contingency approach to management specifically states that managers, in practice , will use certain theories in tackling problems but that what they do is contingent on given situations. Therefore, managers, including Campaign managers, have to systematically look for and select solutions to fit specific given situations. All or some of these theories may apply to political campaign management.

Political campaigns are one form of persuasive communications designed to influence the actions of people (Nimmo, 1970:9). The major concepts here, campaign and management need some explanation.

According to Nimmo (1970:10) a campaign denotes the activities of an individual group (the campaigner) in a particular context (the campaign setting) designed to manipulate the behaviour of a wider number of people (the audience) to his advantage. Nimmo reiterated that in a campaign, the source is designated the campaigner who may be a candidate, a salesman, an advertising executive, or a television commentator. The setting may be the polity or a classroom while the audience may be composed of voters, consumers or students. Campaigns revolve around the person of a candidate because the candidate is only one of the several players in the campaign organisation (Omoruyi, 1991:12). Nevertheless, the candidate is the head of the campaign team.

Taking a look at the other concept – management is more cumbersome than the first because as a discipline, management is very wide and cuts across all spectra of disciplines and human endeavours. Hicks and Gullett (1988: 7), defined "managing" as the process of getting things done by and through others. Those scholars gave the functions of management as planning, organising, motivating and controlling.

These four managerial functions of planning, organising, motivating and controlling are involved in campaign management. Professor Omo Omoruyi carried out extensive studies in the area of campaign management when he was Director-General of the Centre for Democratic Studies in Abuja, Nigeria in 1991. He gave the steps to effective campaign management as mastery of electoral laws, opponent and constituency research, campaign staff engagement, campaign strategy, (including media planning), fund raising, and election-day and result monitoring.

One important aspect of campaign management is organising the campaign team. To this extent, Unamka and Ewurum (1995:!0) wrote that an organisation entails the creation of a framework called organisation structure within which the people act as one body. Unamka and Ewurum continued that the best way to clarify organisation structure is to make an organisational chart; and defined organisational chart as a schematic or pictoral representation of what happens in a business enterprise. In organisational charting, the diagram shows who performs what duty and who is responsible for one function or the other and who reports to whom.

Represented in figures 2.17, 2.18 and 2.19 are typical campaign charts for local government election campaign, senatorial election campaign and presidential election campaign respectively.

```
┌─────────────┐              ┌──────────────────┐
│  CANDIDATE  │──────────────│ Tactical Planning│
└─────────────┘              │    Committee     │
                             └──────────────────┘
```

| House-to-House and Rally Coordinator | Finance (Fund Raising) Coordinator | Volunteer Force Coordinator | Press and Public Relations Coordinator | Research Coordinator |

| Volunteers | Ward Coordinators |
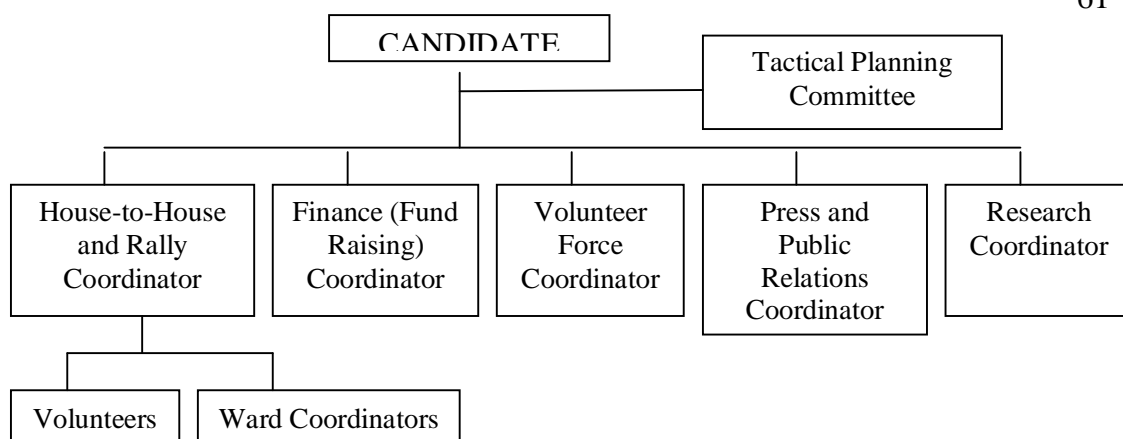
Figure 2.17: Campaign chart for Local Government Chairmanship Election Campaign
Source: Alpha Delta Consults Ltd. Manual for Local Government
Chairmanship Election for People's Democratic Party in Ughelli North
L.G.A, Delta State, Nigeria, December 1999.

| CANDIDATE | | Campaign Committee | Consultative Committee |

| Special Aide |

| Campaign Manager |

| Field Operations Manager | Central Office Manager | Press Officer |

Local Government Area
Campaign Committee

Ward Campaign Committees

Field Volunteers
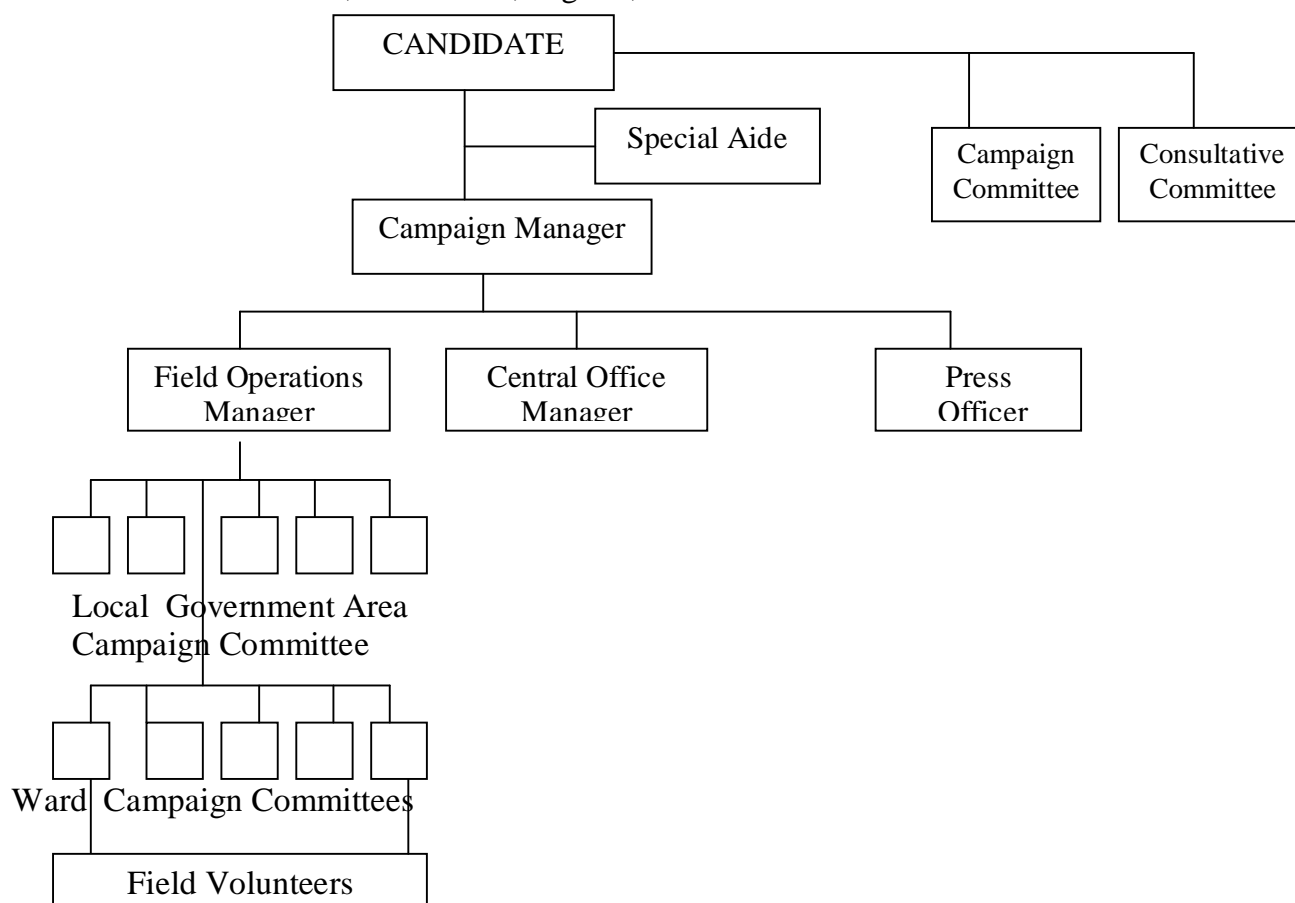
Figure 2.18: **Campaign Chart for Senatorial Election Campaign**
Source: **Iornem, D (1995) Political Campaigns: Techniques of**
Communication, Advertising, and Marketing, JVC Press,
Kaduna, Nigeria, P.16.

```
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │   CANDIDATE     │
                    └─────────────────┘                  ┌─────────────────────┐
                             │                           │ Resource Mobilisation│
                             │───────────────────────────│     Manager         │
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐          └─────────────────────┘
                    │ National Marketing Manager│
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                             │
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │ Regional Manager │
                    └─────────────────┘
                             │
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │  State Manager   │
                    └─────────────────┘
                             │
                  ┌───────────────────────────────┐
                  │ Local Government Area Manager  │
                  └───────────────────────────────┘
                             │
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │ Ward Co-ordinators│
                    └─────────────────┘
```
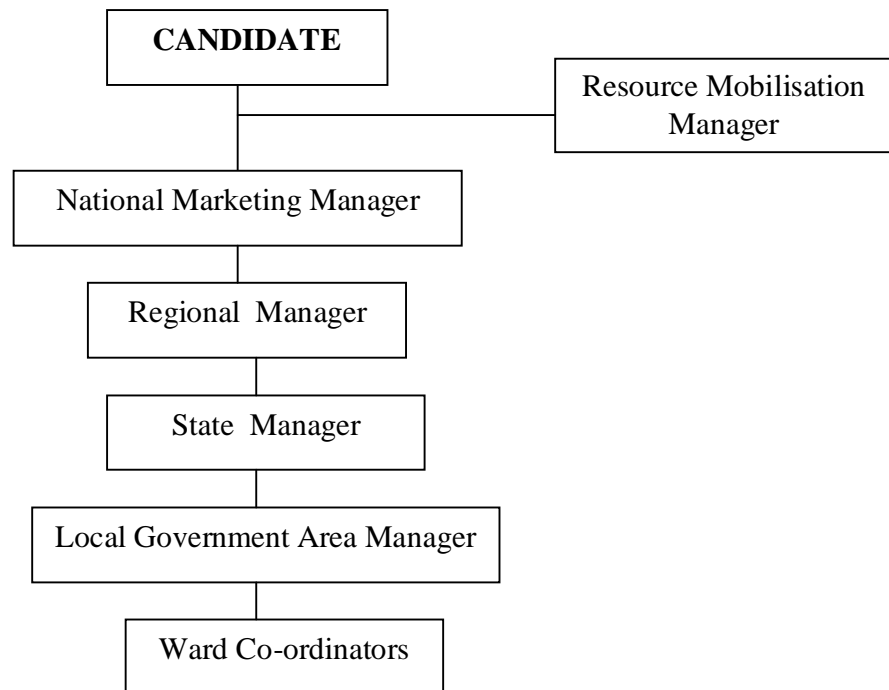
Figure 2.19: **Single Campaign Structure for Presidential Election Campaign**
Source: **Iornem, D. (1997) "Organisaing for Marketing in Politics" In D. Iornem and M. Nzeribe (ed) Marketing in Politics, JVC Press,Kaduna, Nigeria, P. 107   with slight amendments.**

Hicks and Gullet (1988:323) likened the organisation chart to a road map; the road map consists of a set of lines and other symbols on paper and not system of roads itself. Likewise, the organisation chart is not the organisation itself. Hence, both the map and the organisation chart are merely static models of dynamic processes, these scholars further stated. Iornem (1997: 107), however, noted that it is what will work best in any campaign situation that dictates the form and structure of any campaign organisation. That scholar emphasised that in selecting or designing a campaign structure, the candidate or party should take due account of available resources and opportunities such as money, men, materials, and the nature of the target voters, and of course, the competitive environment in terms of other candidates and parties.

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In all these, in management theory, certain principles, according to Unamka and Ewurum (1995: 11) have to be observed in carrying out the organising function. These principle are objectivity in Business organisation, flexibility, the principle of responsibility, unity of command, Span of Responsibility, Discipline, Coordination, Cooperation, Delegation, Accountability, and functionalisation.

We now go to the last section of this chapter – Review of related literature.

2.3   REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE:

This chapter presents a review of related literature on marketing communications strategy and voter behaviour in elections especially local government elections. However, because of the dearth of studies on local elections in the literature, the discussion will draw general inference from surveys or reports of similar studies concerning congressional and presidential elections in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Asia and of course, Africa especially, Nigeria. In this chapter, emphasis will be on major conclusions, findings and relevant issues that have bearing on the problem at hand.

This review is divided into three sections:
-        Studies on Voter targeting
-        Studies on Political Campaign Communications
-        Studies on Political Campaign Management

2.3.1   STUDIES ON VOTER TARGETING:

During campaign research by politicians, the candidates must find out who the voters are, the issues that concern them, their voting pattern. Iornem (1995: 149) explained voter targeting as "the process by which a defined group of voters is selected for specific treatment in terms of campaign messages or generally, in the deployment of resources". Iornem explained further that knowing voters and angling to influence them as a means to mobilising them for supporting the candidate, his cause, or his programmes is what is called voter targeting. Considering different dimensions, voters are not the same hence the candidate and/or political party must determine the basis of which different campaign themes and strategies will be developed for the various sub-groups of the electorate. Iornem (1995: 150) emphasised that voter targeting is simply voter segmentation and it aims at dividing the electorate in a constituency into homogenous sub-groups based on more or less clearly defined characteristics such as sex, age, social class, income, occupation, interests and cultural leanings. Iornem (1995: 151-153) gave the following broad criteria important in voter segmentation and targeting and posits some basic questions that should be answered by the electioneering campaign researcher:

"i.   **Georgraphic:** Where do the voters live? Are they mainly in the urban areas or rural areas? How many are they?

ii.   **Demographic:** What are the various ages, sex, family size, income, occupation, education, family life cycle, religion, nationality or social class?

iii   .**Psychological:** What are the attitudes of the voters in the candidate's constituency? What predictions can be made about how voters will behave on the day of election ?

iv.   **Life Style:** How do voters spend their time? What are their interests? What takes place in their immediate environment? What are their opinions on specific issues? What are their opinions about themselves? What are their basic characteristics such as their stage in the life cycle, their income, education, and where they live?

i. **Needs of Voters:** What is/are the pressing need(s) of the community? Who are the people affected by these issues – young/old, male/female, employed/jobless, active worker/retired and so on? How did past governments tackle the identified issues? Or what is the attitude of the opponent to these issues? What can you do to improve on the past measures? How can you guarantee the security of the future of the concerned voters?"

Iornem (1995: 157) then concluded that "targeting voters is not complete without the consideration of how to reach them". Iornem emphasised that candidates could more usefully spend their time on those voters who have not made up their mind either way, and thus focus attention on the right groups.

In this regard, Pulzer (1978: 97) in his study on "Political Representation and Elections in Britain" asserted that "the raw material of voting behaviour is in the voting figures. Hence, parties and candidates often use statistics about past elections to judge their electoral chances in current campaigns. This is not entirely true, however. So in attempting to provide some answers to the questions raised by Iornem, findings of some relevant researches will be highlighted.

With respect to local government elections, geographic segmentation according to ward and rural/urban segments of the local government area, Rallings and Thrasher (1997: 59) in their studies on "Local Elections in Britain" reported that "given that the concept of local democracy emphasises a sense of community identity, and given numerous studies which have shown that sense of identity is usually felt in geographically relatively small areas; it would be reasonable to expect that turn out might be related to the ward size". The scholars continue that "evidence from recent British local elections does suggest that small communities appear to have a better voting record than larger ones. In the shire district, where the wards are smaller than other types of local authority, turn-out in single member wards of less than 2,000 electors averaged 52

percent in 1991, while in larger wards it was some 3 – 4 per cent lower. Thus if party campaigns and party activities are able to exert an influence on overall rates of turn-out, and assuming that parties will be most active in the most marginal wards, the closeness of the result on the last occasion the ward was contacted should be positively correlated with turn -out. The scholars further reported that citizens living in low status areas are less likely to participate both because of that fact, and because they are located more frequently in non-competitive wards, that those in wards with a large conservative share of the vote and majority may be discouraged from voting because they feel they already "know" the result despite generally living in an area of high status and thus assumed high predisposition to participate; that there is positive correlation between Alliance/Liberal. Democrat share of the vote and turn-out, where the party's success in winning wards seems related to persuading an absolutely larger number of people to vote better in their home precincts that elsewhere in the district, indicating that voters "..

A study on voting behaviour in Swansea demonstrated that the distance an elector had to travel to the polling station appeared to have an effect on the likelihood of voting; of those elections estimated to be within a minutes walk of the polling station no less than 65 per cent voted but of those who lived more than five minutes away only 35 per cent voted (Taylor, 1973:62). In terms of ward size and electoral participation, it has been found, Rallings and Thrasher (1997: 60), that if wards are too small there is a risk that the friends and neighbours effect will be taken too far-to the point, indeed, where electoral competition is avoided because of its threats to community bonds.

In Nigeria, Oyediran (1981: 93) in his studies on the Nigerian 1979 Elections reported that the voting pattern at that presidential election as in previous elections, was in line with ethnic sentiments as the Igbo states voted for Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (an Igbo man), the Yoruba states voted for Chief Obafemi Awolowo (a Yoruba man), Alhaji Shehu Shagari (a Fulani man) had great support in the far north, while the Kanuri states Predominantly voted for Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri (a Kanuri man). This trend was consistent for the 1983 presidential election results in Nigeria. However, the Presidential Election of June, 1993 (adjudged to have been won by Chief MKO Abiola

but annulled) did not much follow this trend as Chief MKO Abiola (a Yoruba) of the Social Democratic Party defeated his opponent, Alhaji Bashir Tofa (Hausa-Fulani) of the National Republican Convention in the latter's home state, Kano clinching 52.28 per cent of the votes cast in that state (Iornem, 1998: 64). This was probably due to the popularity and personality image of Chief MKO Abiola even before he stood election in Nigeria. A more complex presidential election was held in Nigeria in February 1999 where the contest was between Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (a Yoruba) of the Peoples Democratic Party and Chief Olu Falae (another Yoruba) of the All Peoples Party (in cooperation with Alliance for Democracy). Chief Olu Falae clinched over 75 per cent of all votes cast in the Yoruba-speaking states including his opponent's home state (Ogun) where he garnered 69.83 per cent leaving a paltry 30.17 per cent to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. This situation occurred because, the people were tired of military rule: Chief Olusegun Obasanjo is a retired Army General. More, so, Alliance for Democracy (working in conjunction with All People's Party for the purpose of that presidential election) was seen as a Yoruba (ethnic) party. Obviously, the Yorubas had to identify with their party and jettison General Obasanjo. Nevertheless, Olusegun Obasanjo of the People's Democratic Party won the presidential election securing 62.78 per cent of total votes cast (Oriavwote, 1999: 35).

The scenario above is probably a picture of the role of the ethnic factor during Local Government Chairmanship election in Nigeria where, in most cases, the contestants (Candidates) are all natives of the local government area in contest. The deciding geographic factor may then be Ward (where the candidates emerge from different wards within the local government area).

From the results of the two most recent local government chairmanship elections in Nigeria (tables 2.1 and 2.2), it can be seen that the ethnic or geographic factor had no role to play in the outcome of elections. These were the elections of March 15, 1997 and December 5, 1998. In the March 15, 1997 election, United Nigeria Congress Party won 376 chairmanship seats out of a total of 774 councils in Nigeria representing 48.6

percent, leaving 51.4 per cent to the four remaining parties. Of course, that party was believed to be favoured by the then Military ruler General Sani Abacha. In the December 5, 1998 elections, the Peoples Democratic Party garnered 464 chairmanship seats out of the 774 council seats contested representing 59.95 per cent leaving only 40.05 per cent to the other eight political associations that contested the elections. The only basis for the emergence of that scenario was that the Peoples Democratic Party was more organised and thus National in outlook and became very popular among the citizens. More over, the "money bags" and majority of the retired Army Generals belong to that party. Money plays a major role in elections organisation and campaigns in Nigeria, and of course dictates the outcome of election results (Oriavwote, 1999: 37).

State	No. of Councils	Party					
		CNC	DPN	GDM	NCPN	UNCP	Total No. Elected
Abia	17	-	5	-	5	7	17
Adamawa	21	4	5	-	5	7	21
Akwa Ibom	31	1	4	-	3	23	31
Anambra	21	8	3	1	-	9	21
Bauchi	20	-	6	2	1	11	20
Bayelsa	8	-	-	2	1	5	8
Benue	23	7	-	1	2	13	23
Borno	27	-	1	9	-	17	27
Cross River	18	1	4	4	3	6	18
Delta	25	1	4	6	1	13	25
Ebonyi	13	1	4	1	1	6	13
Edo	13	-	-	-	5	13	18
Ekiti	16	5	1	-	-	10	16
Enugu	17	-	4	1	1	11	17
Gombe	11	-	5	1	-	5	11
Imo	27	-	12	-	2	13	27
Jigawa	27	1	4	4	8	10	27
Kaduna	23	-	9	1	-	13	23
Kano	44	3	18	8	8	7	44
Katsina	34	-	14	-	-	20	34
Kebbi	21	2	9	-	-	10	21
Kogi	21	7	3	-	4	7	21
Kwara	16	11	-	2	-	3	16
Lagos	20	1	6	3	-	10	20
Nasarawa	13	-	1	2	-	10	13
Niger	25	5	4	-	6	10	25
Ogun	20	-	1	1	4	14	20

State							
Ondo	18	1	2	-	-	15	18
Osun	30	4	12	2	1	11	30
Oyo	33	6	17	2	1	7	33
Plateau	17	5	1	-	-	11	17
Rivers	23	-	3	3	1	16	23
Sokoto	23	-	12	-	-	11	23
Taraba	16	3	6	1	2	4	16
Yobe	17	-	6	5	-	6	17
Zamfara	14	-	7	2	-	5	14
FCT (Abuja)	6	-	-	-	1	5	6
TOTAL	**774**	**77**	**193**	**62**	**66**	**376**	**774**

Table 2.1   March 15, 1997 Nigerian Local Government Chairmanship Election Results

Source: National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON), Abuja.

N.B:

CNC	=	Congress for National Concensus
DPN	=	Democratic Party of Nigeria
GDM	=	Grassroot Democratic Movement
NCPN	=	National Centre Party of Nigeria
UNCP	=	United Nigeria Congress Party

State	No. of Councils	Party									Total No. Elected
		AD	APP	MDJ	PDP	NSM	UDP	UPP	DAM	PRP	
Abia	17	-	3	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	17
Adamawa	21	-	5	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	21
Akwa Ibom	31	-	12	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	31
Anambra	21	-	2	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	21
Bauchi	20	-	5	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	20
Bayelsa	8	-	2	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	8
Benue	23	-	9	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	23
Borno	27	-	10	1	15	-	1	-	-	-	27
Cross River	18	-	10	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	18
Delta	25	1	6	1	17	-	-	-	-	-	25
Ebonyi	13	-	4		9	-	-	-	-	-	13
Edo	18	-	3	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	18
Ekiti	16	12	2		2	-	-	-	-	-	16
Enugu	17	-	5	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	17
Gombe	11	-	4	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	11
Imo	27	1	10	-	15	-	-	1	-	-	27
Jigawa	27		7	1	18	-	-	-	-	1	27
Kaduna	23	-	4	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	23
Kano	44	-	5	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	44
Katsina	34	-	5	-	28	-	-	-	-	1	34
Kebbi	21	-	5	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	21
Kogi	21	-	9	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	21
Kwara	16	2	10	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	16
Lagos	20	17	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Nasarawa	13	-	2	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	13
Niger	25	-	1	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	25
Ogun	20	17	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	20

		AD	APP	MDJ	PDP	NSM	UDP	UPP	DAM	PRP	
Ondo	18	15	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	18
Osun	30	19	5	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	30
Oyo	33	18	5	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	33
Plateau	17	-	1	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	17
Rivers	23	-	5	-	18	-	-		-	-	23
Sokoto	23	-	11	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	23
Taraba	16		4		12	-	-	-	-	-	16
Yobe	17		7		9	-	-	-	-	-	17
Zamfara	14		7		7	-	-	-	-	-	14
FCT (Abuja)	6		1		5	-	-	-	-	-	6
TOTAL	**774**	**102**	**192**	**3**	**470**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**-**	**2**	**774**

Table 2.2: **December 5, 1998 Nigerian Local Government Chairmanship Election Results**

Source: **Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Abuja and This Day Newspaper, Thursday, December 17, 1998.**

N.B: AD = Alliance for Democracy

APP = All Peoples Party

MDJ = Movement for Democracy and Justice

PDP = Peoples Democratic Party

NSM = National Solidarity Party

UDP = United Democratic Party

UPP = United Peoples Party

DAM = Democratic Advance Movement

PRP = Peoples Redemption Party

Talking about demographic factors, Rallings and Thrasher (1997:49) reported that older voters, in Britain, were more likely to vote than other age groups while longer-term residents also had better voting records than other groups. Miller (1986: 143), confirming Rallings and Thrasher's studies, stated that a person's age, length of residence and sense of psychological involvement in local politics and the strength of their party identification are critical factors in determining the propensity to vote. However, Miller cautioned that while these variables correlated well with turn-out they

are not necessarily good for predicting turn-out itself. Pulzer (1978: 104) in his study on Political Representation and Elections in Britain found that occupation and income are obvious criteria that affect voting behaviour but these two overlap with occupation being the more reliable of the two. They thus grouped society into "middle" and "working" class (or manual and non-manual). The scholars thus found that the middle class shows much greater political cohesion with 10 –15 per cent of the business and professional classes and 20 – 25 per cent of the non-manual voting labour party. On the other hand, their findings showed that at least a third or 33.3 per cent of the working class consistently votes conservative. "Going by the 1961 British census, two-thirds of the British population are employed in manual occupations, which means that about half the conservative vote regularly comes from the working class, but only about one-sixth of the labour vote from the middle class", they further reported.

Butler and Strokes (1969: 72) in their studies on Political Change in Britain, reported about the sex factor and stated that women are more conservatively inclined than men as in most countries, and they concluded that sex is the one factor which indubitably counter-balances class trends; working-class women, middle-class are more right-wing than middle class men. In terms of Religion, Pulzer (1978: 113) reported that in certain continental European states, Religion, especially Catholicism, plays an important part in making women more right-wing and concludes that there are valid historical reasons for associating the church of England with Toryism and Dissent (and catholicism) with the left.

Reporting on the age factor, Pulzer found that age correlates fairly closely with party preference, youth being more left-wing than middle age or old age. The conservatism of old age consists of sticking to one's chosen party, whether of the left or of the right. At the same time the middle class (who are known to be more conservative) have a higher expectation of life than the working class and women (who are also known to be more conservative) than men. Another way in which age influences party choice is that of voting habit. Voting habits tend to be formed over a life-time; the formative process

begins early – at home, at school, in the neighbourhood and by the circumstances of the earliest elections in which one takes part (Butler and Strokes, 1969: 72).

Berelson et al (1954: 345) have found that on the average only a fraction (less than 10 percent) of voters change from one party to another in a campaign.

State	N.P.N Shagari	%	U.P.N Awolowo	%	N.P.P Azikiwe	%	G.N.P.P. Waziri	%	P.R.R Kano	%	Total Votes Cast	Regis-tered Voters	% Voted
Anambra	163,164	13.5	9,053	0.75	1,002,082	82.9	20,228	1.67	14,500	1.2	1,209,028	2,601,548	46.47
Bauchi	623,898	62.48	29,960	3	47,314	4.74	154,218	15.44	143,202	14.3	998,683	2,084,059	47.92
Bendel	242,320	36.19	356,381	53.23	57,629	8.61	8,242	1.23	4,939	0.74	669,511	2,376,410	28.17
Benue	411,648	76.39	13,864	2.57	63,097	11.7	42,992	7.98	7,277	1.35	538,879	1,563,413	34.47
Borno	246,778	34.71	23,885	3.36	9,642	1.36	384,278	54.05	46,385	6.52	710,968	2,753,400	25.82
C/River	425,815	64.41	77,775	11.76	50,671	7.67	100,105	15.14	6,737	1.02	661,103	2,442,227	27.07
Gongola	227,057	35.53	138,561	21.68	27,856	4.36	217,914	34.1	27,750	4.34	639,138	2,284,500	27.98
Imo	101,516	8.8	7,335	0.64	999,636	86.7	34,616	3	10,252	0.89	1,153,355	3,465,198	33.28
Kaduna	596,302	43.16	92,382	6.69	65,321	4.73	190,926	13.82	447,771	32.4	1,381,712	3,420,839	40.39
Kano	243,643	20.38	14,960	1.25	11,041	0.92	18,468	1.55	907,136	75.9	1,195,248	5,174,447	23.1
Kwara	190,142	53.62	140,006	39.48	1,830	0.52	20,251	5.71	2,376	0.69	354,605	1,085,163	32.68
Lagos	59,515	7.19	681,762	82.3	79,320	9.58	3,943	0.48	3,824	0.46	828,364	1,811,973	45.72
Niger	287,072	74.89	14,155	3.69	4,292	1.12	63,273	16.51	14,555	3.8	383,347	1,040,753	36.83
Ogun	46,358	6.23	689,655	92.61	2,343	0.32	3,974	0.53	2,338	0.31	744,668	1,603,004	46.45
Ondo	57,361	4.14	1,294,666	93.49	11,752	0.85	2,561	0.19	2,509	0.18	1,384,788	2,422,714	57.16
Oyo	177,999	12.75	1,197,983	85.78	7,732	0.55	8,029	0.58	4,804	0.34	1,396,547	4,500,120	31.03
Plateau	190,458	35.37	29,029	5.39	269,666	50.1	37,400	6.95	21,852	4.06	538,405	1,618,378	33.27
Rivers	499,114	72.57	71,114	10.34	98,754	14.4	15,025	2.19	3,212	0.47	687,751	1,409,472	48.8
Sokoto	898,994	66.61	34,102	2.53	12,499	0.93	359,021	26.6	44,977	3.33	1,349,593	3,756,139	35.93
Total	5,689,154	33.81	4,916,628	29.22	2,822,477	16.8	1,685,464	10.02	1,716,396	10.2	16,825,693	47,413,757	35.50%

Table 2.3: How Voters (Customers) Made Their Buying Decision in 1979 Presidential Election State By State.

Source: Federal Electoral Commission of Nigeria-FEDECO,l

STATE	APP/AD FALAE	%	PDP OBASANJO	%	TOTAL VOTES CAST	REGISTERED VOTERS	% VOTED
Abia	175,095	32.67	360,823	67.33	535,918	1,321,895	40.5
Adamawa	177,868	21.05	667,239	78.95	845,107	1,260,956	67
Akwa Ibom	152,534	17.27	730,744	82.73	883,278	1,450,367	60.9
Anambra	199,461	23.94	633,717	76.06	833,178	2,221,384	37.5
Bauchi	342,233	29.09	834,308	70.91	1,176,541	1,941,913	60.6
Bayelsa	152,220	24.45	457,812	75.05	610,032	873,000	69.9
Benue	269,045	21.47	983,912	78.53	1,252,957	1,806,121	69.4
Borno	334,593	36.53	581,382	63.47	915,975	1,822,987	50.2
Cross	283,468	32.35	593,688	67.65	876,156	1,142,876	76.7

River							
Delta	240,344	29.43	576,230	70.57	816,574	1,794,361	45.5
Ebonyi	94,934	27.44	250,987	72.56	345,921	902,237	38.3
Edo	163,203	24.01	516,581	75.99	679,784	1,380,418	49.2
Ekiti	522,072	73.15	191,618	26.85	713,690	1,077,195	66.3
Enugu	195,168	23.36	640,418	76.64	835,586	1,466,145	57
FCT	39,788	40.18	59,234	59.82	99,022	385,399	25.7
Gombe	311,381	36.87	533,158	63.13	844,539	1,108,171	76.2
Imo	314,339	42.7	421,767	57.3	736,106	1,746,673	42.1
Jigawa	237,025	43.21	311,571	56.79	584,596	1,567,423	35
Kaduna	381,350	22.75	1,294,679	77.25	1,676,029	2,536,702	66.1
Katsina	229,181	19.2	964,216	80.8	1,193,397	2,151,112	55.5
Kano	222,458	24.59	682,255	75.41	904,713	3,680,990	24.6
Kebbi	172,336	33.64	339,893	66.36	512,229	1,172,054	43.7
Kogi	476,807	48.42	507,903	51.58	984,710	1,265,230	77.8
Kwara	189,088	28.67	470,510	71.33	659,598	940,400	70.1
Lagos	1,542,969	88.07	209,012	11.93	1,751,981	4,091,070	42.8
Nassarawa	173,277	29.02	423,731	70.98	597,008	949,466	62.9
Niger	140,465	16.12	730,665	83.88	871,130	1,572,979	55.4
Ogun	332,340	69.83	143,564	30.17	475,904	1,559,709	30.5
Ondo	668,474	83.37	133,323	16.63	801,797	1,331,617	60.2
Osun	607,628	76.47	187,011	23.53	794,639	1,496,058	53.1
Oyo	693,510	75.29	227,668	24.71	921,178	2,362,772	39
Plateau	173,370	25.78	499,072	74.22	672,442	1,311,649	51.3
Rivers	213,328	13.63	1,352,275	86.37	1,565,603	2,202,655	71.1
Sokoto	198,829	56.1	155,598	43.9	354,427	1,274,060	27.8
Taraba	81,290	9.33	789,749	90.67	871,039	983,227	88.6
Yobe	165,061	52.98	146,517	47.02	311,578	874,957	35.6
Zamfara	243,755	64.13	136,324	35.87	380,078	1,112,627	34.2
TOTAL	11,110,287	37.22	18,739,154	62.78	29,884,440	58,138,855	51.3

Table 2.4   How Voters (Customers) Made Their Buying Decision in 1999 State By State.

Source: Independent National Electoral Commission-INEC Sources

The next section discuses related studies on political campaign communications.

2.3.2 **STUDIES ON POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION:**

Studies carried out by scholars in the field of Political Science over the past 34 years have shown that political Communications have very little impact on voting behaviour (Campbell, 1966; Key,1966; Blumler and McQuail,1969). Their findings simply reflected elections having high situational involvement (generally Presidential elections) and did not account for low situational involvement elections especially local government elections.

Most recently, however, researchers in this field of study have reported a significant impact of communication on voting behaviour (Kline,1972; Rothschild and Ray, 1974; Palda, 1975; O'Shaughnessy,1978; Butler and Collins,1994). These studies have concentrated on lower level, or low situational involvement elections and the findings are consistent with the low involvement model (such as that of the local election) (Rothschild, 1979:16). Rothschild further reported that " since there are fewer beliefs concerning issues in low level races, communications can more easily impact; since there is a strong belief that voting is a desirable behaviour, it will take place; the desirable behaviour is very short-run (one may vote on election day and then return to apathy), there is no need to develop the types of reinforcement which lead to long-run behaviour". He further emphasised that " the mere act of voting is reinforcing; one has been a good citizen, performed one's duty, and met society's expectations".

Rothschild (1979:12) also reported that marketing communications is generally used in conjunction with product, price and distribution; that its potential can be most fully realised when its development follows the other marketing tools.

Hence, we have to consider the non-communications aspects to develop insights into communications issues.

2.3.2.1 **RELATED STUDIES ON NON-COMMUNICATIONS ASPECTS OF MARKETING**

There are four major issues which impact on political communications effectiveness in the political market place and lead to several hypotheses (Rothschild, 1979: 12):

(i)   Product differences

(ii)   Pricing differences

(iii)   Involvement differences

(iv)   Segmentation differences

In his findings on the political product, Rothschild stated that the product (candidate) must first be considered for its benefits so that appropriate behaviour can be appropriately reinforced. Rothschild emphasised that traditional communications strategies may be inadequate due to difficulties in communicating a potential benefit to the electorate. Hence, communicators must seek out the unique selling proposition to show the electorate benefits of appropriate behaviour. In political marketing cases, the product often provides little direct measurable benefit to the voters and since the electorate may not immediately perceive the personal benefit, it must be pointed out more clearly. Equally, the researcher reported that there is not latent demand or interest in the product so when there is no voluntarily sought after exchange, it is difficult to elicit behaviour.

Rothschild also found that in political marketing, there is no monetary cost, as the underlying theme of price has traditionally been related to monetary issues and price is generally a function of cost and profit or of elasticity of demand constraints. On price, he reiterates that one difficulty lies in the diverse nature of non-monetary costs that include time cost, inconvenience cost, and psychic cost. Each of these costs may be perceived as greater than monetary costs that dominate the price of consumer products.

A recent study (Houston and Rothschild, 1978:27), explicated involvement as consisting of three component parts:

-   Situational Involvement (SI): the level of concern generated by an object across a set of individuals at a particular point in time;

-   Enduring Involvement (EI): the preexisting relationship between an individual and the object of concern;

-   Response Involvement (RI): the complexity of cognitive, affective, conative development of several points along a sequence of information gathering and decision making activities.

SI and EI are felt to interact and impact upon RI so that SI determines the mean level of RI, and EI determines the variance about the mean. Most of the existing involvement researches have considered the impact of communications stimuli on response involvement (Krugman, 1965; Ray, et al, 1973). In Rothschild (1978: 60), two models of effective development were proposed; in the high involvement case, attitude precedes behaviour, the main impact of advertising is on the development of awareness and knowledge while additional personal selling is necessary to generate behaviour. His finding in the low involvement case was that advertising directly affects behaviour (at least in the short run) due to the absence of well-formed attitude structure. The construct of involvement is a key to understanding the differences, difficulties, and constraints encountered in using marketing communications techniques in the political market; involvement gives insight into how individuals receive and use information in different situations, these are differences that need consideration in developing a communications strategy.

In terms of segmentation differences, Rothschild (1979: 15) showed that segmentation strategies are called for in political marketing since all members of society must behave in a certain way and all must vote for some candidates. Hence, political parties and candidates often consider unappealing segments because the mandate is to serve all of society.

Following the developments above Rothschild summarised the scenario with the following five hypotheses:

"

- H_1: The lower the perceived personal value (positive reinforcement, quid pro quo) to the individual, relative to the cost (monetary and/or non monetary), the more difficult the behaviour change task, and the lower the likelihood of success of marketing communications.

- H_2: The lower the latent or preexisting demand for the object, the more difficult the behaviour change task, and the lower the likelihood of success of marketing communications.

- H_3: The greater the involvement level of the object, situation, or issue (due primarily to complexity or price), the more difficult the behaviour change task, and the lower the likelihood of success of marketing communications.

- H_4: The greater the past involvement level of the individual (due primarily to past experience or the strength of social or cultural values), the more difficult the behaviour change task, and the lower the likelihood of success of marketing communications.

- H_5: The greater the level of participation needed within the society, the more difficult the behaviour change, and the lower the likelihood of success of marketing communications".

2.3.2.2   STUDIES ON CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA:

The vote is an act of social affirmation and thus most political communications tend to affirm existing commitments. The prior assumptions of the electorate restrict the marketing manoeuvrability of the parties because the importance of social affirmation adds weight to the objective of "getting the vote out" – ensuring that the traditional supporters do actually get to the polling-station (Butler and Collins, 1994: 26). Hence, the media of communications have become important in all electioneering campaigns.

One of America's most successful campaign management partnerships has likened the political campaign to a "war" for men's minds: "It starts with the battle plan. That is the tactics" (Baus and Ross, 1968: 115). The opportunity in politics for marketing has led

to the modern day application of Integrated Marketing Communications (IMC) to the political campaign process. The American Association of Advertising Agencies defines IMC as "a concept of marketing communications planning that recognises the added value in a programme; that integrates a variety of strategic communications disciplines for example, general advertising, direct response, sales, promotion and public relations, and combines these disciplines to provide clarity, consistency and maximum communication". This is in fact the focus in modern political communications (Caywood, et al, 1991: 18). It is viewed (Caywood, 1992: 28), that the integration reconnects the campaign with the voter by building a detailed database of past and current actions taken by the voter that may help to predict his or her future behaviour (And the data becomes an immensely useful tool to develop specific communications tactics to reach the voter with a timely and relevant message). Caywood (1992: 29) added that the campaign's knowledge of where the voter might come into direct or indirect contact with the candidate (TV viewing habits, radio wage, newspapers and editorial sections read, shopping behaviour and so on) will permit a more specific interception of the voter. He concluded in his findings that "the voter doesn't discriminate between direct mail, broadcast advertising, print advertising, news stories, editorials, talk shows, events, signs or alternative communications because the voter perceives that they all perform the same function of getting needed information about the candidate's image and issue positions in a convenient and understandable form. Therefore, the campaign communicators (who are media specialists) must seize the opportunity offered by Intergrated Marketing Communications in combining these to most effectively, efficiently and equitably reach the voters by working closely with and through the candidate.

In his recent study of what he called the "paradox of mass politics" in which he tried to build a theory of political sophistication, Neuman (1987: 57 – 59) offered among other things, a vivid description of the role played by the mass media in political sophistication and political education. According to that researcher, people attend to media to pick up pieces of political information that gradually accumulate. He continued that "as one becomes more informed, one seeks more information from the

media (in a spiral process); complex political ideas are interpreted, to some extent, in inter-personal discussions. Neuman further pointed out that his findings showed that those who were low in political sophistication did not follow the media or discuss politics much, and that in interpersonal discussions there was little evidence of a trickle-down of information because discussants had the same general level of political knowledge. Though, Hacker (1987: 39) critised Neuman's theory of political sophistication putting it that "there needs to be more systematic testing of specific hypothesis about sophistication and how it relates to behaviours, such as communication and cognition" there is no doubt that any media campaign planning in an election will benefit from Neuman's findings especially his interesting classification of the electorate in three groups (Nwosu, 1990: 39). The three groups into which Neuman classified the electorate are; the "mass public" made up of 75 per cent of the population that have only marginal political interest, "political public" made up of 20 per cent of the population who do not care any bit about politics and are proud of it, and the "Activist public" made up of 5 per cent of the population who have very high political involvement. Nwosu (1990: 40), therefore, concludes that "each of these groups will definitely require different media campaign approaches or strategies, so it will be wise to precede any media campaign during any election in Nigeria with a clear classification of the electorate in a manner similar to Neuman's classification but with necessary contextual adjustments.

Consequently, Nimmo (1970: 118) grouped political communications channels in the American Political Market into five categories as follows: Personal appearances, the campaign organisation, displays, the printed media (including newspapers and magazines), the auditory media (Radio), and audio-visual media (television).

(i) **Personal Media:**

The professional campaigner's selection of a particular media, or combination of media, to carry the candidate's appeal depends on the audience sought and the

purpose of the message, and Nimmo (1990: 119) affirmed that "if, for example, the target audience consists of the uninformed, uninterested, and independent voters, television plays a prominent role". He further noted that for such targets the mass media are helpful in promoting name recognition (making a candidate known to large numbers of people), projecting an appealing image, or turning out voters on election day. Hence, American Politicians and their political parties often employ the services of independent consultants; while the practice in Nigeria today is for the politicians and their parties to use full-service advertising agencies; during the politics of the Third Republic in Nigeria, the National Republican Convention's (NRC) Presidential election in 1993 was packaged by Insight Communications and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was serviced by Sunrise Marketing Communications (Caywood, 1972: 62).

Even in the age of television, public appearances (personal media) by a politician carry his message to voters; a candidate for a city council or legislative election frequently builds his entire campaign around relatively inexpensive appearances (Nimmo, 1970: 119).

Full-Service Advertising Agencies usually tackle the following public appearances of political candidates:

- Prepared Speech
- Political rallies/meetings
- Press Conferences
- Fund-raising dinners
- Coffees with candidates.

"Speeches are meant to influence behaviour toward desirable directions…The speeches you make during electioneering campaigns must tie in neatly with all other aspects of your campaign strategy… Speech-making forms an integral part of the candidates overall campaign programme... if your speech is good, you

generate enthusiasm. That way you can convert some of the luke-warm or apathetic voters as well as non-partisan independents to support your cause" (Iornem, 1995: 35-36). On prepared speeches, Iornem further emphasised that available data show that an effective political speech must take into account the following six important considerations:

"   -   The Audience

-    The Issues at stake

-    Candidate's Credibility

-    Emotional Tone

-    Organisation

-    Language and Style.

And this assertion has been corroborated by White (1969: 378) who stated that in 1968 Richard Nixon had a set presentation; "The speech", delivered extemporaneously, as if unprepared; actually, the address had evolved gradualy during the primaries and was much the same message in September that it had been in January, but to a small-town audience it was a natural, unrehearsed statement from the heart. Nimmo (1970: 120) summed up his findings that candidates endeavour to communicate not substance, but style and image in their speeches. He concluded his findings with this statement "formal speeches, rallies, press conferences, and coffees are traditional ways of exposing the candidate to the public, primarily to convey a positive impression of his personality, manner, and sincerity".

(ii) **Organisational Media:**

Organisational media refers to the offices within the campaign organisation that communicate with voters on the candidate's behalf – precinct workers (including volunteers, friends and relatives), speakers' bureaus, and endorsement groups (Nimmo, 1970: 122). Nimmo reiterated that some voters decide to vote for candidates because they have been influenced by friends; since the enthusiasm of an amateur volunteer wins votes, candidates at all levels rely heavily on grass-

roots workers to carry their message. Evidence has shown that in 1964, Republican party workers in the Uited States had an effect on voting decision that was independent of voters' party loyalties; one survey indicated, for example, that of independents contacted by Republicans, one-half voted for Goldwater and of Independents not contacted only 29 per cent chose Goldwater. Similarly, of Democrats contacted by Republicans 15 per cent voted for Goldwater; of those Democrats not contacted only 9 per cent chose Goldwater. Kassel (1968: 287), therefore, summarised that this organisational work did influence votes, and that it represented genuine Republican success. The truth is that many voters judge a candidate by the people who endorse him. Hence, Roper (1971: 9) reported in his findings that friends and relatives are important sources of information on local candidates.

(iii) **Display Media:**

This is made up of bumper stickers, billboards, posters, yard signs, placards, buttons, and other visual aids. In his successful campaign for congress in 1966, for example, Republican George Bush in Texas effectively combined the use of billboards and television. Measurement of the effectiveness of the outdoor displays revealed that voters surveyed had not only noticed the principal theme, "vote for Bush and watch the Action", but were able to recall it long after the campaign (Nimmo, 1970: 125).

In Nigeria, the poster forms a major portion of political campaign materials and voters get attracted to a well-coloured poster showing a clear and large picture of a candidate with a short message carrying a theme. Figures 2.20, 2.21, and 2.22 show collection of posters in Enugu East, Enugu North and Enugu South Local Government Areas of Enugu state, Nigeria during campaigns for the December 5, 1998 elections. Almost all the posters did not carry any theme but a few had attractive colours and carried large, clear pictures of candidates.

(iv) **Printed Media, Radio and Television:**

The most widely used of the printed media are campaign literature, political biographies, and newspaper publicity and advertising (Nimmo, 1970: 125).

Figure 2.20: **Posters showing Pictures and Messages of Candidates of AD, APP and PDP in the December 5, 1998 Local Government Chairmanship Elections in Enugu East Local Government Area.**

Figure 2.21: **Posters showing pictures and messages of candidates of AD, APP and PDD in the December 5, 1998 Local Government Chairmanship Elections in Enugu North Local Government Area.**

Figure 2.22: **Posters showing pictures and messages of candidates of AD, APP and PDP in the December 5, 1998 Local Government Chairmanship Elections in Enugu South Local Government Area.**

There is evidence that literature such as handbills, leaflets, and brochures, promote voter turn-out. One study of a local charter revision election revealed that of persons not contacted only one third voted, of those contacted by mail, 60 per cent voted; and three-fourth of those contacted personally voted (Eldersveld and Dodge, 1954: 538).

Considering, Newspaper advertising and period of campaign, it has been found (Mullen,1968:224) that Newspaper advertising, at least in presidential elections, is usually concentrated in the last two weeks of the campaign. Nimmo, (1970:122) in considering the time of the day for television exposure, stated that voters prefer valuable television exposure on evening news programmes.

Nwosu (1990: 36), in citing some empirical data supplied from studies conducted in Nigeria, United States of America and Yugoslavia, came to a safe conclusion that in a developing country like Nigeria, media information flow during election and similar campaigns, is largely indirect because inter-personal and other communications channels tend to have greater influence on the flow than they do in the developed countries. Roper (1971: 9) carried out series of polls in this research area in America and found repeatedly that television was always rated the major source of information about national political candidates by 60 to 65 per cent of the public. He also found that television had a much narrower edge over newspapers for candidates for state elections while on local candidates, newspapers were considered a better source than television by more people. Radio and Magazines were rated as major sources of information about political candidates – national, state, or local by fewer than 10 per cent of the population, he further showed.

Edelstein (1974: 5), reporting findings similar to those of Roper, in his comparative study of similar elections in Yugoslavia and the United States of America stated that television provided the greatest breath of perception and was the most preferred medium, newspapers provided the greatest breath of content and the most time to think, while radio was the most available medium. These findings are also in alignment with those of Stella-Joan Ebo et al (1997: 20 – 21) in their studies on Broadcast Media and Political Mobilisation in Amechi-Awkunanaw, Enugu South Local Government Area, Nigeria. They found that the broadcast media helped 55.73 per cent of respondents to form a political decision, 70.99 per cent in creating political awareness, 11.45 per cent of respondents in deciding who to vote for; 10.45 per cent said friends influenced their

decisions of who to vote; 2.29 per cent said they were influenced by sentiments while 30.53 per cent said they made a personal decision. They also found that political programmes broadcast are better appreciated in the local language of the rural people or in very simple English Language and that radio broadcasting is most effective in propagating policies and mobilising the masses, especially in the rural areas because the rural people cannot afford televisions or the soaring cost of daily newspapers (after consideration of illiteracy). The researchers finally showed in their findings that the rural people do not distinguish between broadcast media news (including editorials) and media advertising and that the broadcast time for the rural dwellers is evening on ordinary days and both day and night on Sundays because they leave their village homes as early as possible for the farms on working days and return as late as 7.00pm, while Sundays are resting days.

About the credibility of television, Atwood and Sanders (1975: 39) in their study on Perception of Information Sources and Likelihood of Split Ticket Voting, found that almost two-thirds of respondents felt that television was the most credible medium. Nwosu (1992: 70) in his study on "Advertising in Contemporary British Politics" reported that transportation advertising or the use of moving vehicles as a medium for transmitting advertisements has been quite noticeable in recent British advertising scene; and that the loud speaker vans frequently used during political campaigns to transmit political advertising messages is a common example. He further found that media selection for political advertisements should be based on specific factors including funds availability, campaign strategy, message, and the desired target audience and confirmed that these criterion have been given practical significance in the Saatchi and Saatchi campaigns for the conservative Party in Britain.

It has been found that the telephone (an auditory media) is a tool for campaign research as well as for stimulating turn-out (Nimmo, 1970: 137). "The telephone has become a standard method of achieving high voter turn-outs in "soft areas", Nimmo continued. Generally, Rogers (1969: 38) has pointed out that inter-personal communication

channels are more effective in persuasion and attitude change than are mass media channels. Mass media channels which include radio, television, newspapers, and printed materials are all associated with literacy, affluence, and urban culture. With the exception of radio, which has been found to be effective in reaching the rural Nigerian masses (Nwuneli, 1976: 17), other channels of mass media communications have been found to be relatively less effective.

2.3.2.3 STUDIES ON CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUES:

Techniques or tools of campaign communications include Political Advertising, Personal Selling, Publicity (and Public Relations), Sales Promotion, Sponsorship, Corporate (Party) identity, Candidate packaging, Point of Voting and Merchandising, and Word of Mouth. These are grouped into "Above the Line", the sales force, and "Below the Line". "Above the line refers to advertising while "below the line" basically refers to any other communications tool other than the sales force (which does not fall into either category.

(i) Above the Line:

Political advertising has been massively carried out in Nigeria especially in the last two presidential elections: The 1993 Presidential election between Chief M. K.O. Abiola of the Social Democratic Party and Alhaji Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention; and The 1999 Presidential Election between Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the Peoples Democratic Party and Chief Olu Falae of the All Peoples Party/Alliance for Democracy.

Advertising is often regulated by the laws of a country. Doghudje (1992: 92) in his study "Political Advertising: Thoughts and Non-thoughts" noted that "people who employ advertising in politics must take cognisance of all relevant communications

laws, as well as the particular statutes on political advertising" and gave relevant portions of the legal provisions of Nigerian Decree No. 27 of 1989 – Transition to Civil Rule (Political Parties Registration and Activities) Decree as follows:

"(a)   No political campaign shall be made on the basis of sectional, ethnic or religious considerations;

(b)   Abusive, intemperate, slanderous or base language designed or likely to provoke violent emotion or reactions shall not be employed or used in political campaigns;

(c)   Places designated for religious worship or activities shall not be used to promote or propagate or attack the ideals or programmes of any political party or any of its candidates..

(d)   Radio and television shall observe balance in political programmes and this lies in the equal presentation of alternative or opposing points of views or interest;

(a)   Stations are free to sell airtime for the purpose of political campaigns subject to the following rules and guidelines:

-          All messages shall be in form of spot announcements on jingles not exceeding 60 seconds

-          No station shall be involved in the production of such announcements and jingles

-          No voices of members of staff shall be used in political jingles

-          All jingles shall conform to the standards of decency, taste, morality and truth".

That law was totally silent on the use of the print media making it inadequate. Doghudje (1992: 91) also found from his research about "The key factors that are likely to influence voting behaviour for the 1993 Presidential Election", that literate respondents of the top executive class asked to score factors of tribe/religion, name, charisma, money and manifesto gave the following scores:

"-   Tribe/Religion   -   70%

-	Name	-	5%
-	Charisma	-	10%
-	Money	-	10%
-	Manifesto	-	5%

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                                ------
                                100%"
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Now, he concluded that if the score of tribe/religion was as high as 70 per cent among the literate class one wonders what it would score among the illiterate? Yet, the laws say political campaigns shall not be made on the basis of religion or tribe. And realising that the illiterate class who would probably score tribe/religion as high as 90 per cent constitute 65 – 75 per cent of the population, what can political advertising really do under the circumstances in Nigeria? Maybe only to assist in giving legitimacy to the Winner (op. cit).

In the developed countries, the reverse is really the case. However, the voting behaviour of the Nigerian electorate in respect of religious/ethnic bias vis-à-vis election campaign perception are beginning to change for the better in Nigeria. Talking about the developed economies, there is a fast growing body of knowledge in the research literature that suggests that political opinion pollings, various social marketing and promotional activities, and the total funds spent on them do have effects on electoral outcomes that could be as great as the traditional factors like incumbency and party membership (Weaver-Lariscy, Tinkham and Nordstrom, 1987: 14).

On the contrary, Devries (1971: 88) has shown that political advertising may have only limited effects on voting decisions and that different types of television programmes were rated higher by voters as important factors that influence their voting decisions. According to his research report, of 36 factors that played a role in political campaigning, 12 were rated 5.0 or better on an 11-point scale as influencing voting decisions. None of the purchaseable types of advertising (television, newspaper, mailings, or telephone campaign) was rated higher than 4.9. This limited – effect

conclusion about political advertising was confirmed by findings generated from a study Devries did with Terrance a year later (Devries and Terrance, 1972: 51) and another carried out four years later by Surlin and Gordon (1976: 36). But as in the case for other types of media content, such as news, features, and editorials, political advertising has been shown by Atkin and Heald (1976:223) to have a positive effect on voters' knowledge and interest. A number of empirical studies carried out in Britain to resolve the controversy of mass influence on the political processes have shown that the media influence British voters' political behaviour only to the extent of increasing the voters' level of political information (Nwosu, 1992: 67).

(ii)   **<u>Below the Line and Personal Selling:</u>**

Activities of electioneering campaigns depend so much on volunteers because the candidate cannot pay for all the services needed during campaigns or carry out all the duties on his own. Iornem (1998: 86) from his findings reported that volunteers can be mobilised from within the candidate's friends, relations, business associates, party members and supporters, community leaders, and organisations to which the candidate belongs. In addition, Duquin (1982: 45) found that high school and college students can make a good source of volunteers because they can be very helpful in voter contact through door-to-door and telephone canvassing, distributing literature, addressing envelopes, answering telephone, typing, filing, folding brochures, stuffing, stapling, and sealing envelopes, running errands, attending rallies, and other important campaign activities". Essentially, the personal selling job in political campaign is done by the candidate, campaign staff, party workers, and volunteers. In this regard, Iornem (op. cit) further reported that the candidate and his volunteers must make ample use of the facility of mass merchandising to help him get noticed and promote acceptability, just as point of purchase materials are used to promote consumer goods, point of vote materials could be used to promote favourable decisions regarding the acceptance of his candidature, and that posters, banners, waving of flags and candidate's promotional materials are all

part of merchandising which the candidiate can use to garner support. Candidate must promote a good and attractive image of himself through the way he appears and the way he speaks; good photographs of the candidate, and possibly of his family, for use in campaign literature, folders, posters, television and print media are very important in promoting positive and attractive image (Iornem, 1998: 90). Candidate must dress and carry himself in a manner acceptable to the electorate, he must address issues that concern provision of adequate health and sanitation facilities, sufficient educational and manpower development services, food and nutrition (or poverty alleviation) provision of electricity and good link roads, and of course, provision of pipe borne water because these are grossly lacking both in the urban and rural areas in Nigeria.

It has also been reported that in their personal selling efforts, candidates benefit a lot from enlisting the support of traditional poets and artists as important publicity asset for spreading and articulating campaign messages and issues particularly to the rural and non-literate electorate (Iornem,1998:101). Since they belong to the communities and speak the local language, the traditional poets and artists who are also opinion leaders, can assist in publicising the candidate. In fact, getting the right persons to endorse the candidate is extremely important, both in getting funds and votes, because many people tend to depend on their communities' opinion leaders to make up their minds on political issues (op.cit.)

Sales promotion is one major item of below the line communication. Studies carried out by Strang (1975: 117) in this aspect of promotion revealed that sales promotion efforts increase sales (or votes) or have apparent proofs of success. Experts however agree that the potentials or effectiveness of sales promotion come out most when it is combined with other promo-tools, especially advertising (Nwosu, 1996: 325). Suneo and Lin (1978: 37) made this point very clear in their study of the comparative study of the sales effect of sales promotion and television advertising. Their findings were that consumer or sales promotion

accounted for 80 per cent of the total sales net effect, while television advertising accounted for only 13 per cent of total sales net effect. The researchers maintained however, that the interaction of advertising and consumer promotion achieve far better results than the use of one of them alone. This scenario equally applies in political campaigns.

A renowned marketing expert, Onah (1996: 217) in painting the picture of the importance of Public Relations in Modern Marketing, reported that the Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) has blazed the trail of Public Relations professionalism in Africa by being the first Chartered Institute of Public Relations in the continent, by endowing a chair in Public Relations and sponsoring an Master of Science degree programme in Public Relations at the University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus. In pursuance of this growing importance of public relations, Caywood (1992: 31) has found that in the context of campaign capable of using integrated communications, public relations and marketing public relations may be more useful than advertising to convey a message when:

"-   The candidate is more news worthy

-      The campaign has a low budget

-      There is a persuasive negative environment

-      The candidate takes an unexpected stand on an issue.

-     There are complex personal and policy issues (one or both) to the voter".

He further reported that public relations and marketing public relations could help the candidate to:

"-   Build a stronger political organisation

-      Run a 24-hour campaign

-      Optimize communications in a very short time frame

-      Gain marginal votes with marginal communications tactics of all forms

-      Offset a negative advertising campaign with attractive communications tactics.

The learned scholar finally listed the following as marketing Public Relations tactics available for use during political campaign:

"- Awards

- Books

- Contests, competitions and created events

- Demonstrations

- Political Debates

  Exhibits and Events

- Fan clubs

- Grand openings

- Hotlines

- Junkets

- Luncheons

- Newsletters

- Official endorsements

- Placement

- Public Service Announcement

- Questionnaires

- Radio Shows

- Symbols

- Tours

- Universities

- Video news releases

- Weeks and working".

Caywood's list has been corroborated by Offonry (1979: 122) who added that sponsorship of sports and other media like newspaper, magazines, films, radio, and television are used to reach the voting public and have proved useful.

Publicity and Public Relations cannot be separated. During the politics of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria publicity played an important role. The Newspapers, especially, **THIS DAY**, had a political column in which projections about party strengths and weaknesses were analysed weekly. **THIS DAY** projections and opinion polls had a lot of success in their forecasts in most of the elections from local government through the presidential election. Television and Radio routinely report such major political events as party conventions, election returns, fund raising ceremonies, campaign launches, and inaugural ceremonies. These are opportunities for publicity (independent reporting) and Public Relations Specialists move quickly to get free exposure for their candidates.

Nimmo (1970: 162) concluded his findings on the influence of debates when he suggested that, as publicity device, televised debates influence the image voters have of the contenders. He added that the particular group that is most susceptible to such image-making is composed of indifferent and undecided citizens who may not vote at all unless stimulated by a dramatic campaign event like a televised confrontation. He illustrated his position with the conclusions of an analysis of the 1960 Kennedy – Nixon debates where Kennedy won the votes of a substantial portion of Americans who, before the debates, had not yet made up their minds for either candidate. But these dramatic gains by Kennedy were not matched among voters who had made a choice prior to the debates.

The Pull and Push Promotional Strategies used in business equally apply in political marketing. A pull strategy demands a lot of financial effort on advertising and sales promotion aimed at the final consumer to create demand for a product, service or idea. On the other hand, the push strategy delegates a good proportion of the promotional responsibility to channel members such that the middlemen at all levels of the channel system must be aggressive in pushing the product, service, or idea down through the channel systems (Boyd and Massy, 1972: 375). The pull and push strategies cannot be used to the total exclusion of the other (Iornem, 1997: 82). Iornem (1997: 77) emphasised that in the context of a candidate campaigning for political office, he is

saddled with a decision on whether to use the push or pull strategy. If **push**, the candidate would have decided that intermediaries such as party branches, tribal groups, state/regional groups, organised interest groups such as religious organisations and trade unions will be convinced that it would be in their interest to support the candidate. These will in turn convince their members and other sub groups who will in turn convince the voters of the merit of supporting and voting for the candidate. If the pull strategy is chosen, then the candidate would have decided to attempt to create the need for an interest in the candidate directly with the voters through various forms of promotion such as posters, media advertising and personal appearances at rallies in expectation that the voters will insist on the candidate, thus compelling group leaders (intermediaries) to follow in their footsteps. If the pull strategy succeeds, voters compel their group leaders to support their (voters') choice. But should group leaders insist on the candidate who has not pulled the voters, their opinion is rejected by the voters at the election. The renowned scholar, Iornem (1997: 79) then gave the following as conditions favouring the pull and push strategies:

"Conditions favouring the Pull Strategy:
- Where the constituency is small
- Where the constituency is homogenous
- Where communications vehicles exist in abundance and are accessible to by a wide cross-section of the constituency;
- Where the constituents are literate and well informed
- Where there is considerable consensus on issues.

Conditions favouring the Push Strategy:
- Where the constituency is large and diverse
- Where there are many tribes
- Where there are identifiable interest groups with strong influence on their members;
- Where constituents are largely illiterate

- Where communications media are not widely available to reach the constituents

- Where there are diverse views on the same issues

- When the candidate is an incumbent holding an influential office".

Some of these contentions of Iornem have been confirmed by other researchers in the field of political marketing (Okigbo, 1992: Sarwate, 1990, Neuman, 1987 and Nimmo, 1970).

2.3.3 <u>RELATED STUDIES ON CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT:</u>

Nimmo (1970: 34) has long found that "every political campaign has its public and private sides, the public aspect is seen in speeches, rallies, and televised appeals; while the private side has to do with maximising votes through rational allocation of time, money, and personnel. Discussion of findings aimed at the private side of political campaign is the focus of this section.

What is today known as the techniques of political merchandising started in 1933 when Clem Whitaker (a reporter, lobbyist, and public relations man) joined with Leone Baxter (the Manager of a local Chamber of Commerce) to make a business of political campaigning. Their firm, Campaigns Inc., was the first to attempt to make money from elections, as it pioneered in the development of the basic techniques of political merchandising still used today. Between 1933 and 1955 Whitaker and Baxter won seventy of the seventy-five political campaigns they managed (Minott, 1968: 79).

Campaign management has become so developed and now spread from California well across the world. Initial campaign planning takes place in the mind of a candidate long before he contracts for professional assistance, while the finalising of the campaign strategy, organisation, and finance awaits the touch of the professional (Nimmo, 1970: 45). No available research records how many votes a well-devised plan of attack wins but professional campaigners believe a sound plan to be essential. The Republican strategy for the presidential election of 1952 – mapped by Hubert Humphrey with the

aid of the advertising services of the Kudner Agency and Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osburn - is a classic example of an attack plan. The attack had two elements. First, it advocated retaining the votes of the twenty million voters who had supported Republicans consistently in the past by appealing to the conservatives who had preferred Senator Robert Taft for the nomination; this was achieved by two symbolic gestures – an early campaign trip through the Midwest, the natural habitat of conservative Republicans, and a meeting between Eisenhower and Taft from which the Senator emerged to endorse the general. Second, it sought the normal stay-at-home vote, those who seldom participate in elections unless convincingly urged to vote against something (hence this plan introduced many of the elements of a strategy calculated to win the alienated voter) (Nimmo, 1970: 54).

As a corollary, Sunrise Marketing Communications packaged the Nigerian local government elections for the Social Democratic Party in 1990 and managed that Party's Gubernatorial and Presidential elections in 1991 and 1993 respectively. The presentation based on Sunrise Marketing Communications tactics and strategies in projecting desirable image of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) during the 1990 Local Government elections is shown in the following case study published by Nzeribe (1992: 47 – 51) who stated that their design for the promotional campaign leading to the local government elections for the SDP was based on three pillars of marketing politics:

(a) Campaign communication works best on emotion not rational discourse;

(b) One-on-one research showed what was of prime importance to people and what issues should therefore be addressed;

(c) Appropriate media choice based on the profile of the electorate at the grassroots level.

Employing the traditional structure of promotions management, the Advertising agency started with the situation analysis, going through campaign approach and objective, and leading to target and message formulation.

In analysing of the **situation**, Nzeribe elaborated that "a critical look at the key operators after the Government's realignment and creation of two political parties from over fifteen associations indicated that:

    (a)   there was an identifiable aristocracy out to continue its rule by historical association in the character of Second Republic politics;

    (b)   the working class remained the governed and was not involved in the process of governance;

    (c)   only a new leadership that was positioned as "theirs," and that would involve them in the governing process, would have a chance this time around.

In explaining the **Campaign Approach,** Nzeribe stated that "their advertising took the direction of "what's wrong with things as they are" – the problems of the greater mass of the governed . . . their concept was build around the perceived yearnings of the great majority of the electorate. The issues were: a good (or better) leadership: identifying and satisfying basic hierarchical needs in life where past civilian governments had not provided the infrastructure to sustain a meaningful life. Hope kept receding and HOPE is a basic ingredient in a common man's existence".

Nzeribe further articulated their four campaign objectives as:

    (a)   Sell the Social Democratic Party

    (b)   Popularise the party symbol (SDP and the Horse)

    (c)   Project the SDP as a disciplined party with good quality and dedicated leadership that is prepared and determined to turn the nation around towards greater prosperity.

    (d)   Seek to involve the populace as active participants in evolving a better society.

In specifying the **Target Groups,** Nzeribe reported that Sunrise Marketing Communications focused on how to reach all the eligible Nigerian voters spread out in

6,000 constituencies, 453 local government areas from 5,575 wards (as at December 8, 1990),

In the area of **Message Formulation,** he reiterated that ". . . they were able to build the following promises from the party's programme (manifestoes)

    (a)   Free and functional education to all

    (b)   Good health care for all… when you need it

    (c)   Cheap and efficient transprt system

    (d)   Plenty of affordable food

    (e)   Better life for rural people

    (f)   More opportunities for women

    (g)   Decent housing with water and electricity.

In stating **What to Say,** he emphasised that "a mini-survey informed their initial thrust as they were able to identify and dwell on issues which plague the ordinary citizens, their main target group in the December Local Government Elections. The main concerns were: HEALTH; FOOD, HOUSING; TRANSPORTATION, EDUCATION/EMPLOYMENT, RURAL DEVELOPMENT; WOMEN AFFAIRS (thanks to Better Life for Rural Women)".

On **How** to go about the message, the communications expert mentioned that the pattern was to ask a question based on a contemporary situation; state SDP's position on the issue; and offer a promise with a baseline that urges voters to join hands with the SDP to build a better NATION, sticking to one point and selling hard with similar body copy for repetitive reading. Captions in some of the adverts read:

    "-   Should food be so expensive? SDP says No!

          vote SDP – for Progress

          Join us to build a just society and a better Nation.

    -     Should Jobs be so hard to get? SDP says No!…

    -     Should Education be so expensive? SDP says No!…

-        Should Housing be this indecent? SDP says No!…"

He categorically stated that the Agency bought into Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Network News slot as radio remains the mass medium proper in most of Africa and so-called Third World. The Agency positioned the print adverts such that readers would not miss them. In this way they achieved greater readership for the adverts.

Having adopted a positioning for SDP as the party with mass appeal which bears hope for the common man, in the execution the Agency adopted a seriousness or purpose depicted plainly and boldly in words and visuals. One of the adverts had the following copy test:

"*   ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

Don't allow the Nation's Wealth to be flown away again.

VOTE for self-reliance

VOTE SDP for Progress" (Nzeribe, 1992: 50)

In the area of **Campaign Evaluation, Nzeribe** stated that a commentator in one of the national dailes described the approach " as hitting below the belt".

The implication of such a statement according to him was that "the approach they used was laden with insinuations. Nzeribe explained that it was not necessarily so, but even if it was, that is the nature of political advertising? In like manner, the approach of the rival party was not any different. The National Republican Convention (NRC's)… "Flogging a dead Horse" is capable of such insinuations, according to Nzeribe. "The NRC employed negative and knocking adverts, both at the local government and gubernatorial elections such as this…"free" has a price Beware! There's a trap somewhere." (Ibid: 51)

Nzeribe (1992: 52) concluded that the adverts were noted, discussed, liked and used by the voters; that the (SDP) was largely seen as a grassroot movement, and that proper management of time and a good sense of planning are necessary ingredients for successful advertising campaigns.

In campaign management, White (I969: 417) contended that elections are won or lost through fundraising.

Finally, Iornem, (1995: 24-33) summed up campaign management with an advice to politicians, candidates, campaign managers, and consultants to note the following as important ingredients towards successful campaign management at any level : Security, Rules of the contest, Size of the District, the Incumbency Factor, Campaign scheduling, Campaign finance, Campaign personnel, Time management, Use of vehicles, Participative leadership, Management by Objectives, briefing sessions, and the Health of the candidate.

Iornem illustrated his contention with the view "Hubert Humphrey and a principal manager, Lawrence O'Brien, argued that Democrats would have won in 1968 if they had sufficient funds early in the game. Of the $5 to $6 million raised, most came in the closing weeks - $500,000 in the final week when they could buy no television time in California, a key state. With $10 million, estimated O'Brien, "we could have licked Nixon". Of course, the democrats lost at the 1968 Presidential election because time is of the essence in the political campaign "battle field" (Iornem, 1992: 33).

Hence, Feld (1980:11), expert fund-raiser, cautioned that the first part of any successful plan is a realistic budget, an estimate of expenses and the projected amount of income which should be raised early enough in the campaign through new and popular fundraising tools.

In Nigeria, however, money is raised for quite unethical practices, some times voter inducement, at other times for sheer bribery. For example, **THE GUARDIAN** Newspaper (Thursday, March 4, 1999: 15) reported in its focus corner "when the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) announced that it would require N4 billion for the just concluded presidential election, many eyebrows were raised. The question observers could not help but ask was: what would they use the money for, given the short span of

time within which the money would be disbursed? Officials of the party have however spared Nigerians the agony of knowing whether the money was actually raised and how. Since the personal donation of N130 million made by Presidential candidate Olusegun Obasanjo raised some dust, the party has learnt to be very discreet in the conduct of its financial affairs". The paper further reported that few days to the presidential election, Gen. Obasanjo organised a fund raising dinner during which over N400 million was realised. Chief Olu Falae (of the APP/AD Alliance) on the other hand realised about N105 million in a similar event. It will be interesting to know how the money raised was disbursed. Right from the period that came to be known of the First Republic money has always played a prominent role in the Nigerian polity. The paper continued that it has, therefore, almost become the established norm for candidates in a particular election to buy the votes of the electorate either by offering raw cash or by meeting some of their immediate materials needs. The paper continued that "observers of the Nigerian polity say, given the abject poverty in the country, it would amount to asking for too much, if the electorate is expected to resist monetary inducements . . . Candidates see nothing wrong in offering the electorate money for their votes and the temptation is always there for voters to take the money offered as an immediate reward for whatever effort is required to go out and vote . . . the electorate had become so used to receiving one form of gratification or the other for voting that once no such thing was forthcoming, voter enthusiasm would run low." The paper concluded that "in Sokoto, some voters spoken to during the National Assembly Elections said they believed the turn out was low because the candidates did not "mobilize the people sufficiently". This report by **THE GUARDIAN** Newspaper has been confirmed by Oriavwote (1999:35) in his study "Marketing Politics: The Campaign Communications factors in Nigerian Presidential Elections". Oriavwote found that money seemed to have played a more grievious role in the 1999 Presidential election when compared with that of 1979; his study showed that willingness to vote (votes cast over registered voters) increased to 51.3 per cent in 1999 up from 35.5 per cent in 1979. This study also confirmed the proportional role of money in the results of 1999 Presidential election; Olusegun

Obasanjo of the PDP defeated Olu Falae of the APP/AD Alliance by 18,737,154 votes (62. 78 per cent of total votes cast) to 11, 110,287 votes (37.22 per cent).

Though other marketing and exogenous factors may have had a significant role to play in the outcome of the 1999 Presidential election, one cannot entirely rule out the role of money. See tables 2.3 and 2.4 for analyses of 1979 and 1999 presidential elections in Nigeria.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0   **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:**

This chapter covers the research design, the target population, sample size determination, description of sampling procedure, research instruments and statistical techniques, sources of data, and method of data analysis. It also covers the validation and reliability test.

3.1   **RESEARCH DESIGN:**

This study seeks to determine the marketing communications variables (media and mix elements) that influence electorate in their voting behaviour. It is also interested in the relationship between voters' socio-economic characteristics and their perception of the importance of marketing communications variables. The study also determines whether there is a difference in influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour in the urban and rural local governments of Nigeria.

3.2   **TARGET POPULATION:**

Nigeria with a total population of 88 million (according to the November, 1991 Census), thirty-six (36) states and seven hundred and seventy-four (774) local government areas had a registered voter population of 58,138,855 as at December 1998. So, there are 58,138,855 voting population and 774 elected local government chairmen in Nigeria, spread over the four former geographical regions of Northern, Western, Eastern, and Midwestern regions. However, politically, Nigeria has recently been divided into six (6) geopolitical zones. These zones are North Central, North East, North West, South East, South West, and South South.

The study was conducted on 750 registered voters (citizens of 18 years of age and above were registered to vote in 1998) and 80 elected local government chairmen in the four regions in Nigeria but in five (5) of the six (6) geopolitical zones. The study covered five states of Nigeria, with one state each chosen from the Western, Eastern and Midwestern region, while two states were chosen from the Northern region because it

has a distribution of 19 states out of the 36 states in Nigeria. This gives a representation of at least 10 percent of states to each region.

In order to carry out pretest of the instruments used in the study, the formula for choosing sample size was used (Mendenhall and Reinmuth, 1982: 280).

The formula is given as $Z_{œ/2} \quad \acute{O}_P \quad = \quad \beta$

Where $\acute{O}_P \quad = \quad \sqrt{\dfrac{pq}{n}}$

Therefore, $Z_{œ/2} \quad \sqrt{\dfrac{pq}{n}} \quad = \quad \beta$

Where:

Z	=	Value of the standard normal variable with mean 0 and standard deviation 1.
œ	=	Level of Significance
$\acute{O}_P$	=	Population Standard Deviatiom
β	=	The bound on the error of estimation
p	=	Response rate, provided as an approximation
q	=	1 – P or non response rate
and n	=	Sample size

For the pretest of questionnaire on selected local government chairmen, sample size was calculated and a size of 15 arrived at. This was derived as follows:

For a two-tail test, $Z_{œ/2} \quad = \ 1.96$ taking the level of significance, $œ = 0.05$

Since the Researcher personally administered this set of pretest questionnaire, response rate was taken as 0.99 proper care was taken.

And with level of significance at 0.05, the bound on the error of estimation, β was put at 0.05.

Therefore, from $\quad Z_{œ/2} \quad \sqrt{} \ pq$

$$1.96 \sqrt{\frac{(0.99)(0.01)}{n}} \quad \begin{array}{l} = \quad \beta \\ = \quad 0.05 \end{array}$$

$$0.05 \sqrt{n} \quad = \quad 1.96 \times 0.0995$$

$$n \quad = \quad \left[\frac{1.96 \times 0.0995}{0.05} \right]^2$$

$$= \quad (3.90)^2 \quad = \quad 15.2$$

therefore, n $\cong$ 15 local government Chairmen for pretest.

Hence, 3 local government chairmen had the questionnaire administered on them in each of the 5 states, by the Researcher.

For the pretest of questionnaire on registered voters sample size was calculated and was derived as 375 for rural local governments with the same figure for urban local governments making a total of 750 registered voters.

However, since each state was to have apportioned to it 150 registered voters for questionnaire administration divided into 30 voters per local government area for 5 local governments per state, questionnaire was pretested on 30 registered voters per state for the 5 chosen states. This was done because the registered voter population of 58,138,855 stands quite large. The sample of 375 for each of urban and rural local government area segments was arrived at as follows:

For a two-tail test, $Z_{\alpha/2}$ = 1.96

Taking the level of significance, α = 0.05

The response rate was taken as 0.55, since the population is very large and trained enumerators were used.

And with the level of significance at 0.05, the bound on the error of estimation, β was put at 0.05.

$$\text{From } Z_{\alpha/2} \sqrt{\frac{pq}{n}} \quad = \quad \beta$$

$$1.96 \sqrt{\frac{(0.55)\,(0.45)}{n}} = 0.05$$

$$0.05 \sqrt{n} = 1.96 \times 0.4975$$

$$n = \left[\frac{1.96 \times 0.4975}{0.05}\right]^2$$

$$n = (19.50)^2 = 380.25$$

$$n \simeq 375 \text{ (rounded off both ways for urban and rural local government segments).}$$

Hence, 30 registered voters had the questionnaire administered on them per state in each of the five selected states for convenience, as trained enumerators were used.

One hundred percent (100%) response rate was achieved.

The sample of elected local government chairmen used in the final study was slightly adjusted from 15 to 16 per state so that a ten percent (10%) sample out of 774 local governments could be achieved (Ogolo, 1996:46). This adjustment gave rise to 80 elected local government chairmen.

The sample sizes of 80 local government chairmen and 750 registered voters were then determined through a combination of systematic and random sampling.

For questionnaire 1, administered on elected local government chairmen, the sampling procedure was as follows. First, 2 states were randomly selected from the North, and one (1) each from the West, East, and Midwest (making a total of 5 states). Second, sixteen (16) local government areas were randomly selected from each of the five (5) states. This gave the sample size of **80** elected local government chairmen (forty for urban and forty for rural local government types) on whom questionnaire 1 was administered;

For questionnaire II, administered on registered voters, the sampling procedure was as follows. First, the 5 states randomly selected above were chosen. Second, five local government areas were randomly selected from each of the 5 states (none of the 36 states has up to 50 local government areas). Next, 30 registered voters were systematically selected for interview in each local government area. Hence, the sample size for this second part of the survey (questionnaire II) had **750** registered voters systematically selected from 25 local government areas spread over 5 states of Nigeria. 380 voters from urban local governments and 370 from rural local governments were interviewed.

The procedure adopted in obtaining the random samples for states used in this study was to assign an alphabetical number to each state in each of the four geographical zones (East, Midwest, North and West) after all the states in each zone have been arranged in alphabetical order. These numbers were   written on small pieces of paper and placed in an URN with four compartments labelled E,M,N, and W (for East, Midwest, North, and West respectively). 9 pieces of paper for the nine states in the East were placed in compartment E, 2 pieces of paper for the two states in the Midwest were placed in compartment M and 19 pieces of paper for the nineteen states in the North were put in compartment N. Furthermore, 6 pieces of small paper for the six states in the West were placed in compartment W. The pieces of paper were then mixed thoroughly. Thereafter, numbers were drawn from the 4 compartments five times (that is, one each from E, M and W, while two from N).

The same procedure was used in selecting random samples of five local governments in each state used in the study, in the case of registered voters. But in that case, five pieces of paper representing five local government areas were drawn from each of the five states represented by five compartments of the URN marked 1 (Benue), 2 (Delta State), 3 (Enugu State), 4 (Kaduna State), and 5 (Lagos State). Here, numbers were drawn from the five compartments twenty-five times. The local government areas in each state were numbered alphabetically and pieces of paper were mixed thoroughly before each

drawing. The same method was used in randomly selecting sixteen (!6) elected local government chairmen represented by sixteen local government areas in each of the 5 states for questionnaire administration. In that case, numbers were drawn from the five compartments eighty (80) times (that is, sixteen each from B, D, E, K, and L).

Generally, if a number is drawn from an URN, there is a choice of replacing or not replacing the number into the URN before the next drawing. If replaced, the number can come up again and again; if not replaced, it comes up once. In this study, the pieces of paper were not replaced which implies that a member of the population of states or local governments cannot be chosen more than once (Aigbiremolan, 1998:119.

Using the random sampling procedure described above, the following states and local government areas were generate:

Geographical Zone		State		Local Government Area			
Lable	Name	Identific-ation Number	Name	For Voters	Type of Local Govt.	For Elected Executive Chairmen	Type
E	East	3	Enugu	Enugu East	Rural	Awgu	Rural
				Enugu North	Urban	Enugu East	Rural
				Ezeagu	Rural	Enugu North	Urban
				Udenu	Rural	Enugu South	Urban
				Udi	Rural	Ezeagu	Rural
						Igbo Etiti	Rural
						Igbo Eze N&S(2)	Rural
						Isi-Uzo	Rural
						Nkanu East	Rural
						Nkanu West	Rural
						Nsukka	Urban
						Oji River	Urban
						Udenu	Rural
						Udi	Rural
						Uzo-Uwani	Rural
M	Midwest	2	Delta	Ika South	Urban	Aniocha North	Urban
				Isoko North	Rural	Aniocha South	Rural
				Patani	Rural	Ethiope East	Rural
				Ughelli North	Urban	Ethiope West	Urban
				Warri North	Rural	Ika North	Rural
						Ika South	Urban
						Isoko North	Rural

						Ndokwa West	Rural
						Okpe	Urban
						Oshimili South	Urban
						Patani	Rural
						Udu	Rural
						Ughelli North	Urban
						Ukwuani	Urban
						Warri North	Rural
						Warri South West	Rural
N	North	1	Benue	Gboko	Urban	Ado	Rural
				Gwer	Rural	Agatu & Apa (2)	Rural
				Makurdi	Urban	Bukuru	Rural
				Oju	Rural	Gboko	Rural
				Oturkpo	Urban	Guma	Urban
						Gwer East& West	Rural
						Katsina-Ala	Rural
						Konshisha	Rural
						Makurdi	Urban
						Obi	Rural
						Ogbadibo	Urban
						Oju	Rural
						Oturkpo	Urban
						Vandaikya	Rural
		4	Kaduna	Kachia	Urban	Birnin-Gwari	Rural
				Kaduna North	Urban	Giwa	Rural
				Kaduna South	Urba	Ikara	Rural
				Kajuru	Rural	Jaba	Rural
				Zaria	Urban	Jema'a	Rural
						Kachia	Urban
						Kaduna North	Urban
						Kaduna South	Urban
						Kagarko	Rural
						Kajuru	Rural
						Kauru	Rural
						Lere	Rural
						Makarfi	Rural
						Sabon Gari	Urban
						Zangon kataf	Urban
						Zaria	Urban
W	West	5	Lagos	Amuwo-Odofin	Urban	Agege	Urban
				Apapa& Ojo(2)	Urban	Alimosho	Urban
				Kosofe	Urban	Amuwo-Odofin	Urban
				Surulere	Urban	Apapa	Urban
						Badagry	Urban
						Epe	Urban

						Eti-Osa	Urban
						Ibeju /Lekki	Urban
						Ikeja	Urban
						Ikorodu	Urban
						Kosofe	Urban
						Lagos Island	Urban
						Lagos Mainland	Urban
						Ojo	Urban
						Shomolu	Urban
						Surulere	Urban

Table 3.1:   **Randomly Selected Samples of States and Local Government Areas in Nigeria.**

In generating the 750 registered voters (150 from each state), the systematic random sampling approach was adopted. Each Resident Electoral Commissioner of the Independent National Electoral Commission (the electoral body) in the five randomly selected states was approached for assistance. Three electoral wards were randomly selected in each of the five local government areas chosen in each of the five states (there are between ten and thirteen electoral wards per local government area). Then, a voters' register containing 500 names is randomly selected from each of the 3 chosen wards per state. At that stage, one registered voter was systematically selected from every 50th name in the voters register as produced by the electoral body. For example, at a count of 1 to 50 on the register, voter number 50 was chosen; then at the count of 51 to 100, voter number 100 was chosen and so on, until 10 registered voters were systematically chosen per voters' register per ward. In this way, 10 registered voters were selected in each of 3 wards per local government area, for 5 local government areas per state, for the 5 randomly selected states.

So, the 750 registered voters for questionnaire II were generated thus:

10 voters x 3 wards x 5 local governments x 5 states   =   **750**

While, the 80 elected local government chairmen were generated thus:

16 elected chairmen x 5 states   =   **80**

These 80 randomly selected local government chairmen and 750 systematically randomly chosen registered voters present a meaningful data from which to draw a general level of conclusion regarding marketing communications strategy and voting behaviour in local council elections in Nigeria.

The table of randomly selected states, local government areas and registered voters are presented as follows:

Geographical Zone		State		Local Government Area		
Label	Name	Identific-ation Number	Name	For Voters		For Local Government Chairmen
				No. of Local Govts.	No. of Voters	No. of Local Governments
N	North	1	Benue	5	150	16
M	Midwest	2	Delta	5	150	16
E	East	3	Enugu	5	150	16
N	North	4	Kaduna	5	150	16
W	West	5	Lagos	5	150	16
TOTAL			5 states	25	750	80

Table 3.2   **Randomly selected samples of States and Local Government Areas for administration of questionnaire on registered voters and elected Chairmen**

3.3   <u>RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS AND STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES:</u>

Two sets of structured questionnaires were used in this study. The first questionnaire, divided into four parts, was administered on elected local government chairmen and used to determine the marketing communications strategies of the political parties and their candidates at the December, 5, 1998 local council elections in Nigeria. The

instrument mainly contained marketing communications dimensions that asked for responses and scores as follows

Response	Score
Very often	5
Often	4
Fairly often	3
Not often	2
Not at all	1

It equally contained some dichotomous questions of the "yes" and "no" type. Campaign management functions were also tested by that instrument.

The second questionnaire was administered on registered voters and was used to determine voters' importance perception of marketing communications dimensions in local elections and their (voters') socio-economic factors. This second instrument, divided into four parts, contained dimensions that asked for responses and scores as follows:

(1)

Response	Score
Yes	1
No	0

(2)

Response	Score
Very important	5
Important	4
Fairly important	3
Not important	2
Not at all important	1

Ranking of marketing communications media and factors were also requested for in part four (4). These dimensions were ranked as follows:

Rank	Score
1st	9
2nd	8

3rd	7
4th	6
5th	5
6th	4
7th	3
8th	2
9th	1
10th	0

Five enumerators were trained for questionnaire administration; one for each state.

Response rate for questionnaire administered on both local government chairmen and registered voters was 100 per cent because the questionnaires were administered face to face by the enumerators and the researcher. In the case of the local government chairmen, the researcher booked the interview appointments with each respondent ahead of actual administration. This technique adopted equally enabled the respondents to ask questions which were immediately answered by the trained enumerators. Supervision of questionnaire administration was however carried out by the researcher. Prior to subjecting the data generated from the research to analysis, all the responses were properly **edited, coded, and entered** into the computer one by one.

3.4   **SOURCES OF DATA:**

Both secondary and primary data were used in this study.

Primary Data:

Primary data were collected from elected local government chairmen and registered voters using structured questionnaires.

Information on marketing communications tools and media used in local elections was generated from selected party leaders and some elected local government chairmen, in the five states, through face-to-face interview.

Secondary Data:

Secondary data were extracted from documented facts using plain sheets. Apart from the researcher's library, secondary data were mainly obtained from the following Libraries:

- Professor David Iornem's Library at Kaduna

- Dr. Eric Eboh's Library at Nsukka

- St. Clements University (On the Internet)

- University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus

- University of Nigeria, Nsukka

- Enugu State University of Science and Technology, Enugu

- Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka

- Delta State University, Abraka

- Abia State University, Uturu

- Institute of Management Consultants, Kaduna

- The British Council, Enugu

- National Library, Enugu

- Alpha Delta Consults Ltd, Enugu

- University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos

- University of Benin, Benin-City

Varied relevant data were also downloaded from the researcher's computer after surfing on the web (internet).

The data collected from both primary and secondary sources were mainly used for literature review and formulation of the multiple regression (probability) model- Logit model.

Reliability and accuracy of data are well assured and these are expected to have positive effect on the outcome of the study.

3.5   **METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS:**

Data generated from the study were analysed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) software that was pre-installed in the researcher's computer.

Nwabuokei (1986:23) stated that "after collecting statistical data, the investigator has to classify and present them in a form that will make the important features of his subject matter easily grasped and interpreted". So, descriptive statistics such as frequency, tables, mean, charts and graphs have been used to illustrate the results obtained in this study.

Analysis was carried out using the following statistical tools; factor analysis, partial correlation analysis, analysis of variance and the logit model of multiple regression analysis. Hypotheses were tested using chi-square, Z –score, and F-ratio.

3.6   **<u>VALIDATION AND RELIABILITY TESTS:</u>**

Validity is taken to mean the accuracy with which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure (Awa, 1973: 93). While, Adolor (1990: 242) maintained that "validity is concerned with the extent to which differences in scores (on an instrument) reflect true differences among individuals, groups or situations in the characteristics which it seeks to measure or true differences in the same individual, group or situation from one occasion to another rather than constant or random errors".

To enhance the validity of the questionnaires, the following process was followed in this study:

-    Questionnaires were constructed by the researcher in conjuction with Researchers and Scholars who teach Marketing, Management, Political Science and Research Methods at the University of Nigeria. The questionnaires were further submitted to the researcher's Supervisor at Kaduna and two university dons at the University of Nigeria. In consideration of their individual and collective suggestions the two sets of questionnaires were modified to improve face validity.

-    The two sets of questionnaires were thereafter, subjected to pretest which resulted in further modification. The pretest carried out by the researcher in Benue, Delta, Enugu, Kaduna, and Lagos states yielded the final structured questionnaires. After some adjustments, the final results of the pretest of the two

sets of questionnaires showed that the terms and structure used were appropriate for obtaining valid answers from the respondents.

In terms of reliability, a measuring instrument is reliable when it consistently measures what it is supposed to measure (Awa, 1973: 95). Sometimes, reliability of an instrument is affected by sample size (Adolor, 1990:244). Adolor stated that if a sample is so small, that it limits the extent to which a research problem can be adequately studied, sheer lack of variation in the result could reduce reliability.

To surmount this problem, the questions were largely structured rather than open-ended, and the researcher drew a sample of 80 elected local government chairmen (there are 774 elected local government chairmen in Nigeria). According to Ogolo (1996:46), a random sample of not less than 10 percent of a total population proves quite reliable.

The researcher further drew a systematic random sample of 750 registered voters from the 774 urban and rural local government areas in Nigeria. There were 58,138,855 registered voters in Nigeria as at December 5, 1998.

Structured questionnaires were drawn up for the following reasons.

One, the questions became straightforward to elicit precise answers. Two, the questions were mostly asked in precoded forms to avoid interviewer bias as much as possible.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.0   DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS:

This chapter deals with the presentation of analysed data, discussion and interpretation of the data arising there from.

All data collected from the 80 elected local government chairmen and 750 registered voters were computer-analysed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS).

Data collected were analysed using factor analysis, partial correlation, analysis of variance, and the logit probability model of multiple regression. Hypotheses were tested using chi-square, Z-score and F-ratio. And descriptive statistical methods of frequency, means, tables, and graphs have been used to illustrate the results obtained. The level of significance œ generally adopted in the test of hypotheses in this study is 5% or 0.05. This means that there are 5 chances in a hundred that a true null hypothesis would be rejected, and the researcher is 95% confident that the right decision has been made (Eboh, 1998: 116)

Thus a test is said to be significant if the null hypothesis is rejected at the 5% level.

4.1   ANALYSES OF RESEARCH DATA:

All the 80 questionnaires and 750 questionnaires administered on elected local government chairmen and registered voters respectively were properly completed and returned. Thus the response rate was 100%. This was possible due to three reasons. First questionnaires were administered personally by the researcher and 5 trained enumerators from 1st August to 31st December, 1999 (a period of 5 months). This gave an average of 1 month to each state for questionnaire administration.

Second, local government chairmen were informed well in advance and appointments secured for dates and time of questionnaire administration. Thirty minutes (half an hour) was allocated to each elected local government chairman, allowing room for explanation.

Third, registered voters' names and addresses were generated from lists of voters available at state offices of the Independent National electoral Commission which made it possible to easily meet respondents face to face either in their offices or places of residence. Since one list of 500 voters covers a particular residential or office area, it was possible to interview the next respondent should one voter be absent from his/her home or office and return to him or her later. Thirty minutes (half an hour) was also allocated to each registered voter, equally allowing room for explanation.

Questionnaire administration and returns are shown in table 4.1 below:

Questio-nnaire no.	Category	No. of questionnaires administered	Urban / Rural	Returns	Percentage return
1	Elected Local Government chairmen	80	Urban = 40 Rural = 40	80	100%
2	Registered voters	750	Urban = 380 Rural = 370	750	100%

Table 4.1: **Questionnaire administration and returns.**

Results of the socio-economic characteristics of registered voters are presented in table 4.2.

Socio-economic characteristics	Level of characteristics	Frequency (no. of responses)	Percentage %
Age	18 – 29 years	122	16.27
	30 – 39 years	279	37.20
	40 – 49 years	154	20.53
	50 – 59 years	116	15.47
	60 years and above	79	10.53
	Total	**750**	**100.00**
Sex	Male	472	62.93
	Female	278	37.07
	Total	**750**	**100**
Marital status	Single	233	31.07
	Married	517	68.93
	Other	0	0.00
	Total	**750**	**100**

Occupation	Public servant	187	24.93
	Professional	328	43.73
	Student	106	14.13
	Unemployed	34	4.53
	Farming	21	2.81
	Trading	74	9.87
	Total	**750**	**100.00**
Income	N0 – 36,000	229	30.53
	36,001 – 72,000	226	30.13
	72,001 – 100,000	132	17.61
	100,001 and above	163	21.73
	Total	**750**	**100.00**
Level of education	No formal education	51	6.80
	Primary school	72	9.60
	Secondary school	125	16.67
	Higher school & above	502	66.93
	Total	**750**	**100.00**
Religion	Christianity	669	89.20
	Islam	80	10.67
	Pagan	1	0.13
	Non conformist	0	0.00
	Others	0	0.00
	Total	**750**	**100.00**
Local Government	Urban	380	50.67
	Rural	370	49.33
	Total	**750**	**100.00**

Table 4.2: **Frequency distribution of Socio-economic characteristics of registered voters**

Results of political association affiliation of elected local government chairmen (candidates) are presented in table 4.3

Political association	**Frequency** **(no. of response)**	**Percentage (%)**
Alliance for Democracy (AD)	14	17.50
All Peoples Party (APP)	20	25.00
Democratic Advance Movement (DAM)	0	0.00
Movement for Democracy and Justice (MDJ)	1	1.25
National Solidarity Movement (NSM)	0	0.00
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	45	56.52
Peoples Redemption Party (PRP)	0	0.00

United Democratic Party (UDP)	0	0.00
United Peoples Party (UPP)	0	0.00
Total	**80**	**100.00**

Table 4.3: **Political association affiliation of elected Local Government chairmen (candidates)**

All 80 candidates responded that they constituted campaign management teams for their electioneering campaigns; this gave a response of 100% to appointment of campaign management team.

Results of the level of usage of management functions by the campaign management teams of candidates are presented below (table 4.4) where scale 5 means very often and 1 not at all.

Management function	Level of usage by candidate's campaign management team leader					
	Very often **5**	**Often** **4**	**Fairly often** **3**	**Not often** **2**	**Not at all** **1**	**Total**
Planning	50 (62.50%)	30 (37.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Effective communication	50 (62.50%)	30 (37.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Directing and coordinating	35 (43.75%)	45 (56.25%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Trust worthiness	35 (43.75%)	30 (37.50%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Organising	35 (43.75%)	45 (56.25%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Delegation	35 (43.75%)	30 (37.50%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Team spirit	50 (62.50%)	30 (37.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Control	65 (81.25%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)

Care for team Members	20 (25.00%)	45 (56.25%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Motivation	35 (43,75%)	15 (18.75%)	30 (37.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	80 (100.00%)

Table 4.4   **Level of use of management functions by campaign team leaders**

70 respondents (87.50%) of the 80 local government chairmen (candidates) indicated that they did not engage consultants during their electioneering campaigns. Only 10 respondents (12.50%) indicated use of consultants, and these were in urban local governments in Lagos and Delta states.

Results of the role consultants played in the electioneering campaigns are presented in table 4.5.

Role played by consultants	Frequency (no. of response)	Percentage
Media consulting	3	30.00
Advertising agency	1	10.00
Campaign management	5	50.00
Management consulting	0	0.00
Technical consulting	1	10.00
Total	**10**	**100.00**

Table 4.5:   **Role played by Consultants in Electioneering Campaigns**

All 80 candidates responded positively to the use of communications media during their electioneering campaigns.

Results of level of use of media during electioneering campaigns are shown in table 4.6 where scale 5 means very often and 1 not at all.

Media	Level of usage					
	Very often 5	Often 4	Fairly often 3	Not often 2	Not at all 1	Total
Radio	4 (5.00%)	20 (25.00%)	29 (36.25%)	18 (22.50%)	9 (11.25%)	80 (100.00%)
Television	1	3	33	26	17	80

	(1.25%)	(3.75%)	(41.25%)	(32.50%)	(21.25%)	(100.00%)
Newspaper	0	1	7	28	44	80
	(0.00%)	(1.25%)	(8.75%)	(35.00%)	(55.00%)	(100.00%)
Magazines	0	0	0	15	65	80
	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(18.75%)	(81.25%)	(100.00%)
Direct mail	0	0	0	15	65	80
	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(18.75%)	(81.25%)	(100.00%)
Out door bill boards	30	50	0	0	0	80
	(37.50%)	62.50%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
House to house canvassing	35	45	0	0	0	80
	(43.75%)	(56.25%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
Posters	80	0	0	0	0	80
	(100.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
Friends, relations, colleagues	50	30	0	0	0	80
	(62.50%)	(37.50%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
Opinion leaders	80	0	0	0	0	80
	(100.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
Personal contact by candidate	50	30	0	0	0	80
	62.50%)	(37.50%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
Political rallies or meetings	65	15	0	0	0	80
	(81.75%)	(18.75%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
Oramedia	35	30	0	0	0	80
	(43.75%)	(37.50%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)

Table 4.6   **Level of use of media of local electioneering campaign by candidates**

Results of the anaylses indicated that 29 Local Government chairmen (candidates) or 36.25% used both English and local language for conveying campaign messages. Only 3 respondents or 3.75% indicated use of only English language while 48 respondents or 60.00% used the local language only.

In respect of time of the day for conveying campaign messages, 65 respondents or 81.25% indicated having conveyed campaign messages in the evening, while 15 Local Government chairmen or 18.75% conveyed their campaign messages in the morning, afternoon and evening.

Results also showed that 50 candidates or 62.50% carried out their campaigns from monday to sunday, while 15 respondents or 18.75% each campaigned on saturday or sunday.

With regard to the period of commencement of campaign, 50 candidates or 62.50% indicated commencing their campaign during the official campaign period stipulated by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

Results showed that all 80 respondents or 100% indicated having carried out proper segmentation of the target voter population before commencing campaigns.

Results of the analyses equally showed that all 80 candidates or 100% of respondents indicated laying out communication objectives, achieved these objectives, and distributed their campaign messages in sequence.

All 80 respondents or 100% indicated that their campaign messages were short and integrated.

The results further showed that all 80 Local Government chairmen (candidates) or 100% of respondents raised campaign funds from personal savings, family, friends, associates and well-wishers, and their political associations. No respondent indicated loans as a source of campaign funding.

Table 4.7 shows the results of the level of use of promotional or socio-economic characteristics by candidates on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 stands for not at all and 5 for very often.

Communications or socio-economic characteristics	Level of usage					
	Very often 5	Often 4	Fairly often 3	Not often 2	Not at all 1	Total
Party symbol or logo	65 (81.25%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Party motto	50	30	0	0	0	80

	(62.50%)	(37.50%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(100.00%)
Party manifesto and programme	65 (81.25%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Party identity	80 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Active participation of supporters in campaign	0 (0.00%)	30 (37.50%)	50 (62.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Inducement with money or other items	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Tribe	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	30 (37.50%)	20 (25.00%)	30 (37.50%)	80 (100.00%)
Friends and relations	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	30 (37.50%)	15 (18.75%)	35 (43.75%)	80 (100.00%)
Religion	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	0 (0.00%)	15 (18.75%)	65 (81.25%)	80 (100.00%)
Gender (sex)	0 (0.00%	0 (0.00%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	65 (81.25%)	80 (100.00%)
Professional or business colleagues	0 (0.00%	0 (0.00%)	15 (18.75%)	35 (43.75%)	30 (37.50%)	80 (100.00%)
Advert or publicity on radio	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	30 (37.50%)	20 (25.00%)	30 (37.50%)	80 (100.00%)
Advert or publicity on television	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	30 (37.50%)	20 (25.00%)	30 (37.50%)	80 (100.00%)
Advert or publicity in newspaper	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Advert or publicity in magazine	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Advert on bill board	15 (18.75%)	65 (81.25%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Party vests, diaries, stickers, face caps	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	30 (37.50%)	15 (18.75%)	35 (43.75%)	80 (100.00%)
Party rallies/meetings	65 (81.25%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)

Opinion leaders	65 (81.25%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Image commercials	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	30 (37.50%)	15 (18.75%)	35 (43.75%)	80 (100.00%)
Issue commercials	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	45 (56.25%)	15 (18.75%)	20 (25.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Personal appearance	45 (56.25%)	35 (43.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Consideration of time and day for campaign	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	30 (37.50%)	35 (43.75%)	15 (18.75%)	80 (100.00%)
Speeches	30 (37.50%)	35 (43.75%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Phone calls selling candidate	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Direct mail	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Inserts in Newspapers / Magazines	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	15 (18.75%)	65 (81.25%)	80 (100.00%)
Posters displayed during campaigns	30 (37.50%)	35 (43.75%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Posters displayed at poll booth	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	15 (18.75%)	15 (18.75%)	20 (25.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Promises during campaign	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	45 (56.25%)	15 (18.75%)	20 (25.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Event sponsorship	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	15 (18.75%)	50 (62.50%)	15 (25.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Door to door canvassing	80 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Donations at some event	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%	15 (18.75%)	30 (37.50%)	35 (43.75%)	80 (100.00%)
Personal contact with voters	35 (43.75%)	30 (37.50%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Political debates	20 (25.00%)	15 (18.75%)	30 (37.50%)	15 (18.75%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Statements made to local press	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	30 (37.50%)	50 (62.50%)	80 (100.00%)
Fund raising ceremonies	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	15 (18.75%)	65 (81.25%)	80 (100.00%)
Getting supporters to polls to vote	50 (62.50%)	30 (37.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)
Mobile campaign on motorcade	15 (18.75%)	65 (81.25%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	80 (100.00%)

Table 4.7   **Level of campaign use of marketing communications techniques and some socio-economic characteristics by candidates**

The results also reflect all 80 respondents or 100% as having perceived campaign media influence of voters in their vote choice. All 80 candidates or 100% of respondents indicated that the campaign communications techniques used have perceived influence on voters.

While, the analyses showed that 65 respondents (81.25%) and 15 respondents (18.75%) indicated that their marketing communications strategy was very successful and successful respectively..

Table 4.8 shows suggestions by candidates on ways to make marketing communications effective during local electioneering campaign.

Suggestion	Frequency	Percentage
Government should create political awareness in the electorate	35	43.75
Electoral body should allot more time for official campaigns	15	18.75
Undue influence of government in electoral process should be stopped	30	37.50
Total	**80**	**100%**

Table 4.8:   **Candidates' suggestions on ways to make marketing communications effective during Local Council elections.**

Results of the analyses showed that 713 respondents or 95.07% of the 750 registered voters cast their votes at the December 5, 1998 local government elections. While the 4.93% that did not cast their votes gave indisposition (arising either from illness or having travelled out of town and nonlikeness of candidate) as reasons for not voting.

Table 4.9 and Figure 41. Show party choice by voters

Party/Association	Frequency	Percentage
Alliance for Democracy (AD)	174	23.20
All Peoples Party (APP)	144	19.20
Movement for Democracy and Justice (MDJ)	6	0.80
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	426	56.80
Others	0	0.00
Total	**750**	**100%**

* Others" has been used to replace the remaining 5 political associations that participated at the December 5, 1998 local elections because no respondent indicated having voted for them.

Table 4.9   **Party choice by voters**
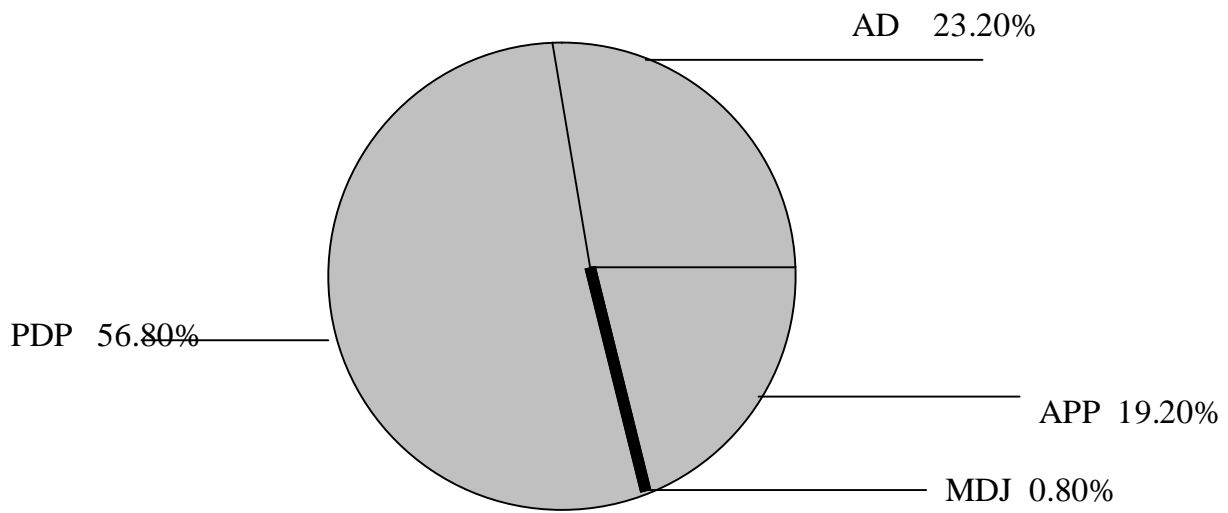
Figure 4.1   **Pie chart of party choice by voters**
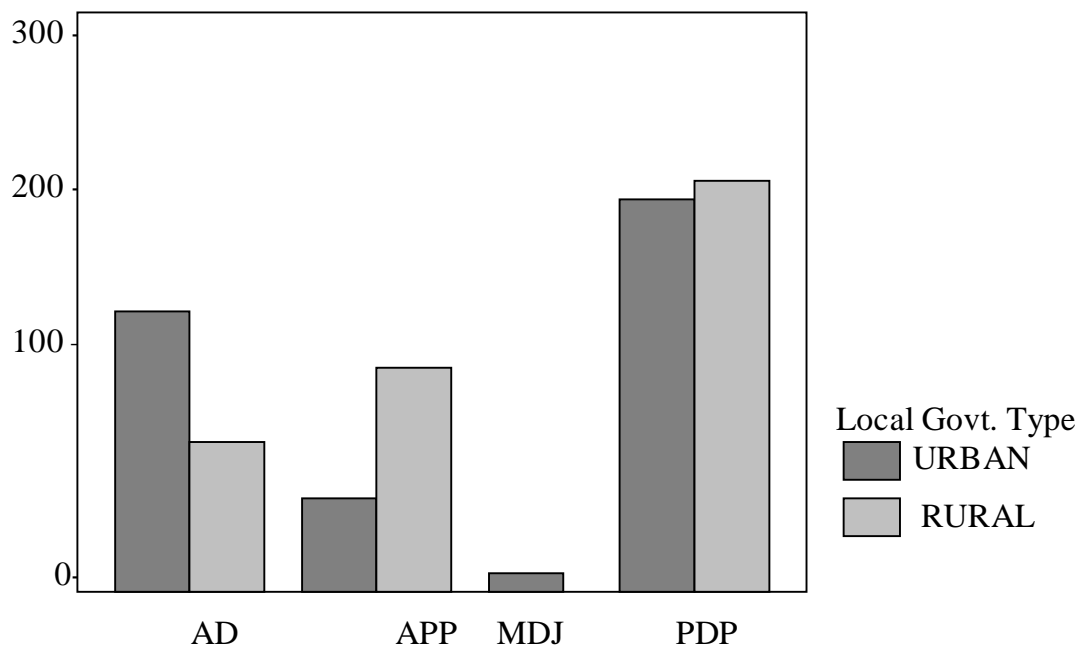
Figure 4.2   **Bar chart of Urban and Rural party choice by voters**

Results indicated that 685 respondents or 91.33% of the 750 registered voters interviewed made their choice of party/association for reason connected with party motto, philosophy and programme.

409 respondents or 54.53% of interviewed voters indicated that some voters received some form of inducement from the political parties/association and their candidates before the election. However, the results further showed that only 269 respondents or 35.87% of the 750 voters affirmed that the voters who received inducement were actually influenced in making their vote choice.

Furthermore, 635 respondents or 84.67% indicated that the fact that a candidate is a relation or friend or tribesman or religious affiliate or gender like (same sex) or professional or business colleague does not influence them in their vote choice.

Do you prefer the use of English language for local electioneering campaign?	Frequency (No. of response)	Percentage %
Yes (1)	612	81.60
No (2)	138	18.40
Total	**750**	**100%**

Table 4.10   **Voter preference for use of English language in local electioneering campaigns**

Should local language be used for local electioneering campaigns?	Frequency (No. of response)	Percentage %
Yes (1)	612	81.60
No (2)	138	18.40
Total	**750**	**100%**

Table 4.11   **Voter preference for use of local language in local campaigns**

Do effective marketing communications techniques of parties and candidates influence voter choice	Frequency (No. of response)	Percentage %
Yes (1)	612	81.60

No (2)	138	18.40
Total	**750**	**100%**

Table 4.12   **Influence of effective marketing communications on voter choice**

Characteristics	Dimension	Frequency (No.of response)	Percentage %
Time of day for campaign	Morning	198	26.40
	Afternoon	42	5.60
	Evening	243	32.40
	All of the above	267	35.60
	Total	**750**	**100**
Day of the week for campaign	Monday to friday	69	9.20
	Saturday	215	28.67
	Sunday	3	0.40
	All of the above	463	61.73
	Total	**750**	**100**
Period to commence political campaign	Before official campaign begins	69	9.20
	After clearing of candidates	204	27.20
	During campaign period	281	37.47
	Just before elections	196	26.13
	All of the above	0	0.00
	Total	**750**	**100**

Table 4.13   **Voters' preference for time of day for campaign, day of the week to convey campaign messages and period to commence political campaigns**

Voters' rating of party in terms of effective marketing communications is shown below.

Party/Association rated by voter	Frequency (No. of response)	Percentage %
Alliance for Democracy (AD)	163	21.71
All Peoples Party (APP)	144	19.20
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	443	59.07

Others	0	0.00
Total	**750**	**100%**

Table 4.14: **Voters rating of parties in terms of effective marketing communications**

The results of the mean ranking of campaign media and marketing communications mix variables by voters are presented in tables 4.15 and 4.16.

Media of political campaign	Mean	Standard deviation	Rank
Radio	6.37	2.84	1st
Posters	5.72	1.74	2nd
Television	5.09	2.66	3rd
House to house	4.69	3.51	4th
Bill boards	4.66	1.97	5th
Political rallies	4.66	2.06	6th
Opinion leaders	4.56	3.02	7th
Candidate's contact with voters	4.04	3.31	8th
Newspaper	3.47	2.28	9th
Magazine	1.51	1.80	10th

Table 4.15: **Mean ranking of campaign media by Voters**

Marketing communications mix variables	Mean	Standard deviation	Rank
Door to door	6.76	2.50	1st
Packaging of candidate	6.11	2.16	2nd
Publicity	5.85	2.99	3rd
Advertising	5.75	2.74	4th
Party identity	5.26	2.58	5th
Word of mouth	3.89	2.48	6th
Selling	2.96	2.38	7th
Point of voting displays	2.29	2.10	8th

Sales promotion	2.26	1.96	9th
Event sponsorship	2.02	2.37	10th

Table 4.16   **Mean ranking of marketing communications mix variables by voters**

Results of the influence of campaign media on voting behaviour are shown in table 4.17.

Campaign media	Whether media influenced voting behaviour			Mean	Standard deviation	Significance
	Yes 1	No 0	Total			
Radio	441 (58.80%)	309 (41.20%)	750 (100.00%)	0.5880	0.4925	0.000
Television	266 (35.47%)	484 (64.53%)	750 (100.00%)	0.3547	0.4787	0.000
Magazine	9 (1.20%)	741 (98.80%)	750 (100.00%)	0.01200	0.1090	0.000
Newspaper	43 (5.73%	707 (94.27%)	750 (100.00%)	0.0573	0.2326	0.000
Bill boards	544 (72.53%)	206 (27.47%)	750 (100.00%)	0.7253	0.4466	0.000
Posters	650 (86.67%)	100 (13.33%)	750 (100.00%)	0.8667	0.3402	0.000
House to house canvassing	476 (63.47%)	274 (36.53%)	750 (100.00%)	0.6347	0.4818	0.000
Opinion leaders	506 (67.47%)	244 (32.53%)	750 (100.00%)	0.6747	0.4688	0.000
Candidate's contact with voters	238 (31.73%)	512 (68.27%)	750 (100.00%)	0.3173	0.4658	0.000
Political rally	523 (69.73%)	227 (30.27%)	750 (100.00%)	0.6973	0.4597	0.000
Oramedia	158 (21.07%)	592 (78.93%)	750 (100.00%)	0.2107	0.4081	0.000

Table 4.17   **Influence of campaign media on voting behaviour**

Campaign media	Whether variable influenced voting behaviour			Mean	Standard deviation	Signifi-cance
	Yes 1	No 0	Total			
Image commercials	326 (43.47%)	424 (56.53%)	750 (100.00%)	0.4347	0.4960	0.0003
Issue commercials	468 (62.40%)	282 (37.60%)	750 (100.00%)	0.6240	0.4847	0.000
Candidate's personality	666 (88.80%)	84 (11.20%)	750 (100.00%)	0.880	0.3156	0.000
Candidate's personal appearance	415 (53.33%)	335 (44.67%)	750 (100.00%)	0.5533	0.4975	0.0035
Candidate's voice/speeches	350 (46.67%)	400 (53.33%)	750 (100.00%)	0.4667	0.4992	0.0679
Selling candidate through phone	1 (0.13%)	749 (99.87%)	750 (100.00%)	0.0013	0.0365	0.000
Direct mail of candidate's leaflets	0 (0.00%)	750 (100.00%)	750 (100.00%)	0.0000	0.0000	0.000
Leaflets/inserts in news-papers/magazines	102 (13.60%)	648 (86.40%)	750 (100.00%)	0.1360	0.3430	0.000
Advert on bill boards	678 (90.40%)	72 (9.60%)	750 (100.00%)	0.9040	0.2948	0.000
Posters displayed during campaigns	675 (90.00%)	75 (10.00%)	750 (100.00%)	0.9000	0.3002	0.000
Posters displayed at poll booths during elections	211 (28.13%)	539 (71.87%)	750 (100.00%)	0.2813	0.4499	0.000
Door to door canvassing	708 (94.40%)	42 (5.60%)	750 (100.00%)	0.9440	0.2301	0.000
Political rallies	584 (77.87%)	166 (22.13%)	750 (100.00%)	0.7787	0.4154	0.000
Newspaper reports and	299	451	750			

editorials/commentaries	(39.87%)	(60.13%)	(100.00%)	0.3987	0.4900	0.000
Promises made by candidate	306 (40.80%)	444 (59.20%)	750 (100.00%)	0.4080	0.4918	0.000
Event sponsorship	66 (8.80%)	684 (91.20%)	750 (100.00%)	0.880	0.2835	0.000
Donations made by candidate	122 (16.27%)	628 (83.73%)	750 (100.00%)	0.1627	0.3693	0.000
Activities of opinion leaders	586 (78.13%	164 (21.87%)	750 (100.00%)	0.7813	0.4136	0.000
Candidate's contact with voters	363 (48.40%)	387 (51.60%)	750 (100.00%)	0.4840	0.5001	0.3808
Facecaps, vests etc.	184 (24.53%)	566 (75.47%	750 (100.00%)	0.2453	0.4306	0.000
Political debates	276 (36.80%)	474 (63.20%)	750 (100.00%)	0.3680	0.4826	0.000
Statements made local press	169 (22.53%)	581 (77.47%)	750 (100.00%)	0.2253	0.4181	0.000
Fund raising activities for campaign	32 (4.27%)	718 (95.78%)	750 (100.00%)	0.0427	0.2022	0.000
Getting supporters to poll to vote	468 (62.40%)	282 (37.60%)	750 (100.00%)	0.6240	0.4847	0.000
Mobile campaign on motor cade.	97 (12.93%)	653 (87.07%)	750 (100.00%)	0.1293	0.3358	0.000

Table 4.18   **Influence of marketing communication activities on voting behaviour**

Marketing communications and some socio-economic activities	Level of importance						Mean	Std. dev
	Very impt.	Impot	Fairly impt.	Not. impt.	Not at all	Total		
Party symbol or logo	411 (54.80%)	177 (23.60%)	120 (16.00%)	36 (4.80%)	6 (0.80%)	750 (100.00%)	4.27	0.95
Party motto	208 (27.74%)	334 (44.53%)	184 (24.53%)	12 (1.60%)	12 (1.60%)	750 (100.00%)	3.95	0.85

Party manifesto and programmes	462 (61.60%)	203 (27.07%)	28 (3.73%)	57 (7.60%)	0 (0.00%)	750 (100.00%)	4.43	0.58
Voter's membership of candidate's party	206 (27.60%)	42 (5.60%)	123 (16.40%)	115 (15.33%)	264 (35.20%)	750 (100.00%)	2.75	1.63
Voter's active partici-pation in party campaign	118 (15.73%)	206 (27.47%)	63 (8.40%)	163 (21.73%)	200 (26.67%)	750 (100.00%)	2.84	1.47
Voter inducement with money or other items	0 (0.0%)	70 (9.33%)	160 (21.33%)	153 (20.41%)	367 (48.93%)	750 (100.00%)	1.91	1.03
Tribesman of candidate	3 (0.40%)	55 (7.33%)	61 (81.3%)	401 (53.47%)	230 (30.67%)	750 (100.00%)	1.93	0.84
Relation or friend of candidate	0 (0.0%)	49 (6.53%)	18 (2.40%)	293 (39.07%)	390 (52.00%)	750 (100.00%)	1.63	0.82
Same religion as candidate	30 (4.00%)	55 (7.31%)	160 (21.33%)	240 (32.00%)	265 (35.33%)	750 (100.00%)	2.13	1.10
Same sex as candidate	0 (0.0%)	94 (12.53%)	57 (7.60%)	233 (31.07%)	366 (48.80%)	750 (100.00%)	1.84	1.02
Business or Professional colleague of candidate	39 (5.20%)	48 (6.40%)	125 (16.67%)	334 (44.53%	204 (27.20%)	750 (100.00%)	2.18	1.06
Advert or publicity on radio	126 (!6.80%)	129 (17.20%)	354 (47.20%)	53 (7.07%)	88 (11.73%)	750 (100.00%)	3.20	1.16
Advert or publicity on televison	152 (20.26%)	236 (31.47%)	173 (23.07%)	165 (22.00%)	24 (3.20%)	750 (100.00%)	3.44	1.13
Advert or publicity in newspaper	107 (!4.27%)	147 (19.60%)	217 (28.93%)	191 (25.47%)	88 (11.73%)	750 (100.00%)	2.99	1.22
Advert or publicity in magazine	7 (0.93%)	227 (30.27%)	207 (27.60%)	179 (23.87%)	130 (17.33%)	750 (100.00%)	2.74	1.10
Advert on bill boards	95 (12.66%)	321 (42.80%)	83 (11.07%	132 (17.60%)	119 (15.87%)	750 (100.00%)	3.19	1.31
Vests, diaries, facecaps, stickers, etc.	12 (1.611)	319 (42.53%)	157 (20.93%)	118 (15.73%)	144 (19.20%)	750 (100.00%)	2.92	1.19
Party rallies	190 (25.33%)	354 (47.31%)	111 (14.80%)	70 (9.33%)	25 (3.33%)	750 (100.00%)	3.82	1.02
Activities of opinion leaders	176 (23.46%)	398 (53.07%)	116 (15.47%)	398 (5.20%)	21 (2.80%)	750 (100.00%)	3.89	0.92
Image commercials	86 (11.47%)	332 (44.27%)	214 (28.53%)	106 (14.13%)	12 (1.60%)	750 (100.00%)	3.50	0.93

Issue commercials	68 (9.07%)	397 (52.93%)	158 (21.07%)	118 (15.73%)	9 (1.20%)	750 (100.00%)	3.53	0.90
Candidate's personal appearance	177 (23.60%)	275 (36.67%)	100 (13.33%)	181 (24.13%)	17 (2.27%)	750 (100.00%)	3.55	1.16
Time and day of week for campaign	128 (17.07%)	185 (24.67%)	253 (33.73%)	109 (14.53%)	75 (10.00%)	750 (100.00%)	3.24	1.19
Candidate's voice/speeches	167 (22.27%)	174 (23.20%)	128 (!7.07%)	247 (32.93%)	34 (4.53%)	750 (100.00%)	3.26	1.25
Phone calls selling candidate	1 (0.33%)	55 (7.33%)	70 (9.33%)	227 (30.27%)	397 (52.94%)	750 (100.00%)	1.71	0.92
Direct mail of candidate's leaflets	1 (0.13%)	13 (1.74%)	125 (16.67%)	196 (26.13%)	415 (55.33%)	750 (100.00%)	1.65	0.83
Inserts in newspapers / magazines	2 (0.27%)	160 (21.33%)	158 (21.06%)	170 (22.67%)	260 (34.67%)	750 (100.00%)	2.30	1.16
Candidate's posters displayed during campaigns	221 (29.46%)	323 (43.07%)	81 (10.80%)	3 (0.40%)	122 (16.27%)	750 (100.00%)	3.69	1.34
Posters displayed at polling booth	60 (8.00%)	100 (13.33%)	62 (8.27%)	290 (38.67%)	238 (31.73%)	750 (100.00%)	2.27	1.26
Door to door canvassing	176 (23.47%)	340 (45.33%)	15 (2.00%)	156 (20.80%)	63 (8.40%	750 (100.00%)	3.55	1.28
Promises made by candidate	123 (16.40%)	293 (39.07%)	201 (26.80%)	84 (11.20%)	49 (6.53%)	750 (100.00%)	3.48	1.09
Event sponsorship	67 (8.93%)	116 (15.47%)	8 (1.07%)	369 (49.20%)	190 (25.33%)	750 (100.00%)	2.33	1.26
Donations made by candidate at some event	143 (9.07%)	141 (18.80%)	7 (0.93%)	313 (41.73%)	146 (19.47%)	750 (100.00%)	2.76	1.45
Personal contact with candidate	165 (22.00%)	304 (40.53%)	49 (6.53%)	194 (25.87%)	38 (5.07%)	750 (100.00%)	3.49	1.23
Political debates	274 (36.53%)	248 (33.07%)	87 (11.60%)	115 (15.33%)	26 (3.47%)	750 (100.00%)	3.84	1.18
Statement made to local press	52 (6.94%)	283 (37.73%)	118 (15.73%)	163 (21.73%)	134 (17.87%)	750 (100.00%)	2.94	1.26
Fund raising ceremonies	6 (0.80%)	75 (10.00%)	94 (12.53%)	422 (56.27%)	153 (20.40%)	750 (100.00%)	2.15	0.88
Getting supporters to poll to vote	115 (15.33%)	305 (40.67%)	159 (21.20%)	102 (13.60%)	69 (9.20%)	750 (100.00%)	3.39	1.17

Mobile campaign on motor cade	6 (0.80%)	66 (8.80%)	12 (1.60%)	10 (1.33%)	656 (87.47%)	750 (100.00%)	1.34	0.94

Table 4.19   **Level of importance attached to marketing communications and some socio-economic characteristics by voters**

4.1.1 <u>ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTION I:</u>

Research question 1: What are the various marketing communications techniques currently used by political parties, candidates, and campaign managers during local election campaigns in Nigeria?

Analyses of Research Question 1 (as stated above) have been addressed in tables 4.6 and 4.7 using descriptive statistics of **frequency** and **percentages.** Frequency distribution shows a table of values of a variable together with the number of times these values occur (their frequencies) (Nwabuokei, 1986: 36). While percentage frequency gives the proportion of several values in each class multiplied by 100 (ibid: 52). The aim of this analysis is to segregate the data and ascertain the ratio of occurrence of each value of a variable to bring out the usage of marketing communications techniques by political candidates, their parties and workers in the December 5, 1998 local council elections.

4.1.2 <u>ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTION II</u>

Research question II: To what extent are current marketing communications strategies used in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria during local electioneering campaigns useful?

Analysis of research question I is shown in tables 4.15, 4.16, 4.17 and 4.18. Descriptive statistics of frequency and percentages were used in tables 4.15 and 4.16, while measure of central tendency of means was used to rank campaign media and marketing communications tools in tables 4.17 and 4.18 respectively to determine how typical the responses are.

The mean or arithmetic average of a set of measurements is the sum of the measurements in the sample divided by n. Mean is denoted by the formula:

$$\overline{X} = \frac{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{} X_i}{n}$$

Where $\overline{X}$ =   Sample mean for Xi

    n   =   Number of measurements

    $\sum$ =   Summation

    X_i =   Variable

(Mendenhall and Reinmuth, 1982: 27)

4.1.3   ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTION III:

Research Question III: Do voters in rural and urban areas of Nigeria perceive the marketing communications variables in the same manner in local electioneering campaigns?

Research Question III has been analysed using one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). This involved a comparison of the means of the ranking of marketing communications media and techniques that drive or influence the voting behaviour of the electorate in local elections in Nigeria. This comparison of means was done across the two Local Government types (urban and rural). One-way analysis of variance provides a more convenient and readily interpretable way of making each comparison across two or more groups instead of running series of independent t-tests (Oriavwote, 1996:75). The two-tail probabilities in the probability column of the computer output indicate if any of the means has been found to be significantly different from the other.

The formula used in the computer analysis of the one-way ANOVA is

$$U_i = \frac{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{nj} X_{ij}}{nj}$$

Where U_i =   Mean of the jth treatment

    i   =   Number of attributes

    j   =   Takes value according to the number of group,

                              Local Government type

$$X_{ij} \quad = \quad \text{ith observation on the jth treatment or group}$$

where

$$j_1 \quad = \quad \text{Urban}$$

$$j_2 \quad = \quad \text{Rural}$$

$$n \quad = \quad \text{Total number of observations in all treatments combined.}$$

$$n = n_1 + n_2 = 750$$

$$nj = \text{total number of observations on the jth treatment.}$$

Total variation:

$$SS_T = \sum_{j=1}^{k} \sum_{i=1}^{nj} (X_{ij} - \overline{X}..)^2$$

where SS_T = Total variation or sum of squares total

xij = Scores of ith and jth treatment

$\overline{X}..$ = Mean total

Between group variation:

$$SS_B = \sum_{j=1} nj \quad (X_{ij} - X..)^2$$

where SS_B = Sum of squares between or between group variation

nj = Sample size of jth treatment

$\overline{X_{ij}}$ = Mean of ith and jth treatment

Within group variation:

$$SSw = \sum_{j=1}^{K} \sum_{i=1}^{nj} (X_{ij} - \overline{X}_{.j})^2$$

where SSw = Sum of squares within or within group variation.

Mean sqaure Total:

$$MS_T = \frac{SS_T}{df_T} \quad \frac{SS_T}{n-1}$$

where MS_T = Mean square total groups

df_T = Degree of freedom total $df_B + df_w$

n = Sample size, $n = n_1 + n_2$

Mean sqaure between:

$$MS_B = \frac{SS_B}{df_B} \qquad \frac{SS_B}{K-1}$$

where MS_B = Mean square between group

df_B = Degree of freedom between groups

K = Number of groups

Mean square within:

$$MS_W = \frac{SS_W}{df_W} \qquad \frac{SS_W}{n-k}$$

where MS_W = Mean square within groups

df_W = Degree of freedom within groups

F – Ratio computed as:

$$F = \frac{MS_B}{MS_W}$$

The respondents (registered voters) ranked campaign media and communications tools by likert scales from 0 to 9 where the best rank has a score of 9 and the worst a score of 0. The Analysis of variance for the different characteristics or variables compared among urban and rural areas are presented in tables 4.20 to 4.29 for campaign media and tables 4.30 to 4.39 for communications tools.

Source	Degree of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between Groups	1	329.0552	329.0552		*
Within Groups	737	5639.8650	7.6525	42.9999	<0.0001
Total	738	**5968.9202**			

Table 4.20   **ANOVA summary for radio as a campaign medium among urban and rural areas**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	775.7077	775.7077		
Within groups	738	4468.0437	6.0543	128.1259	< 0.0001*
Total	**739**	**5243.7514**			

Table 4.21:   **ANOVA summary for television as campaign medium among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	349.7286	349.7286		
Within groups	747	3552.8455	4.7562	73.5318	< 0.0001*
Total	**748**	**3902.5741**			

Table 4.22:   **ANOVA summary for newspaper as campaign medium among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	111.0434	111.0434		
Within groups	747	2314.0594	3.0978	35.8458	< 0.0001*
Total	**748**	**2425.1028**			

Table 4.23:   **ANOVA summary for magazine as campaign medium among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	1.7390	1.7390		
Within groups	747	2905.0781	3.8890	.4472	.5039
Total	**748**	**2906.8171**			

Table 4.24:   **ANOVA Summary for bill boards as campaign medium among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	26.3771	26.3771		
Within groups	747	2235.6176	2.9928	8.8135	0.0031*
Total	**748**	**2261.9947**			

Table 4.25:   **ANOVA summary for posters as campaign media among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	887.0978	887.0978		
Within groups	747	5933.1398	7.9426	111.6883	<0.0001*
Total	**748**	**6820.2377**			

Table 4.26:   **ANOVA summary for opinion leaders as campaign media among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean Ssuares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	23.6103	23.6103		

Within groups	747	3157.6047	4.2270	5.5855	.0184*
Total	**748**	**3181.2150**			

Table 4.27: **ANOVA summary for political rallies as campaign media among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between gGroups Within groups	1 747	26.3070 8182.4914	26.3070 10.9538	2.4016	.1216
Total	**748**	**8208.7984**			

Table 4.28: **ANOVA summary for candidate's contact with voters as campaign medium among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups Within groups	1 747	21.6092 9186.5296	21.6092 12.2979	1.7571	.1854
Total	**748**	**9208.1389**			

Table 4.29: **ANOVA summary for house to house as campaign medium among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups Within groups	1 747	5586.6361 5621.8024	35.1663 7.4788	4.7022	.0304*
Total	**748**	**5621.8024**			

Table 4.30: **ANOVA summary for advertising as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	564.7511	564.7511		
Within groups	747	3674.2022	4.9186	114.8192	<0.0001*
Total	**748**	**4238.9533**			

Table 4.31: **ANOVA summary for selling as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean Squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	9.1915	9.1915		
Within groups	747	3466.9340	4.6411	1.9804	.1598
Total	**748**	**3476.1255**			

Table 4.32: **ANOVA summary for packaging of candidate as campaign communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	181.0451	181.0451		
Within groups	747	4008.5223	5.3662	33.7383	<0.0001*
Total	**748**	**4008.5223**			

Table 4.33: **ANOVA summary for event sponsorship as campaign communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	42.3967	42.3967		

Within groups	747	4641.3790	4.2134	6.8235	.0092*
Total	**748**				

Table 4.34: **ANOVA summary for door to door canvassing as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean Squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	103.4616	103.4616		
Within groups	738	2783.2486	3.7259	27.7682	<0.0001*
Total	**748**	**2886.7103**			

Table 4.35: **ANOVA Summary for sales promotion as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	4.2376	4.2376		
Within groups	747	6696.3125	8.9643	.4727	.4920
Total	**748**	**6700.5501**			

Table 4.36: **ANOVA summary for publicity as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	284.2789	284.2789		
Within groups	747	3021.4301	4.0448	70.2834	<0.0001*
Total	**748**	**3305.7089**			

Table 4.37: **ANOVA summary for point of voting dsplay as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	22.2342	22.2342		

Within groups	747	4571.2211	6.1194	3.6334	.0570
Total	**748**	**4593.4553**			

Table 4.38: **ANOVA summary for word of mouth as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob.
Between groups	1	9.5018	9.5018		
Within groups	747	4963.2085	6.6442	1.4301	.2321
Total	**748**	**4972.7103**			

Table 4.39: **ANOVA summary for party identity as communications tool among urban and rural areas.**

The level of significance for the one-way analysis of variance was 5%. To be able to test for equality of means across the urban and rural areas, results generated data shown in tables 4.40 and 4.41 which display the comparison of means and overlap analysis for campaign media and communications tools respectively.

Campaign communications media	Local Govt. type	Mean	Overlap	Standard deviation
Radio	Urban	5.7089	B	2.9282
	Rural	7.0435	A	2.5929
Ttelevision	Urban	6.1102	A	2.4966
	Rural	4.0625	B	2.4235
Newspaper	Urban	4.1451	A	2.2045
	Rural	2.7784	B	2.1564
Magazine	Urban	1.8945	A	1.8827
	Rural	1.1243	B	1.6249
Bill board	Urban	4.7045	A	1.7794
	Rural	4.6081	A	2.1516
Poster	Urban	5.9024	A	1.7085

	Rural	5.5270	B	1.7517
Opinion leaders	Urban	3.4881	B	2.7825
	Rural	5.6649	A	2.8544
Political rallies	Urban	3.4881	B	2.4216
	Rural	4.8432	A	1.5968
Candidate's contact with voters	Urban	3.8549	B	3.3779
	Rural	4.2297	B	3.2383
House to house	Urban	4.5224	A	3.7651
	Rural	4.8622	A	3.2209

Table 4.40:   **Comparison of means and overlap analyses for campaign media**

Means with the same alphabets are comparable at 5% significant level. Seven of the ten campaign media used in describing campaign media were found to be significant explanatory variables of campaign media.

Campaign communication media	Local Govt. type	Mean	Overlap	Standard deviation
Advertising	Urban	5.9604	A	2.4712
	Rural	5.5270	B	2.9806
Selling	Urban	3.8206	A	2.5921
	Rural	2.0838	B	1.7534
Packaging of candidate	Urban	6.2243	A	2.0418
	Rural	6.0027	A	2.2638
Event sponsorship	Urban	1.5383	B	2.1108
	Rural	2.5216	A	2.5098
Door to door canvassing	Urban	6.9921	A	2.4747
	Rural	6.5162	B	2.5109
Sales promotion	Urban	1.8945	B	2.0287
	Rural	2.6378	A	1.8239
Publicity	Urban	5.9261	A	2.6736
	Rural	5.7757	A	3.2901

Point of Voting display	Urban	2.8971	B	2.1804
	Rural	1.6649	A	1.8216
Word of mouth	Urban	3.7230	B	2.2817
	Rural	4.0676	B	2.6561
Party identity	Urban	5.1504	A	2.4072
	Rural	5.3757	A	2.7412

Table 4.41 **Comparison of means and overlap analyses for campaign communications tools.**

Means with the same alphabets are comparable at 5% significant level. Six of the ten communications tools used in describing communications tools were found to be significant explanatory variables of communication tools for Local Government electioneering campaigns.

4.1.4 ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTION IV:

Research Question iv: what is the relationship between socio-economic characteristics of voters and their perception of marketing communications techniques used in local electioneering campaigns?

In analysing research question iv, associative model of the linear correlation type was used. Partial correlation was carried out in the computer for socio-economic characteristics of age, sex, marital status, occupation, income and education in relation to campaign media and communications variables including time of day for campaign, day of the week for campaign and period for promotional campaign. The control variable was influence of effective communications by political party.

Respondents answered "yes or 1" if campaign media or communication variable influence their voting behaviour and "no or 0" otherwise. For the time of day and day of week for campaign, respondents chose one of four optional questions while they chose one of five optional questions for period of promotional campaign.

Correlation analysis is concerned with measuring the degree or strength (closeness) of a relationship. Linear correlation (rather than non-linear) was used in the analyses. Linear

correlation is either positive or negative. Positive or direct correlation occurs when two related variables change in the same direction. That is, they tend to increase or decrease together. Negative or inverse linear correlation occurs when the two related variables change in the opposite direction; that is, for example, X increases as Y decreases and vice versa.

The pearson product – moment coefficient of correlation (r) is the statistic most commonly used to measure the amount of relationship between two variables. It is calculated as follows:

$$r = \frac{\sum\limits_{i=1}^{n} (X_i - \bar{X})(Y_i - \bar{Y})}{nS_xS_y}$$

$$r = \frac{\sum xy - \dfrac{\sum x \ \sum y}{N}}{\sqrt{\left[\sum x^2 - \dfrac{(\sum x)^2}{N}\right]\left[\sum y^2 - \dfrac{(\sum x)^2}{N}\right]}}$$

(Klugh, 1970: 68)

where   r   =   Pearson product-moment coefficient or correlation

Σ =   Summation symbol

N   =   Number of respondents or sample size

X   =   Socio-economic or independent variables

Y   =   Marketing communications or dependent variable

The result of the correlation analyses may show that there is either a very strong, positive relationship between X and Y or there is a strong, negative relationship between X and Y.

Tables 4.42, 4.43 and 4.44 show the means and standard deviations of campaign media, communications techniques and time of day, day of week, and period for promotional campaign respectively. While tables 4.45, 4.46 and 4.47 show the relationship between voters socio-economic characteristics and campaign media, communications techniques

and non-marketing communications factors (time of day, day of week and period for campaign) respectively.

Campaign media	Mean	Standard deviation
Radio	0.5880	0.4925
Television	0.3547	0.4787
Magazine	0.0120	0.1090
Newspaper	0.0573	0.2326
Bill boards	0.7253	0.4466
Posters	0.8667	0.3402
House to house	0.6347	0.4818
Opinion leaders	0.6747	0.4688
Candidate's contact with voters	0.3173	0.4657
Political rally or meeting	0.6973	0.4597
Oramedia	0.2107	0.4081

Table 4.42   **Mean and standard deviation of the influence of campaign media**

Communications techniques	Mean	Standard deviation
Image commercials	0.4347	0.4960
Issue commercials	0.6240	0.4847
Personality of candidate	0.8840	0.3156
Candidate's personal appearance	0.5533	0.4975
Candidate's voice/speeches	0.4667	0.4992
Selling candidate through phone	0.0013	0.0365
Leaflets on candidate/association by mail	0.0000	0.0000
Leaflets/inserts in newspaers/magazines	0.1360	0.3430
Adverts on bill boards	0.9040	0.2948
Posters before election	0.9000	0.3002
Posters at polling booth during election	0.2813	0.4499
Door to door canvassing	0.9440	0.2301

Political rallies and meetings	0.7787	0.4154
News reports and editorials/commentaries	0.3987	0.4900
Promise made at rallies/meetings	0.4080	0.4918
Event sponsorship	0.0880	0.2835
Donations made by candidate	0.1627	0.3693
Activities of opinion leaders	0.7813	0.4136
Candidate's contact with voters	0.4840	0.5001
Face caps, vests, calenders etc.	0.2453	0.4306
Political debates	0.3680	0.4826
Statements made to local press	0.2253	0.4181
Fund raising activities for campaign	0.0427	0.2022
Getting supporters to the poll to vote	0.6240	0.4847
Mobile campaign on motor cade	0.1293	0.3358

Table 4.43   **Means and standard deviations of communications techniques**

Non- marketing communications factors	Mean	Standard deviation
Time of day for campaign	2.7720	1.1908
Day of the week for campaign	3.1467	1.11.90
Period for commencement of promotional campaign	3.0667	1.2974

Table 4.44:   **Mean and standard deviation of time of day, day of the week for campaigns and period for commencement of promotional campaign**

Campaign media	Voters' socio-economic characteristics					
	Age	Sex	Marital status	Occu-pation	Income	Education
Radio	0.1716 $P < 0.0001*$	0.0484 $P = 0.186$	0.2993 $P < 0.0001*$	0.0433 $P=0.237$	0.1307 $P < 0.0001*$	0.1082 $P = 0.003*$
Television	0.0140 $P = 0.703$	0.1626 $P<0.0001*$	0.1674 $P < 0.0001*$	- 0.0947 $P = 0.009*$	0.1045 $P = 0.004*$	0.2226 $P < 0.0001*$
Magazine	0.0488	0.0076	0.0635	0.0318	0.0563	- 0.0498

	P = 0.182	P = 0.836	P = 0.082	P = 0.385	P = 0.124	P = 0.173
Newspaper	- 0.1066	0.2044	0.0974	- 0.0758	0.0697	0.0885
	P = 0.004*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.008*	P = 0.038*	P = 0.057	P = 0.015*
Bill Boards	- 0.3021	0.1326	- 0.3233	0.0342	- 0.5131	- 0.0933
	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.350	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.011*
Posters	- 0.2918	-0.1240	0.1678	- 0.1086	- 0.1475	- 0.1383
	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.003*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*
House to house	- 0.0648	- 0.1551	- 0.0159	0.0291	0.1213	- 0.1447
	P = 0.076	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.664	P = 0.427	P = 0.001*	P < 0.0001*
Opinion leaders	- 0.0471	0.2035	0.1120	0.0676	0.1433	0.0079
	P = 0.198	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.002*	P = 0.064	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.829
Candidate's contact with voters	- 0.0103	- 0.1054	0.0293	- 0.1403	0.2958	0.1322
	P = 0.779	P = 0.004*	P = 0.424	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*
Political Rrally	0.0709	0.1653	0.2404	- 0.01041	- 0.0293	0.0112
	P = 0.053	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.004*	P = 0.424	P = 0.760
Oramedia	- 0.0618	- 0.0477	0.0892	0.1151	0.0605	0.0105
	P = 0.091	P = 0.192	P =0.015*	P = 0.002*	P = 0.098	P = 0.774

Table 4.45: **Coefficient of partial correlation between voters socio-economic characteristics and campaign media.**

All degrees of freedom in table 4.45 are 747 while 5% significance level is used for the 2-tailed test shown as P under each coefficient.

Communication techniques	Socio-economic characteristics					
	Age	Sex	Marital status	Occu-pation	Income	Education
Image commercial	0.1177	- 0.0267	0.2359	0.0845	0.1378	- 0.0769
	P = 0.001*	P = 0.466	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.021*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.035*
Issue commercial	0.0440	0.1203	0.2566	0.0752	0.1494	0.0690
	P = 0.229	P = 0.001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.040*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.059
Personality of candidate	0.0912	0.1162	0.2075	0.1106	0.0769	- 0.0887
	P = 0.013*	P = 0.001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.002*	P = 0.035	P = 0.015*
Candidate's	- 0.4684	0.4509	- 0.1889	0.1322	- 0.2815	- 0.2541

personal appearance	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*
Candidate voice/ speeches	- 0.2224 P < 0.0001*	0.3297 P < 0.0001*	- 0.0102 P = 0.781	- 0.0765 P = 0.036*	0.0876 P = 0.016*	0.0468 P = 0.201
Selling candidate through phone	- 0.0575 P = 0.116	- 0.218 P = 0.551	- 0.0622 P = 0.089	0.0192 P = 0.599	- 0.0503 P = 0.169	0.0233 P = 0.524
Leaflets sent by mail	No coefficient	No Coefficient	No Coefficient	No Coefficient	No Coefficient	No Coefficient
Leaflets/inserts in newsp./magazines.	- 0.1172 P = 0.001*	0.1909 P < 0.0001*	0.0330 P = 0.367	- 0.3207 P < 0.0001*	- 0.1411 P < 0.0001*	0.2350 P < 0.0001*
Advertisements on bill boards	0.0508 P = 0.165	0.2254 P < 0.0001*	0.0914 P = 0.012*	- 0.0759 P = 0.038*	- 0.0439 P = 0.230	0.0155 P = 0.671
Posters displayed during campaign	0.1006 P = 0.006*	0.1269 P < 0.0001*	0.3263 P < 0.0001*	0.1159 P = 0.001*	0.1196 P = 0.001*	- 0.1360 P < 0.0001*
Posters displayed at poll booth	0.0049 P = 0.892	0.1183 P = 0.001*	- 0.0300 P = 0.412	0.1104 P = 0.002*	0.0150 P = 0.681	- 0.1423 P < 0.0001*
Door to door canvassing	0.1641 P < 0.0001*	0.3374 P < 0.0001*	0.2384 P < 0.0001*	0.0364 P = 0.320	0.0808 P = 0.027*	- 0.0810 P = 0.027*
Political rallies	- 0.1927 P < 0.0001*	0.0317 P = 0.387	- 0.0347 P = 0.343	- 0.0146 P = 0.689	- 0.1128 P = 0.002*	- 0.0484 P = 0.186
News reports & editorial/comment.	- 0.3001 P < 0.0001*	0.1126 P = 0.002	0.2449 P < 0.0001*	- 0.2073 P < 0.0001*	0.2054 P < 0.0001*	0.1599 P < 0.0001*
Promises made at rallies	- 0.0428 P = 0.242	0.0436 P = 0.234	0.1318 P < 0.0001*	0.2171 P < 0.0001*	- 0.0011 P = 0.976	- 0.1837 P < 0.0001*
Event sponsorship	- 0.0056 P = 0.878	0.1220 P = 0.001*	0.0565 P = 0.123	0.1530 P < 0.0001*	0.0192 P = 0.601	- 0.0122 P = 0.738
Donations made by candidate	0.0196 P = 0.592	0.1809 P < 0.0001*	- 0.1334 P < 0.0001*	0.1021 P = 0.005*	- 0.1818 P < 0.0001*	- 0.0359 P = 0.327
Activities of opinion leaders	0.0998 P = 0.006*	0.2386 P < 0.0001*	0.0405 P = 0.269	0.1141 P = 0.002*	0.3061 P < 0.0001*	- 0.1275 P < 0.0001*
Personal contact with candidate	0.2931 P < 0.0001*	- 0.0272 P = 0.457	0.3182 P < 0.0001*	0.2007 P < 0.0001*	0.2350 P < 0.0001*	- 0.0570 P = 0.119
Face caps, vests	0.1874	0.0514	- 0.1008	0.1186	0.0997	0.0434

stickers etc.	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.160	P = 0.006*	P = 0.001*	P = 0.006*	P = 0.236
Political debates	0.0988	- 0.2033	0.0303	- 0.0985	0.3007	0.2113
	P = 0.007*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.408	P = 0.007*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*
Statement made to local press	0.2463	- 0.1926	0.1541	0.2065	0.2724	-0.0037
	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.919
Fund raising activities	0.1186	0.0983	- 0.0289	0.1446	0.0269	- 0.0019
	P = 0.001*	P = 0.007*	P = 0.430	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.462	P = 0.959
Getting supporters to poll to vote	- 0.2277	0.0804	- 0.1237	- 0.0994	- 0.0245	- 0.0955
	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.028*	P = 0.001*	P = 0.006*	P = 0.504	P = 0.009*
Mobile campaign on motor cade.	- 0.0579	0.1091	0.0501	0.2160	- 0.1127	- 0.1911
	P = 0.113	P = 0.003*	P = 0.171	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.002*	P < 0.0001*

Table 4.46: **Coefficient of partial correlation between voters' socio-economic characteristics and communications techniques.**

All variables have 747 as degree of freedom and 2-tailed significance is 5% or 0.05 level of significance indicated as P.

Marketing communications strategy element	Voters' socio-economic characteristics					
	Age	**Sex**	**Marital status**	**Occu-pation**	**Income**	**Education**
Time of day for campaign	0.1732	-0.1489	0.0694	0.2453	0.1911	- 0.1239
	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.058	P < 0.0001*	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.001*
Day of the week for Campaign	- 0.2474	0.0198	- 0.0112	0.3672	0.1062	- 0.2023
	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.588	P = 0.760	P < 0.0001*	P = 0.004*	P < 0.0001*
Period to commence promotional activities	- 0.0235	- 0.0315	0.0898	0.0976	0.0727	- 0.2495
	P = 0.521	P = 0.389	P = 0.014*	P = 0.008*	P = 0.047*	P < 0.0001*

Table 4.47: **Coefficient of partial correlation between voters' socio-economic characteristics and time of day, day of the week for campaign and period to commence promotional activities.**

Degree of freedom used for all variables in table 4.47 was 747. Level of significance was 5% or 0.05 and the symbol P represents significance. Coefficient asterisked (*) in tables 4.45 to 4.47 are significant at 5%.

4.1.5 **ANALYSING RESEARCH QUESTION V:**

Research question V: Which of the various marketing communications factors are significant in the formulation of strategy for local electioneering campaigns in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria?.

Research question V has been analysed using a quantitative analytical technique called Factor Analysis. The aim of this analysis is to accomplish some contraction of the data and as well make the data more interpretable for marketing communications strategy formulation. The fundamental assumption and logical foundation of factor analysis is that the observed (measured) variables are linear combinations of some underlying source variables (or factors) (Eboh, 1998: 196). Instead of describing campaign media with as many as eleven (11) variables and political communications techniques with as many as thirty-nine (39) characteristics, factor analysis reduces the number of dimensions to a smaller and more manageable number that actually capture the underlying principle substance by which campaign media and political communications tools can be more meaningfully characterised. This analysis was facilitated by the use of a computer software that performed principal component analysis on the campaign media and political communications techniques. The resulting output are factor-loading matrices which essentially are the key to understanding the factor analytic solutions (Oriavwote, 1996: 49)

The method employed to factor analyse the characteristics data was based on the following model:

$$Z_j \quad = \quad W_{j1}\, F_1 \quad + \quad W_{j2}\, F_2 \quad + \ldots + W_{jm}\, F_m$$

Where $\quad j \;=\; 1, 2, \ldots, \text{P variables}$

Source: Oriavwote, P.E (1996) "An Analysis of Factors Affecting the Choice of Broiler starter Feeds for Table Birds by Poultry Farmers in Enugu metropolis", unpublished M.B.A dissertation, Department of Marketing, University of Nigeria, Enugu campus, P.49.

The computer solution of this model transforms the sets of interrelated characteristics into smaller sets of unrelated linear combinations of these characteristics. These smaller sets of linear combinations were chosen so that each of the linear combinations, called factors or components explains a decreasing proportion of the variance in the original variables subject to the condition that each linear combination is uncorrelated to the other preceding linear combinations.

The factor loading matrices delineate the factors but choosing the number of factors is judgemental based on how much variance that can be explained by chosen number of factors. Naming of the factors is facilitated by the method of varimax rotation that accomplishes orthogonality of the factors and also returns comparable high positive factor loadings on some variables. These high factor loading facilitate the art of naming or labelling the factors as clusters of comparatively high factor loadings and are suggestive of a factor label or name.

Tables 4.48 and 4.49 below show the factor analytic solution (with varimax rotation) for campaign media and political communications techniques respectively. Responses used to factor-analyse data in table 4.48 were of the Yes (1) or No (0) type while multichotomous questions of the very important (5) to Not at all (1) type were used in factor analytic solution that gave rise to table 4.49.

Variable no.	Variable / characteris-tics	Commu nality	Factor no	Factor loadings	Eigen-value	Factor label (name)	% of var.	Cumm %
Var.00038	House to house	0.76862	1	0.76862		House to house / rally factor		
Var.00041	Political rallies	0.49408	1	0.49408	2.08089		18.9%	18.9%
Var.00032	Radio	0.87254	2	0.87254		Broadcast media factor		
Var.00033	Television	0.88945	2	0.88945	1.78805		16.3%	35.2%
Var.00037	Posters	0.71944	3	0.71944		Candidate's posters / opinon leader factor		
Var.00039	Opinion leaders	0.68154	3	0.68154				
Var.00040	Contact with Candidate	0.69354	3	0.69354	1.60142		14.6%	49.7%
Var.00034	Magazine	0.44388	4	0.44388				

| Var.00035 | Newspaper | 0.74692 | 4 | 0.74692 | 1.13763 | Print media factor | 10.3% | 60.1% |
| Var.00042 | Oramedia | 0.77853 | 5 | 0.77853 | 1.09022 | Oramedia factor | 9.9% | 70.0% |

Table 4.48: **Factor analytic solution (with varimax rotation) for campaign media.**

* GOTV means "Get out the votes" (getting supporters to polls to vote on election day).

Variable no.	Variable / characteris-tics	Commu nality	Factor no	Factor loadings	Eigen-value	Factor label (name)	% of var.	Cumm %
Var00087	Sex	0.84749	1	-0.68509		Gender / image /		
Var00097	Image commercial	0.89103	1	0.65217	8.71276	issue commer-		
Var00098	Issue commercial	0.84673	1	0.77832		cials factor	22.3	22.3
Var00099	Candidate's appearance	0.91967	1	0.87283				
Var00079	Party motto	0.80614	2	0.72028		Advert & publicity		
Var00091	Advert in newspaper	0.94664	2	0.69370	4.52055	In print media &	11.6	33.9
Var00092	Advert in magazine	0.86311	2	0.79198		sales promotion		
Var00094	Face caps, vest, stickers	0.90302	2	0.67938		factor		
Var00093	Advert on bill boards	0.92709	3	0.73610		Political rallies /		
Var00095	Political rallies	0.92368	3	0.90048	3.96286	display activities	10.2	44.1
Var00105	Posters during campaign	0.94495	3	0.84558		factor		
Var00102	Selling candid. by phone	0.91546	4	0.76323		Direct selling		
Var00103	Direct mail of leaflets	0.82386	4	0.79436	3.19044	activities factor	8.2	52.3
Var00081	Membership of cand. Party	0.88306	5	0.82934		Party identity		
Var00082	Active participation in party campaign	0.89969	5	0.91317	2.44681	factor	6.3	58.5
Var00083	Voter inducement	0.91999	6	0.8895		Religion/voter		
Var00086	Religion	0.94425	6	0.86485	2.38617	inducement factor	6.1	64.7
Var00112	Political debates	0.81474	7	0.81071		Political		
Var00113	Statements made to local	0.88092	7	0.69019	2.12637	campaign activities/mobile	5.5	70.1

Var	Description					Factor		
	press					campaign factor		
Var00116	Mobile campaign on motor cade	0.79417	7	-0.74759				
Var00110	Donations by candidate at some event	0.87744	8	0.85513	1.92924	Finance Factor	4.9	75.1
Var00114	Fund raising ceremonies	0.82165	8	0.60506				
Var00088	Professional or business colleague	0.82126	9	0.85673	0.85673	Professional factor	4.4	79.4
Var00100	Time and day of week for campaign	0.80916	10	0.83191	0.83191	Campaign schedulling / GOTV factor		
Var00115	Getting supporters to poll	0.80235	10	0.70621	0.70621		3.4	82.9
Var00090	Advert on television	0.85998	11	0.65102	0.65102	Personal selling / advert & publicity in television factor		
Var00111	Personal contact with candidate	0.72235	11	0.61103	0.61103		3.1	86.0

Table 4.49: **Factor analytic solution (with varimax rotation) for campaign communications tools.**

It is worthy of note that significance testing is not important in factor analysis. What obtains is that the square of factor or component accounts for a percentage of the variance in that variable. The Logit model of regresion stated in section 4.1.6 gives the log likelihood and chi-squared figures for significance testing of the communications variables.

4.1.6 <u>ANALYSING RESEARCH QUESTION VI:</u>

Research question vi: Is a marketing communications strategy model capable of solving the campaign communications management problems in Nigerian rural and urban areas during local elections?

Research question vi has been analysed using the Logit model of multiple regression analysis (a logarithmic probability model).

Regression is an associative model. The coefficient of regression, b, a very important parameter of the regression function, measures the average change in the variable Y as a

result of a unit change in X. Regression analysis discovers the nature of the association between related variables. The logit model of multiple regression uses the general framework of probability models given by:

Prob.(event j occurs) = Prob(Y = j) = F (relevant effects: parameters)

Source: Demaris, A (1992) <u>Logit Modelling: Practical Applications</u>, SAGE Publications,California, P.50.

Probability models are often grouped into two categories: bionomial or dichotomous and multinomial or multichotomous depending on whether the outcome is the choice between two or more than two alternatives. The binomial model is used in this case as it is either: vote (yes) / don't vote (no) or urban/rural area choice.

The logit or logistic regression model is given as:

$$P(Y = 1/x) = \frac{e^{\Sigma b_k X_k}}{[1 + e^{\Sigma b_k X_k}]} = \log\left[\frac{P}{1 - P}\right] = \alpha + \beta \overline{X_i}$$

The probabilistic model is $Y_i = \alpha_i + \beta i \, X_{ii} + E_i$

And the logit Model is modified to:

$$\log\left[\frac{(S + \tfrac{1}{2})/n}{1 - (S - \tfrac{1}{2})/n}\right]$$

Where   Y   =   Dependent variable

               X   =   Set of K independent variables

               E   =   Error term

               S   =   Variance

               n   =   Sample size

               P   =   Probability of occurrence

               e   =   Exponential

Σ	=	Summation
K	=	Constant
α, β	=	Parameters of the sample; β = slope,
	α	= y – intercept

It is reasonable to estimate of the logit model by utilising an estimate of the probability of a given choice for a group of identical individuals. Therefore, it can be approximated to:

$$P = \frac{r_I}{n_i}$$

where

$\hat{P}$	=	Estimate of probability
r_I	=	Mean frequency of occurrence
n_i	=	Sample size

Source: Demaris, A (1992) <u>Logit Modelling: Practical Applications</u>, SAGE
Publications, California, P. 52.

However, a simplified version of the logit model =

$$\log (p/1\text{-}p) = \alpha + \beta X_i$$

$$y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \ldots + \beta_n X_n + E$$

where $= \beta_1, \beta_2, \beta_3, \ldots \beta_n$

are estimates of the model parameters

Source: Mendenhall, W and Reinmuth, J.E (1982) <u>Statistics for Management
and Economics</u>, Prindle, Weber, and Schmidt Publishers, Boston.
Massachussetts, P. 471.

Logit and Probit parameters are typically estimated by a method called maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) in contrast to ordinary regression models which are estimated by the method of least squares estimation (LSE). Maximum likelihood estimation provides a better way to estimate the logit or probit models without resorting to positioning (or partitioning). The maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) has the

properties of unbiasedness, efficiency, and normality. The maximum likelihood estimation on logit or probit models is nonlinear and the properties are asymptotic, that is, better as sample size increases. However, the likelihood equations for the probit and logit models are nonlinear in the parameters to be estimated hence algebraic solutions are not obtained, rather approximations by standard iterative algorithms are used (Demaris, 1992: 52).

The maximum likelihood estimation seeks to obtain parameter estimates that imply the highest probability or likelihood of having obtained the observed sample Y. The parameter estimates or values that make this likelihood largest are the maximum likelihood estimates. For a given sample, the computer tries out various alternative estimates, selecting the one that generates the greatest likelihood.

The model chi-squared in logistic regression equal to $-2 \log (L_0) - [- 2\log (L_1)]$ with degrees of freedom equal to the number of parameters – other than the intercept – in the model is used in analysing the data in the statistical package for social sciences software of the computer.

The Goodness of fit (chi-square) and likelihood ratio statistic can be used to test the hypothesis that all coefficients except the intercept are zero (0). Often used in logit and probit analysis, the likelihood ratio statistic approximately follows the chi-squared distribution. If the likelihood ratio statistic is significant, it indicates that the model fits the data or that the model explains the response variable better than the model with the intercept only.

The likelihood ratio statistic is computed as:

$$C = - 2 \log (L_0/L_1) = (-2 \log L_0) - (-2\log L_1) = - 2 (\log L_0 - \log L_1)$$

Where L_1 = Value of likelihood function for the full model as fitted

L_0 = Maximum value of the likelihood function if all coefficients except the intercept are zero (0).

Likelihood ratio statistic can be computed readily with the computer as:

$$\log L_0 = N_0 \, (\log \, N_0/N) + N_1 \log (N_1/N)$$

where $\quad$ N $\quad = \quad$ Sample size

$\qquad\qquad$ N_0 $\quad = \quad$ Number of observations of $Y = 0 = $ No (do not vote)

$\qquad\qquad$ N_1 $\quad = \quad$ Number of cases in which $Y = 1 = $ Yes (vote)

The likelihood and model chi-squared figures generated from this regression analysis have been used to test the communications variables. Presented in tables 4.50 and 4.51 are results of the logit (logistic regression) modelling of campaign media and communications techniques respectively.

Variable no.	Campaign media	Regression coefficient (slope) B	Std. error S.E	Degree of free-dom Df	Signifi-cance α	Regression R	Exponent of B Exp. (B)
Var00032	Radio	0.1322	0.1872	1	0.4800	0.0000	1.1414
Var00033	Television	-0.7938	0.1930	1	< 0.0001*	-0.1198	0.4521
Var00034	Magazine	4.8023	1.0006	1	< 0.0001*	0.1422	121.7905
Var00035	Newspaper	-2.5984	0.7368	1	0.0004*	-0.1002	0.0744
Var00036	Bill boards	0.4925	0.1822	1	0.0069*	0.0715	1.6364
Var00037	Posters	-2.5230	0.2891	1	< 0.0001*	-0.2671	0.0802
Var00038	House to House	1.3132	0.2012	1	< 0.0001*	0.1976	3.7182
Var00039	Opinion Leaders	-0.1431	0.1570	1	0.3620	0.0000	0.8667
Var00040	Contact with Candidate	0.6150	0.1869	1	0.0010*	0.0922	1.8497
Var00041	Political Rallies	0.3664	0.1695	1	0.0306*	0.0507	1.4425
Var00042	Oramedia	1.7550	0.2118	1	< 0.0001*	0.2532	5.7834
	Constant	3.1079	0.5433	1	< 0.0001		

Log likelihood $\quad = \quad$ 709.595

Goodness of fit $\quad = \quad$ 855.404

Model chi-square $\quad = \quad$ 329.992 at 5% or 0.05 level of significance

and degree of freedom   =   11

* Variables with significance, α asterisked (*) are significant explanatory factors at 5% or 0.05 level of significance.

* Predicted probability is of membership for rural (see table 4.63 and figure 4.3).

Table 4.50:   **Logit modelling output for individual campaign media for local election.**

The predicted prbability in table 4.50 is in favour of rural areas.

Variable no.	Campaign media	Regression coefficient (slope) B	Std. error S.E	Degree of free-dom Df	Signifi-cance α	Regression R	Exponent of B Exp. (B)
Var00045	Image commercials	2.7292	0.5926	1	< 0.0001*	0.1359	15.3213
Var00046	Issue commercial	-1.8191	0.4977	1	0.0003*	-0.1045	0.1622
Var00047	Candidate's perso-nality	1.4621	0.9973	1	0.1426	0.0120	4.3152
Var00048	Candidate's Appear-ance	0.6587	0.2988	1	0.0275*	0.0525	1.9323
Var00049	Candidate's voice / speeches	0.9969	0.3355	1	0.0030*	0.0811	2.7098
Var00050	Telephones selling	-3.2395	25.9340	1	0.9006	0.0000	0.0392
Var00052	Aderts on billboards	-0.6718	0.7876	1	0.3937	0.0000	0.5108
Var00053	Inserts in newspaper / magazines	-0.4497	0.4934	1	0.3621	0.0000	0.6378
Var00054	Posters during campaign	-3.8904	1.3460	1	0.0038*	-0.0782	0.0204
Var00055	Posters at polling booth	0.8686	0.3046	1	0.0043*	0.0768	2.3837
Var00056	Door to door canvassing	-0.2091	0.8321	1	0.8016	0.0000	0.8113
Var00057	Political rallies / meeting	0.0967	0.1854	1	0.6019	0.0000	1.1015

Var							
Var00058	News reports and editorials	-0.1419	0.2656	1	0.5936	0.0000	0.8679
Var00059	Promises made by candidate	-2.2278	0.3351	1	< 0.0001*	-0.2015	0.1078
Var00060	Event sponsorship	-1.5777	0.4213	1	0.0002*	-0.1076	0.2065
Var00061	Donation by Candid.	3.0133	0.7405	1	< 0.0001*	0.1183	20.3543
Var00062	Activitices of opninon leaders	1.7032	0.4527	1	0.0002*	0.1081	5.4914
Var00063	Personal contact with candidate	0.3375	0.2447	1	0.1679	0.0000	1.4014
Var00064	Face caps, vest, etc.	1.3004	0.3261	1	0.0001*	0.1156	3.6707
Var00065	Political debates	0.6828	0.3660	1	0.0621	0.0377	1.9795
Var00066	Statements made to local press	1.4602	0.2479	1	< 0.0001*	0.1774	4.3070
Var00067	Fund raising activities	-0.3241	0.4349	1	0.4562	0.0000	0.7232
Var00068	Getting supporters to polls to vote	-0.6180	0.4262	1	0.1471	-0.0099	0.5390
Var00069	Mobile campaign	-1.4603	0.8166	1	0.0737	-0.0339	0.2322
Var00051	Constant	-0.6201	18.3512	1	0.9730		

* Log likelihood = 752.541

Goodness of fit = 691.755

Model chi-square = 287.047 at 5% or 0.05 level of significance and degree of freedom = 24

* Variables with significance, α, asterisked (*) are significant explanatory factors at 5% or 0.05 level of significance.

* Var00051, (Leaflets of candidate sent by mail) has been used as the constant in this modelling by the computer.

* Predicted probability is of membership for rural (see table 4.53 and figure 4.4).

Table 4.51: **Logit modelling output for communications techniques for local elections.**

Observed values			Predicted values		
			Urban U	Rural R	Percent Correct
	Urban	U	261	119	68.68%
	Rural	R	44	326	88.11%

Overall = 78.27%

Table 4.52   **Classification table for predicted and observed values for campaign media for rural and urban Local Governments**

```
Frequency
  160 ┤                              R                        ┬
      │                              R
      │                              R
  120 ┤                              R                        ┼
      │                              R
      │                              R
      │                              R
   80 ┤                              R                        ┼
      │  R                           R
      │  U                           U                   R
      │  U                           U                   R
   40 ┤  U                           U                   R
      │  U  U         U              U              R    R    ┼
      │  U  U  U      UR             U  RR          R    R
      │  UUU  U       UUU            U  RR      U   R    RR
      │  UUURURU   UUUU          URUURR URU RR RR RR
      └─────────┬─────────┬─────────┬─────────┬─────────
      0        0.25      0.5       0.75      1.00
```

Predicted probability observed groups

     * U = Urban; R = Rural.   Each symbol represents 10 cases
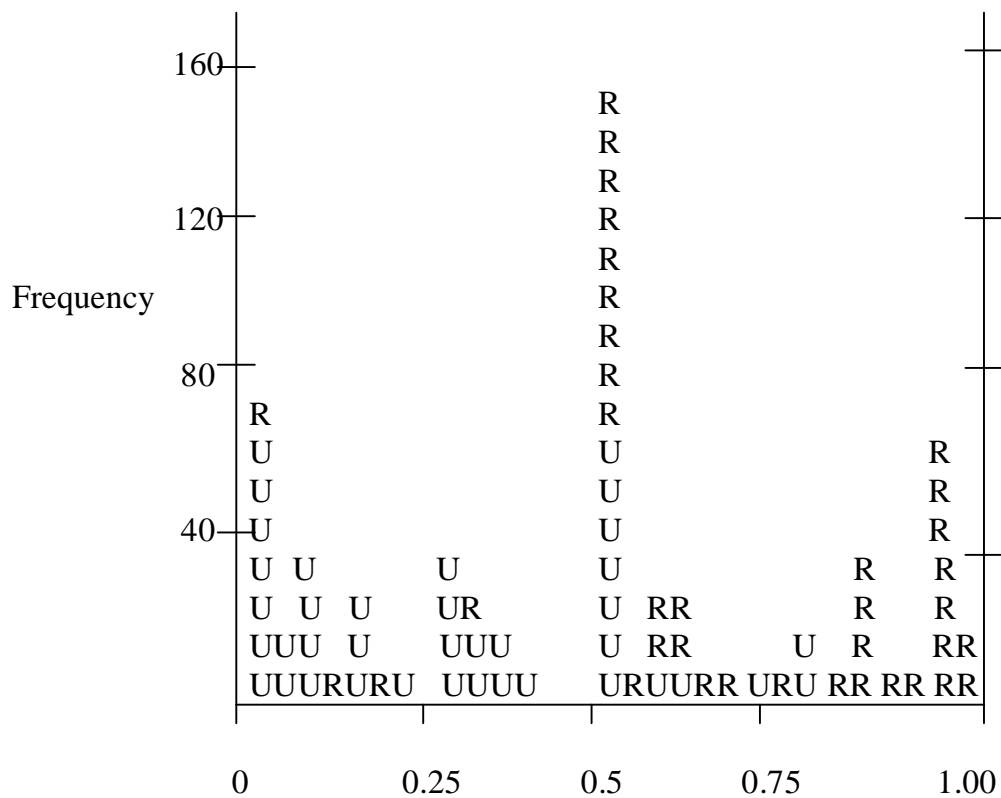
Figure 4.3:   **Observed groups and predicted probabilities of the logit model for campaign media for rural and urban local governments**

Observed values			Predicted values		
			Urban U	Rural R	Percent Correct
	Urban	U	260	120	68.42%
	Rural	R	106	264	71.35%

Overall = 69.87%

Table 4.53   **Classification table for predicted and observed values for communications techniques for rural and urban Local Governments**
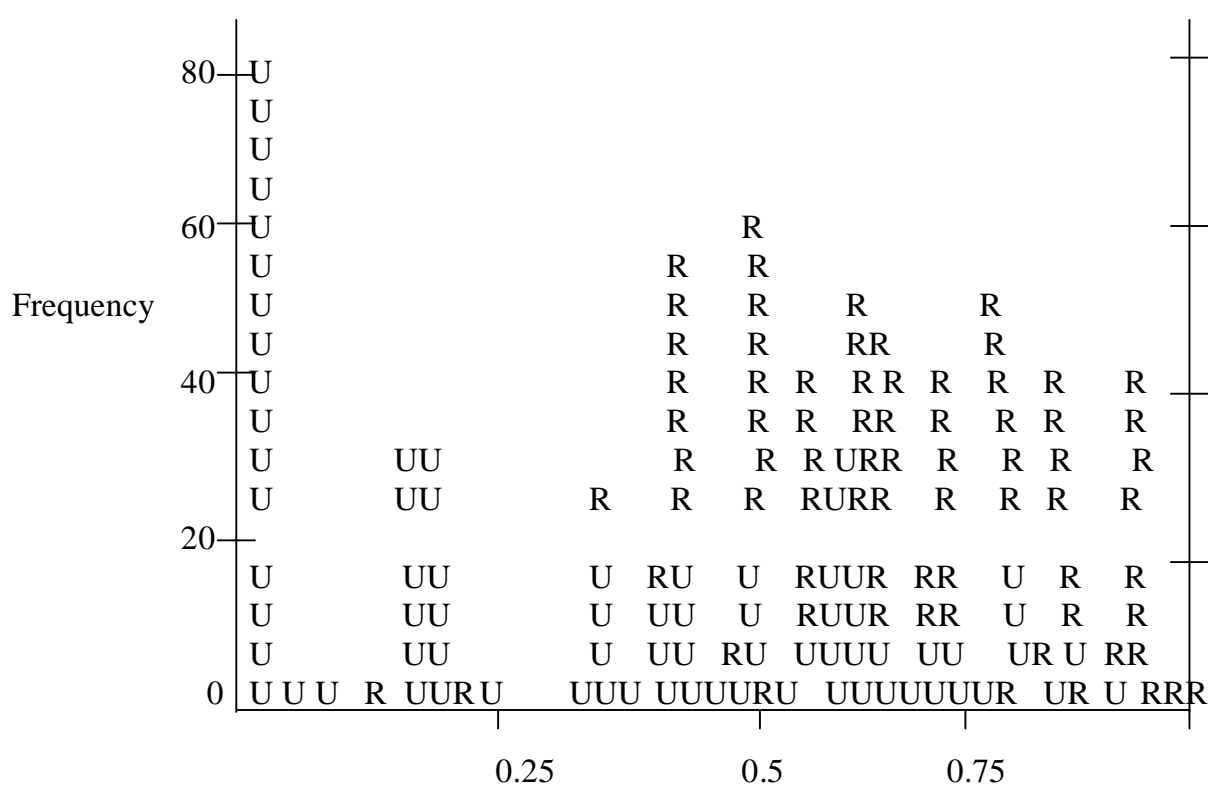
Predicted probabilities and observed groups

U = Urban; R = Rural. Each symbol represents 5 cases.

Figure 4.4:   Observed groups and predicted probabilities of the logit model for communications techniques for rural and urban local governments

The predicted probabilities in table 4.53 and Figure 4.4 above are in favour of Rural Local Governments.

4.1.7 **ANALYSING RESEARCH QUESTION VII:**

Research question vii: Will time and energy be saved when the important marketing communications factors are identified for emphasis?

Research question vii has been addressed using importance-performance analysis of means. Using measure of central tendency of mean, level of importance of communications factors as perceived by voters have been compared with the level of use of communications techniques by Local Government chairmanship candidates. Both the importance levels (of range, very important to Not at all) and performance levels (of range, very often to not at all) have been respnded to by interviewers on a score of 5 to 1 where 5 stands for very often   and 1 stands for not at all.

This importance – performance analyses was done using a two-dimensional and four quadrant geometrical configuration. Aggregate measures of performance (Y-axis) were then plotted against their correspnding aggregate importance measures (X-axis). The intersection of the two axes at their mid-points resulted in a four-quadrant space. The plotting of the aggregate measures mentioned above generated different coordinates belonging to each pair of performance – importance aggregate measures for each factor. The key to understanding this analysis is as follows:

(i) Coordinates with high importance and high performance aggregate measures depict areas in which candidates or political parties are doing well and should not be allowed to diminish;

(ii) Coordinates with high importance and low performance aggregate measures depict areas which candidates or political parties need to improve upon;

(iii) Coordinates with low importance and high performance aggregate measures depict areas of possible over-kill. Candidates and political parties should de-emphasize investment of financial and human resources in these areas of over-kill as continuous investment of resources will lead to more time and energy wastage;

(iv) Coordinates with low importance and low performance aggregate measures show low priority areas that candidates and political parties should pay lesser attention to.

Variable no.	Variable / characteristic name	Importance mean X_1	Performance mean Y_1
Var78V/Var48A	Party symbol or logo	4.27	4.81
Var79V/Var49B	Party motto	3.95	4.63
Var80V/Var50C	Party manifesto and programme	4.43	4.81
Var81V/Var51D	Party identity	2.75	5.00
Var82V/Var52E	Active participation of supporters in campaign	2.84	3.37
Var83V/Var53F	Inducement with money & other items	1.91	1.00
Var84V/Var54G	Tribe	1.93	2.00
Var85V/Var55H	Candidate's friend or relation	1.63	1.94
Var86V/Var56I	Religion	2.13	1.19
Var87V/Var57J	Gender (sex)	1.84	1.38
Var88V/Var58K	Professional or business colleagues	2.18	1.81
Var89V/Var59L	Advert or publicity on radio	3.20	2.00
Var90V/Var60M	Advert or publicity on television	3.44	2.00
Var91V/Var61N	Advert or publicity in newspaper	2.99	1.00
Var92V/Var62O	Advert or publicity in magazine	2.74	1.00
Var93V/Var63P	Advert on bill boards	3.19	4.19
Var94V/Var64Q	Face caps, vests, diaries, stickers etc.	2.92	1.94
Var95V/Var65R	Party rallies	3.82	4.81
Var96V/Var66S	Activities of opinion leaders	3.89	4.81
Var97V/Var67T	Image commercials	3.50	1.94
Var98V/Var68U	Issue commercials	3.53	2.31
Var99V/Var69V	Candidate's personal appearance	3.55	4.56
Var100V/Var70W	Time and day of the week for campaign	3.24	2.19
Var101V/Var71X	Candidate's voice/speeches	3.26	4.19
Var102V/Var72Y	Phone calls selling candidature	1.71	1.00
Var103V/Var73Z	Direct mail of candidate's posters/leaflets	1.65	1.00
Var104V/Var74A1	Inserts in newspaper/magazine	2.30	1.19
Var105V/Var75A2	Candidate's posters displayed during during campaign	3.69	4.19
Var106V/Var76A3	Posters displayed at poll booth	2.27	5.00
Var107V/Var77A4	Door to door canvassing	3.55	3.55

Var108V/Var78A5	Promises made by candidate	3.48	2.31
Var109V/Var79A6	Event sponsorship	2.33	2.00
Var110V/Var80A7	Donations made at some event by candidate	2.76	1.75
Var111V/Var81A8	Personal contact with voters	3.49	4.25
Var112V/Var82A9	Political debates	3.84	3.31
Var113V/Var83B1	Statements made to local press	2.94	1.37
Var114V/Var84B2	Fund raising ceremonies for candidate	2.15	1.19
Var115V/Var85B3	Getting supporters to polls to vote on election day	3.39	4.63
Var116V/Var86B4	Mobile campaign on motor cade	1.34	4.19

* In the variable labelling for this exercise, V = Questions on voters

and labels A to B4 represent questions on candidate

Table 4.54: **Importance-performance means for voter/candidate communications factors for local elections**

Figure 4.5: **Importance/performance analysis of voter/candidate communications characteristics for local elections**.
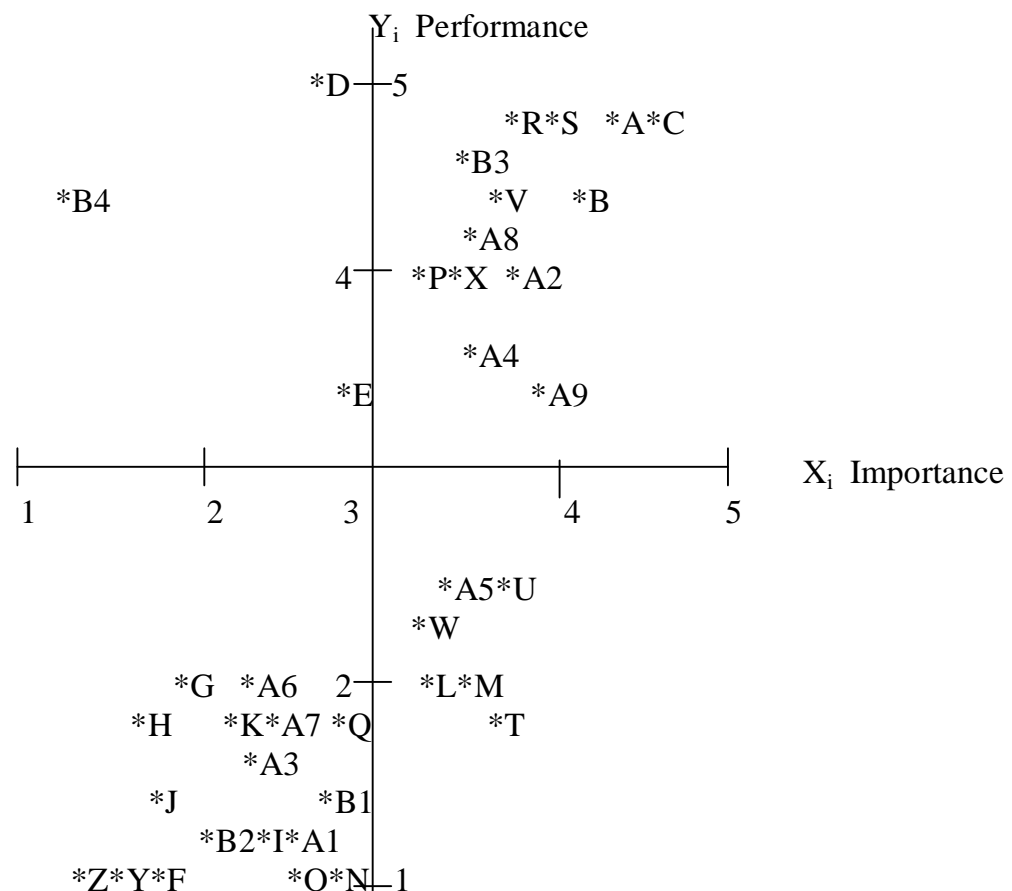
4.1.8: **ANALYSING RESEARCH QUESTION VIII:**

Research Question viii: How reliable is the marketing communications strategy model developed in this study when applied to future local electioneering campaigns?

Research question viii has been analysed using validation and reliability tests.

According to Eboh (1998: 178), reliability refers to the extent to which a measuring instrument produces data that differ from observation to observation during any one measuring instance or that varies from time to time for a given unit of analysis measured twice or more by the same instrument. Reliability can then be defined as the ratio of true-score variance to observed-score variance, that is:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{\sigma_t^2}{\sigma_x^2} = \frac{\sigma_x^2 - \sigma_e^2}{\sigma_x^2}$$

where $\quad \sigma_x^2 = \quad$ Variance of observed scores

$\sigma_t^2 = \quad$ Variance of true scores

$\sigma_e^2 = \quad$ Variance of errors

when there is no variable error at all $\quad \delta_e^2 = 0$ and

reliability ratio=1.

According to Mendenhall and Reinmuth (1982: 545), it is often important to assess a model's productive performance before releasing it for use in the real world.

A number of different model validation techniques have been proposed (Aigbiremolan, 1989: 213).

These include the following:

(i)   Examining the predicted values

(ii)   Examining the estimated model

(iii)   Collecting new data for prediction, and

(iv)   Data-splitting (that is, cross validation).

Of the techniques mentioned above, the first and the second were adopted in this study and after examination of predicted values and estimated model parameters, the logit models and factor analytical solutions were tested against the December 5, 1998 local council elections and the February, 1999 Presidential Elections.

Political parties	Research results of party's effective communication rating (from table 4.14)	Election scores, type and date	
		Local Govt. Dec. 5, 1998 (from table 2.2)	Presidential February 1999 (from table 2.4)
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Alliance for Democracy	21. 73%	13.18%	)
All People's Party	19.20%	24.81%	) 37.22%
Peoples' Democratic Party	59.07%	60.72	62.78%
Others	0.00%	1.29%	0.00%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Table 4.55: **Reliability analysis of research results with actual election results of December 5, 1998 local elections and February 1999 presidential elections.**

The election results displayed in table 4.55 are in clear conformity with results obtained in this study in respect of effective communications strategy of the political parties (see table 4.14). The results of the communications rating of parties by voters reflect the outcome of the model validation carried out below.

To further validate the models developed in this study, the two composite models have been subjected to practical application using the guidelines outlined in chapter 4.3 and the results reflected a yes (vote) situation for the models.

Validation of models: For local council elections media model – Peter 1

$Y_i = 0.05 - 0.794Tv + 4.802Ma - 2.598Ne + 0.493Bb - 2.523Ps + 1.313Hh +$

$$0.615Cv + 0.366Pr + 1.755Rm + 1.000 \ldots \ldots \text{Peter 1}$$

(all other endogenous and exogenous campaign variables remaining constant).

Where:

Tv	=	Television
Ma	=	Magazine
Ne	=	Newspaper
Bb	=	Billboards
Ps	=	Posters
Hh	=	House to house
Cv	=	Candidate's contact with voters
Pr	=	Political rally
Rm	=	Oramedia

The weights for each media variable in the model (Peter 1) were obtained from the means of influence by media in table 4.42 by finding the actual mean of each media (from table) by the total of means of media appearing in the model and multiplying by 100 to get a percentage (weight). The total percentages of media in the model add up to 100.

Total means of media appearing in model   =

Σ Tv + Ma + Ne + Bb + Ps + Hh + Cv + Pr + Rm

=   0.355 + 0.012 + 0.057 + 0.725 + 0.867 + 0.635 + 0.317 +

0.697 + 0.211

=   3.876
      ====

Then percentages or weights were obtained thus:

$$\text{Tv} = \frac{0.355}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 9.2\%$$

$$\text{Ma} = \frac{0.012}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 0.3\%$$

$$\text{Ne} = \frac{0.057}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 1.5\%$$

$$\text{Bb} = \frac{0.725}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 18.7\%$$

$$\text{Ps} = \frac{0.867}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 22.3\%$$

$$\text{Hh} = \frac{0.635}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 16.4\%$$

$$\text{Cv} = \frac{0.317}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 8.2\%$$

$$\text{Pr} = \frac{0.697}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 18.0\%$$

$$\text{Rm} = \frac{0.211}{3.876} \times \frac{100}{1} = 5.4\%$$

Total percentage = 100%

Total weight = 1
===

now:

y_i = 0.05 – (0.79 x 9.2%) + (4.802 x 0.3%) - (2.598 x 1.5%) + (0.493 x 18.7%) - (2.523 x 22.3%) + (1.313 x 16.4%) + (0.115 x 8.2%) + (0.366 x 18%) + (1.755 x 5.4%) + 1.000

= 0.05 – (0.79 x 0.092) + (4.802 x 0.003) - (2.598 x 0.015) + (0.493 x 0.187) - (2.523 x 0.223) + (1.313 x 0.164) + (0.615 x 0.082) + (0.366 x 0.18) + (1.755 x 0.054) + 1.000

$$= \quad 0.05 - 0.073 + 0.014 - 0.039 + 0.092 - 0.563 + 0.215 +$$

$$0.05 + 0.066 + 0.095 + 1.000$$

$$= \quad 0.907$$

$$\simeq \quad 1 \quad = \quad \text{Yes vote situation}$$

For the local council elections communications tools model - Peter 2

y_i = 0.05 + 2.729Im - 1.819Is + 0.659Ca + 0.997Cs - 3.890Pc + 0.869Pb - 2.228Pm - 1.578Es + 3.013Dc + 1.703P_L + 1.300Fc + 1.460Sp + 1.346 . . . . . . Peter 2
(all other endogenous and exogenous campaign variables remaining constant)

where:

Im	=	Image commercials
Is	=	Issue commercials
Ca	=	Candidate's personal appearance
Cs	=	Candidate's voice/speeches
Pc	=	Posters displayed during campaign
Pb	=	Posters displayed at polling booth
Pm	=	Promises made by candidate during campaigns
Es	=	Event sponsorship
Dc	=	Donations made by candidate at some event
P_L	=	Activities of opinion leaders
Fc	=	Face caps, vests, stickers etc.
Sp	=	Statements made to local press.

The weight for each communications tool in the model (Peter 2) was obtained from the means of voter influence by communications tools in table 4.34 by dividing the actual mean of each tool (from table) by the total of means of tools appearing in the model and multiplying by 1000 to get a percentage (weight). The percentages of tools in the model add up to 100.

Total means of tools appearing in model =

Σ Im + Is + Ca + Cs + Pc + Pb + Pm + Es + Dc + P_L + Fc + Sp

$$= \quad 0.435 + 0.624 + 0.553 + 0.467 + 0.90 + 0.281 + 0.408 + 0.088$$
$$+ \ 0.163 + 0.781 + 0.245 + 0.225 \quad = \quad 5.17$$
$$====$$

Then percentages or weights were obtained thus:

$$Im \quad = \quad \frac{0.435}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 8.4\%$$

$$Is \quad = \quad \frac{0.624}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 12.1\%$$

$$Ca \quad = \quad \frac{0.553}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 10.7\%$$

$$Cs \quad = \quad \frac{0.467}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 9.0\%$$

$$Pc \quad = \quad \frac{0.90}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 17.4\%$$

$$Pb \quad = \quad \frac{0.281}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 5.4\%$$

$$Pm \quad = \quad \frac{0.408}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 7.9\%$$

$$Es \quad = \quad \frac{0.088}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 1.7\%$$

$$Dc \quad = \quad \frac{0.163}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 3.2\%$$

$$P_L \quad = \quad \frac{0.781}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 15.1\%$$

$$Fc \quad = \quad \frac{0.245}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 4.7\%$$

$$Sp \quad = \quad \frac{0.225}{5.17} \ x \ \frac{100}{1} \qquad = \quad 4.4\%$$

$$\text{Total percentage} = 100\%$$
$$\text{Total weight} = 1$$
$$====$$

Now, $y_i = 0.05 + (2.729 \times 8.4\%) - (1.819 \times 12.1\%) + (0.659 \times 10.7\%) +$

$(0.997 \times 9\%) - (3.890 \times 17.4\%) + (0.869 \times 5.4\%) - (2.228 \times 7.9\%) -$

$(1.578 \times 1.7\%) + (3.013 \times 3.2\%) + (1.703 \times 15.1\%) + (1.300 \times 4.7\%)$

$+ (1.460 \times 4.4\%) + 1.346$

$= 0.05 + (2.729 \times 0.084) - (1.819 \times 0.121) + (0.659 \times 0.107) + (0.997 \times$

$0.09) - (3.890 \times 0.174) + (0.869 \times 0.054) - (2.228 \times 0.079) - (1.578 \times$

$0.017) + (3.013 \times 0.032) + (1.703 \times 0.151) + (1.300 \times 0.047) +$

$(1.460 \times 0.044) + 1.346$

$= 0.05 + 0.229 - 0.220 + 0.071 + 0.090 + 0.677 + 0.047 - 0.176 -$
$0.027 + 0.096 + 0.257 + 0.061 + 0.064 + 1.346$

$= 1.211$

$\cong 1 = $ Yes vote situation
$==$

Should the solution to the model approximately equal zero (0) or fall into a region below zero, then it results in a no vote situation. Such circumstance would imply that the media and communications tools would not positively influence the voters for them to make a vote choice for that particular party or candidate. But a yes vote situation results if y_i (the dependent variable) equals one (1) or approximately equals one and does not fall below 0.5. In that circumstance, the media and/or communications tools would positively influence voters for them to make a vote choice for that particular party or candidate.

The two models have therefore, been validated because, Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) rated as the best party in terms of effective communications by voters (56.80%) won the Dec. 1998 Local Government elections (60.72%) of chairmanship seats and 1999 Presidential elections by 62.78 percent of total votes cast and these conform with

the reliability guides reported by Eboh (1998: 178) and Mendenhall and Reinmuth (1982: 545).

4.2 **TESTS OF HYPOTHESES:**

Statistical tests are done because the fact that one estimate is larger than the other does not imply that there is surely a difference. According to Eboh (1998: 115) "perhaps the difference could have occurred by chance, given the sampling error". This is because, according to Eboh "two estimates which are different could have confidence intervals that overlap, indicating that there is a probability under which the population values could in fact be equal; the significance test will tell us the probability that the difference between two estimates could have occurred by chance".

The steps for testing hypotheses are:

Step 1: Formulate the null and alternative hypotheses,

$$H_o: \quad \mu = \mu_o, \quad H_a: \mu \neq \mu_o$$

Or $$H_0: \quad \mu_1 = \mu_2; \quad H_a: \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$$

$$H_o: \quad \mu_1 - \mu_2 = 0; \quad H_a: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$$

$$H_0: \quad \mu = \mu_0; \quad H_a: \mu > \mu_0 \text{ or } H_a: \mu < \mu_0$$

Step 2: State the level of significance, $\alpha = 0.05$ or

$\alpha = 0.01$, as the case may be.

Step 3: State the critical values, for example, $Z_{\alpha/2}$ corresponding to the given level of significance.

Step 4: Draw a random sample from a normal population with variance σ^2 and compute the sample statistic $\overline{X}$.

Step 5 Compute the test statistics for example, $Z = \dfrac{\overline{X} - \mu}{\sigma/\sqrt{n}}$

where σ is unknown and n is large, the sample standard deviation S, can be used to approximate σ.

Step 6:   Compare the value of the test statistics, Z obtained in step 5 with the critical value in step 3.

Step 7:   Take a decision as follows:

Reject H_0 if $Z \geq Z_{\alpha/2}$

Or if $Z \leq - Z_{\alpha}/2$

Otherwise, accept H_0.

Hypotheses I to III will be tested using this procedure.

4.2.1 TESTING HYPOTHESES I:

(a) H_0:   Voting behaviour is not dependent of the consideration of a significant number of marketing communications factors.

H_a: Voting behaviour is dependent on the consideration of a significant number of marketing communications factors.

Thus, H_o: $\mu_o = \mu_1$

H_a: $\mu_o \neq \mu_1$

(b)   The level of significance, α chosen for this study is 5% or 0.05

(c)   The critical values of chi-square at $\alpha = 0.05$ are:

(i)   19.68 at 11 degree of freedom

and   (ii)   36.42 at 24 degree of freedom.

(d)   A random sample of 750 registered voters was drawn from a normal population of registered voters, and subjected to factor analysis (tables 4.59 and 4.66) and logit model of regression analysis (tables 4.61 and 4.62).

(e)   Test statistics, $$\chi^2 = \frac{\sum (X_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{\sum e_{ij}}$$

The model chi-square was computer determined in the logit model analysis.

Where X_{ij} =   observed frequency in the i . . .jth cell

e_{ij} =   the expected frequency in the i . . . jth cell

χ^2 =   value of the random variance distribution whose sampling distribution is approximately close to the chi-square distribution.

The curve is given by

$$\chi^2$$

Model chisquare for campaign media   = 329.992
Degree of Freedom =   11
(From table 4.50)

Model chisquare for communications tools   = 287.047
Degree of Freedom = 24
(From table 4.51)

(f)   Comparison of calculated χ with critical value:
329.992   >   19.68   (for campaign media)
287.047   >   36.42   (for communications tools)

The significant campaign media at 5% level of significance are television (negative), magazine, newspaper (nagative), Bill board, posters (negative), House to House, candidate contact with voters, political rallies and oramedia. While the significant communications techniques are image commercials,issue commercials(negative), candidate's personal appearance, candidate's voice/speeches, posters displayed during campaigns (negative), posters displayed at polling booth, promises made by candidate (negative), event sponsorship (negative), donations made by candidate, activities of opinion leaders, face caps, vests, stickers, statement made to local press (see tables 4.50 and 4.51)
.

Decision Rule:

Since $\chi^2_{0.05\,cal} > \chi^2_{0.05}$ table for both campaign media and communications techniques, we, therefore, reject the null hypothesis, and conclude that voting behaviour is dependent on the consideration of a significant number of marketing communications factors, meaning that $\mu_0 \neq \mu_1$

4.2.2 **TESTING HYPOTHESES II:**

(a) H_0: There is no significant relationship between voters' socio-economic characteristics and their perception of the importance of marketing communications factors.

  Ha: There is significancant relationship between voters' socio-economic characteristics and their perception of the importance of marketing communications factors.

  Thus, H_o: $\mu_o = \mu_1$

  H_a: $\mu_o \neq \mu_1$

(b) The level of significance, $\alpha = 0.05$ or 5%

(c) Critical values $Z_{\alpha/2} = \pm\ 1.96$

  for a two-tailed test.

(d) Sample size, n $= 750$

Hence, standard error

$$\sigma_r = \frac{1}{\sqrt{n-1}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{750-1}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{749}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{27.37}} = 0.0725$$

(e) Computation: $Z_{\alpha/2}\ \sigma_r = +\ 1.96\ (0.0725) = 0.1421$

  $-\ Z_{\alpha/2}\ \sigma_r = -1.96\ (0.0725) = -0.1421$

0.025   0.025

Acceptance

Region

- 1.96 - $Z_{\alpha/2}$ $Z_{\alpha/2}$ + 1.96
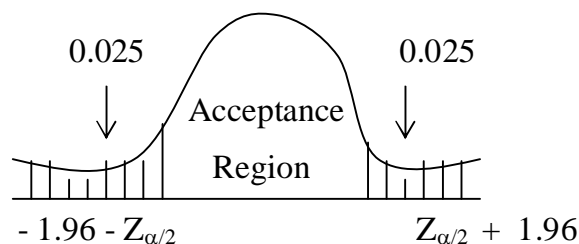
(f)   Compare partial correlation coefficients, r (in tables 4.45 to 4.47) with

$Z_{\alpha/2}$ σ_r at 0.05 or 5% level of significance.

Partial correlation coefficients are shown below along with the significance level
P<0.05 (culled from tables 4.45 to 4.47).

For Campaign Media:

(i)   Age versus radio: 0.1716 > 0.1421

(ii)   Age versus newspaper: - 0.1066 < - 0.1421

Taking sex:

(i)   Sex versus television: 0.1621 > 0.1421

(ii)   Sex versus newspaper: 0.2044 > 0.1421

(iii)   Sex versus posters: - 0.1240 < - 0.1421

(iv)   Sex versus opinion leaders: 0.2035 > 0.1421

(v)   Sex versus candidate's contact with voters:- 0.1054 < - 0.1421

(vi)   Sex versus political rally: 0.1653 > 0.1421

Taking marital status:

(i)   Marital status versus radio: 0.2993 > 0.1421

(ii)   Marital status versus television: 0.1674 > 0.1421

(iii)   Marital status versus posters: 0.1678 > 0.1421

(iv)   Marital status versus political rally: 0.2404 > 0.1421

Taking occupation:

(i)   Occupation versus television   - 0.0947 < - 0.1421

(ii)   Occupation versus newspaper: - 0 .0758 < - 0.1421

(iii)   Occupation versus posters: - 0.1086 < - 0.1421

(iv)   Occupation versus candidate's contact with voters:- 0.1403 < - 0.1421

(v)   Occupation versus political rally: - 0.1041 < - 0.1421

For income:

(i)   Income versus opinion leaders: 0.1433 > 0.1421

(ii)   Income versus contact with candidate: 0.2958 > 0.1421

For education:

(i)   Education versus television: 0.2226 > 0.1421

(ii)   Education versus bill boards: - 0.0933 < - 0.1421

(iii)   Education versus posters: - 0.1383 < - 0.1421

For communication techniques:

Taking age:

(i)   Age versus inserts in newspaper/magazines: -0.1172 < - 0.1421

(ii)   Age versus door to door canvassing: 0.1641 > 0.1421

(iii)   Age versus personal candidate's contact with voters:0.2931 > 0.1421

(iv)   Age versus face caps, vests, stickers: 0.1874 > 0.1421

(v)   Age versus statement made to local press: 0.2463 > 0.1421

Taking sex:

(i)   Sex versus candidate's personal appearance: 0.3297 > 0.1421

(ii)   Sex versus candidate's voice/speeches: 0.3297 > 0.1421

(iii)   Sex versus inserts in newspaper/magazines: 0.1909 > 0.1421

(iv)   Sex versus advertisements on bill boards: 0.2254 > 0.1421

(v)   Sex versus door to door canvassing: 0.3374 > 0.1421

(vi)   Sex versus donations made by candidate:0.1809 > 0.1421

(vii)   Sex versus activities of opinion leaders: 0.02386 > 0.1421

Taking marital status:

(i)   Marital status versus image commercials:0.2359 > 0.1421

(ii)   Marital status versus issue commercials: 0.2566 > 0.1421

(iii)   Marital status versus personality of candidate: 0.2075 > 0.1421

(iv)   Marital status versus posters displayed during campaigns: 0.3263>0.1421

(v)   Marital status versus door to door canvassing: $0.2384 > 0.1421$

(vi)   Marital status versus news reports and editorials/commentaries:

$0.2449 > 0.1421$

(vii)   Marital status versus donations made by candidate : $-0.1334 < -0.1421$

(viii)   Marital status versus candidate's contact with voters: $0.3182 > 0.1421$

(ix)   Marital status versus face caps, vests, stickers: $-0.1008 < -0.1421$

(x)   Marital status versus statement made to local press: $0.1541 > 0.1421$

(xi)   Marital status versus getting supporters to poll:- $0.1237 < -0.1421$

For occupation:

(i)   Occupation versus candidate's voice/speech: $-0.0765 < -0.1421$

(ii)   Occupation versus advertisement on billboards: $-0.0759 < -0.1421$

(iii)   Occupation versus promise made at political rallies: $0.2171 > 0.1421$

(iv)   Occupation versus event sponsorship: $0.1530 > 0.1421$

(v)   Occupation versus candidate's contadt with voters: $0.2007 > 0.1421$

(vi)   Occupation versus political debates: $-0.0985 < -0.1421$

(vii)   Occupation versus statement made to local press: $0.2065 > 0.1421$

(viii)   Occupation versus fund raising for campaign: $0.1446 > 0.1421$

(ix)   Occupation versus getting supporters to poll :- $0.0994 < -0.1421$

(x)   Occupation versus mobile campaign on motor cade: $0.2160 > 0.1421$

For Income:

(i)   Income versus issue commercials: $0.1494 > 0.1421$

(ii)   Income versus inserts in newspaper/magazines: $-0.1411 < -0.1421$

(iii)   Income versus political rallies: $-0.1128 < -0.1421$

(iv)   Income versus news reports and editorials/comment.: $0.2054 > 0.1421$

(v)   Income versus activities of opinion leaders: $0.3061 > 0.1421$

(vi)   Income versus candidate's contact with voters: $0.2350 > 0.1421$

(vii)   Income versus political debates: $0.3007 > 0.1421$

(viii)   Income versus statement made local press: $0.2724 > 0.1421$

(ix)   Income versus mobile campaign on motorcade: - 0.1127 < - 0.1421

Taking education:

(i)   Education versus image commercials: - 0.0769 < - 0.1421

(ii)   Education versus personality of candidate: - 0.0887 < - 0.1421

(iii)   Education versus inserts in newspaper/magazines: 0.2350 > 0.1421

(iv)   Education versus posters displayed during campaign: -0.1360<-0.1421

(v)   Education versus door to door canvassing: - 0.0810 < - 0.1421

(vi)   Education versus news reports and editorials/comment.: 0.1599> 0.1421

(vii)   Education versus activities of opinion leaders: - 0.1275 < - 0.1421

(viii)   Education versus political debates: 0.2113 > 0.1421

(ix)   Education versus getting supporters to poll: - 0.0955 < -0.1421

For other marketing communications strategy elements:

Taking age:

(i)   Age versus time of day for campaign: 0.1732 > 0.1421

Taking sex:

No significant relationship between sex and other marketing communications strategy elements.

Taking marital status:

No significant relationship between marital status and other marketing communications strategy elements.

Taking occupation:

(i)   Occupation versus time of day for campaign: 0.2453 > 0.1421

(ii)   Occupation versus day of the week for campaign: 0.3672 > 0.1421

For income:

(i) Income versus time of the day for campaign: $0.1911 > 0.1421$

Taking education:

(i) Education versus time of the day for campaign: $-0.1239 < -0.1421$

(g) Decision Rule:

Since $r > Z_{\alpha/2}\sigma_r$ or $r < -Z_{\alpha/2}\sigma_r$ for most of the considerations (as specified in the comparison above) between voters' socio-economic characteristics and marketing communications media and techniques, and other marketing communications strategy elements, we reject the null hypothesis. We, therefore, conclude that there is significant relationship between voters' socio-economic characteristics and their perception of the importance of marketing communications factors. This means that:

$\mu_0 \neq \mu_1$

4.2.3 TESTING HYPOTHESES III:

(a) H_0: The characteristic influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour is not significantly different between rural and urban Local Governments of Nigeria.

Ha: The characteristic influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour is significantly different between rural and urban Local Governments of Nigeria.

Thus: H_o: $\mu_0 = \mu_1$

H_a: $\mu_0 \neq \mu_1$

(b) The level of significance, $\alpha = 0.05$ or 5%

(c) Critical values of F-distribution at

$\alpha = 0.05$ or 5% are

(i) $F = \dfrac{MS_B \text{ at 1 degree of freedom}}{MS_W \text{ at 738 degrees of freedom}} = 3.85$

(ii)   F   = $\dfrac{MS_B}{MS_W}$ at 1 degree of freedom   =   3.85

at 747 degrees of freedom

(d)   Sample size, n = 750

(e)   Computation of F – test at 5% level of significance:

For F-ratios for campaign media and communications techniques see tables 4.20 to 4.39.

(f)   Comparison of calculated **F** with critical values:

For campaign media:

(i)   Radio: 42.999 $>$ 3.85

(ii)   Television: 128.1259 $>$ 3.85

(iii)   Newspaper: 73.5318 $>$ 3.85

(iv)   Magazine: 35.8458 $>$ 3.85

(v)   Poster: 8.8135 $>$3.85

(vi)   Opinion leaders: 111.6883 $>$ 3.85

(vii)   Political rallies: 5.5855 $>$ 3.85

For communications techniques:

(i)   Advertising: 4.7022 $>$ 3.85

(ii)   Selling: 14.8192 $>$ 3.85

(iii)   Event sponsorship: 33.7383 $>$ 3.85

(iv)   Door to door canvassing: 6.8235 $>$ 3.85

(v)   Sales promotion: 27.7682 $>$ 3.85

(vi)   Point of voting display: 70.2834 $>$ 3.85

(g)   Decision rule:

Since F_{cal} $>$ F_{table} for most of the campaign media and communications techniques (as shown in the comparison above), we reject the null hypotheses,

H_o. And based on this premise, we conclude that the characteristic influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour is significantly different between rural and urban Local Governments of Nigeria.

4.3 <u>**DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION:**</u>

The results of this research offer some spectacular insight into the marketing communications strategies appropriate for local electioneering campaigns in Nigeria and the influence of these strategies on the local electorate. In this study, the influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour between the urban and rural voter segments of Nigeria was also examined.

Combining very often and often levels of media use, it was found that 100 percent (100%) of respondents (candidates) often used billbaords, house to house, posters, friends and relations, opinion leaders, candidate's contact with voters, and political rallies and meetings. While 81.25 percent (81.25%) was the figure obtained from often use of oramedia (traditional campaign media). Similarly, respondents (candidates) also showed often usage 100 percent of the time of party symbol or logo, party motto, party manifesto and programme, party identity, advert on billboard, party rally activities, opinion leadership activities, candidate's personal appearance, speech making, posters at poll during election, door to door canvassing, getting supporters to poll to vote on election day and mobile campaign on motorcade, while 65 percent was the figure obtained for posters displayed during campaigns and candidate's contact with voters.

Only 12.50% of respondents (candidates), in this study indicated the use of consultants during their electioneering campaigns and these were in urban Local Governments in Lagos and Delta states of Nigeria.

The percentage of party choice by voters obtained from respondents (registered voters) in the study were 23.20% for Alliance for Democracy (AD), 19.20% for All Peoples Party (APP), 0.80% for Movement for Democracy and Justice (MDJ), and 56.80% for Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP).

As a follow up, the study revealed that 91.33% of respondents (registered voters) made their choice of party/association for reason connected with party motto, philosophy and programme.

Interestingly, the study revealed from means obtained from the ranking by respondents (registered voters) that the best campaign media is the radio (with a mean score of 6.37 on a scale of 0 to 9), followed by posters (with a mean score of 5.72), while television came thrid (with a mean of 5.09)

These results conform to the findings of Sargeant (1999: 279). Sargeant stated that television lends a certain status to a campaign in that organisations that advertise on television are generally perceived as being more reliable and trustworthy than those that do not. Sargeant also found that "radio is a useful medium for reinforcing other forms of promotional activities because sound triggers can be used to aid recall of, for example, a television commercial, and that similarly, the element of persuasion is important in the marketing of ideas (0pcit. 270), hence door to door canvassing (personal selling) is vital. The findings of Okoroji (1998: 139) seem to lay credence to those of the other researchers. Okoroji found that 71.2 percent of respondents, in his study on the relationship between political advertising and voters behaviour in Nigeria's contemporary politics, obtained their political information through radio, television and newspaper advertisements and through campaign rallies.

Some other researches have equally obtained similar results. Edelstein (1974: 5) in his studies on media credibility and the believability of watergate found that "television provided the greatest breadth of perception and was the most preferred medium, newspapers provided the greatest breadth of content and the most time to think, while radio was the most available medium". While Murhpy (1979: 2) revealed that "among Nigerians who registered for the 1979 presidential elections, 30 percent cited radio as a major influence on their decision to vote, 23 percent cited councillors and 25% cited village associations; the remaining 22% was distributed among other factors that included friends, church sermons, newspapers, and intrinsic interest in politics". Likewise, Crewe (1981a: 272) found that in the 1979 election in Britain "3 percent of

voters said their vote choice was affected by party worker's influence and 2 percent said they were affected by seeing campaign posters".

In terms of the means obtained from voters ranking of communications techniques, door to door canvassing was ranked as the best tool for local electioneering campaigns (with a mean of 6.76 on a scale of 0 to 9), followed by packaging of candidate (with a mean of 6.11), while publicity came third (with a mean of 5.58). However, advertising and party identity ranked fourth and fith with means of 5.75 and 5.26 respectively.

These findings concur with those of Butler and Kavanagh (1988: 214 – 215) who found that "in the 1987 local elections in Britain, 92 percet of voters showed that they received election leaflets through the door, 49 percent that they had been canvassed, 46 percent that they had seen election advertisements on hoardings and 16 percent that they had been contacted on election day itself".

The study equally revealed that 86.53% of respondents (voters) showed that they were significantly influenced by marketing communications activities in their vote choice, while 59.07% significantly rated the People Democratic Party as the best in terms of effective communications followed by the Alliance for Democracy rated 21.73%. All Peoples Party was rated 19.20%. In terms of time of the day for campaign, 32.40% of respondents(registered voters) significantly indicated evening, 26.40% morning while 35.6% indicated any time of the day. For day of the week to hear campaign message, the study found that 28.67% of respondents indicated significant preference for saturday while 61.73% significantly preferred any day of the week at 5% level of significance.

Thse findings conform to the results obtained by Nimmo (1970: 122) "that valuable television exposure on evening news programmes was prefered by respondents (voters)". While Denver (1989: 93) found that in Britain, the period of campaign covers at least three weeks before polling day but is usually four weeks long, that it is only during the legally defined campaign period that various rules regulating candidate's spending, broadcasting and other campaign activities apply. He further reported in his

findings that this does not mean that political parties campaign only during this period; that to some extent, parties are campaigning all the time. And, certainly in the year before an election is due, parties engage in what is called recognisable campaign activity.

This study has found that the characteristic influence of the media of radio, television, newspapers, magazines, posters, opinion leaders and political rallies is significantly different among rural and urban Local Government segments of Nigeria. What this implies is that the influence of other campaign media is the same among the rural and urban segments as shown by the overlap analysis carried out on means at 5% level of significance. The interpretation of this is that the same strategies could be carried out in terms of billboards, candidate's contact with voters and house to house canvassing as campaign media. The very high score of F-ratio recorded for television, and opinion leaders are indicative of the high significant difference in the use of these two media for local electioneering campaigns among rural and urban segments. The use of television, it was revealed from the comparability of means requires more emphasis in the urban areas because its mean for the urban segment is considerably higher than that for the rural. While opinion leaders are a suitable campaign media for the rural voters because the mean for the rural segment is much higher than that for the urban. Similarly, it was revealed that the characteristic influence of the communications techniques of advertising, selling, event sponsorship, door to door canvassing, sales promotion and point of voting displays is significantly different among rural and urban Local Governments. The interpretation of this is that different strategies may be required in the use of these communications tools in the rural and urban segments. It, therefore, implies that the communications techniques of packaging of candidate, publicity, word of mouth, and party identity have the same pattern of influence among rural and urban voters; similar strategies may then be adopted for these techniques in both the rural and urban areas as reflected in the overlap analysis carried out on their means at 5% level of significance. The very high score of F-ratio recorded for selling is indicative of the high significant difference in the use of the technique during local electioneering campaigns

among rural and urban voters. Selling (otherwise called personal selling) requires more emphasis in the urban areas where voters are not homogenous in socio-cultural characteristics and thus the effort to communicate benefits accruable from choosing a particular candidate or political party will be higher than it would have in the rural areas. Obviously, the rural areas are made up of a people with homogenous thought patterns and socio-cultural features.

Also, it was found that voters' socio-economic characteristics of age, sex, marital status, occupation, income and education and their perception of the importance of marketing communications media show significant relationships.

Interestingly, age relates negatively with newspaper, meaning the older the voter, the lesser the perception of newspaper as influencing voting behaviour. But age relates positively. Sex (gender) equally relates negatively with posters and candidate's contact with voters. Occupation has no positive relationship with any media. It has negative relationship with television, Newspaper, posters, political rally and candidate's contact with voters.

Similarly, education has negative relationship with billboard and posters but positively relates with television; this implies that the more educated or literate the voter the higher the perception of importance of television as an influencing factor in voting behaviour. The opposite is the case for billboards and posters. Age relates negatively with the insertion of leaflets in newspapers/magazines. So does marital status with donations made by candidate, face caps, vests, stickers and getting supporters to polls to vote on election day (GOTV). The implication of all these is that single persons will more readily perceive donations by candidates, facecaps and so on, and GOTV as important. Equally, income relates negatively with political rallies. So do income with mobile campaign on motorcade, and education with image commercials, personality of candidate, posters displayed during campaigns, door to door canvassing, activities of opinion leaders, and GOTV.

Nimmo (1970:114) has reported similar findings in respect of the relationship of voters' socio-economic characteristics with their perception of campaign media and

communications tools. He reported that "so large is the viewing audience that exposure cuts across such sectors of the population as age groups, educational levels, and economic strata. Television viewing, according to Allen (1968: 529), is highest among persons with only a high school education; and with an annual income of $4 - $5000, and among the ghettos of black and impoverished Americans. While Nimmo (1970: 115) revealed that "level of education is positively correlated with the use of printed media and that this stems in part from the fact that the skills necessary to newspaper and magazine readership come through education". Surprisingly, a sample survey report by Greenberg (1966: 669) indicated that less educated persons are more likely to believe a television news story over a newspaper version, that younger persons accept television version as believable, while older respondents prefer newspaper accounts. The findings of Severin and Westly (1964: 334) also concur with those of this study. Their research results indicated that farmers are inclined to place high credibility on radio as an information source.

The findings suggest that instead of describing campaign media with as many as eleven variables, a smaller and more manageable number of dimensions of five factors can be used. The four factors obtained are house to house/rally (factor 1), broadcast media (factor 2), candidate's poster/opinion leaders (factor 3), print media (factor 4), and oramedia (factor 5). These five factors were found to account for 70 percent of the total variance in the data for describing campaign media. When the factors were transformed, the matrix that resulted showed a positive interaction of 61.4 percent between factors 2 (broadcast media) and 4 (print media). The implication of this is that the broadcast media could be combined with the print media 61.4 percent of the time. Similarly, the transformation revealed the existence of a positive interaction of 72.2 per cent between oramedia and print media. It could be interpreted that oramedia or local (traditional) form of communication media in Nigeria such as town criers, could be combined together with print media (newspapers and magazines) almost three quarters of the time during local electioneering campaigns particularly in the rural areas. The results obtained from the factor analysis of communications techniques suggest that of the

thirty-eight variables used in describing campaign communications and some other related attributes, only eleven, a more manageable number of dimensions, can be used. The eleven factors revealed by the study are gender and image/issue commercials (factor 1), advert and publicity in print media/sales promotion (factor 2), political rally/display (factor 3), direct-selling activties (factor 4), party identity (factor 5), religious activities/voter inducement (factor 6), political debate activities/mobile campaign factor (7). Others are campaign finance (factor 8), professional affiliation (factor 9), campaign schedulling/GOTV (factor 10), and personal selling/advert and publicity in television (factor 11).

The eleven factors capture about 86 percent of the total variance in the data that characterise communications tools and related variables. In an effort to facilitate interpretation, the factors were subjected to transformation; the transformation matrix revealed that there is a 60.2 percent positive relationship between factor 4 (direct selling activities) and factor 10 (campaign scheduling/GOTV). This could be interpreted that direct-selling activities, for instance telephone and direct mail, could be used jointly with campaign scheduling/get out supporters to vote tactics more than half of the time. This transformation exercise also yielded a 63.5 percent positive interaction between factors 10 (campaign schedulling/GOTV) and 11 (personal selling/advert and publicity in Television). The interpretation of this is that good personal selling efforts of the candidate/advert and publicity in television could be used jointly with campaign scvheduling/GOTV more than half of the time. The transformation similarly showed that a 65 percent positive interaction exists between factors 5 (party identity) and 11 (personal selling/advert and publicity in television. This might imply that party identity of supporters could likely be combined with personal selling efforts of candidate/advert and publicity in television by more than half of the time during campaigns. A critical look at the results of these factor transformations reveal that the five campaign media factors could, in fact, be further reduced to two media tactical combinations viz: broadcast/print media and oramedia/print media. While the eleven communications and related factors could be further decreased to three relationships or communications tools tactics inter alia: direct selling/GOTV, GOTV/personal selling, and party

identity/personal selling. These findings finally show, therefore, that for a good local electioneering campaign, only three campaign media factors are very relevant and consistent with the models developed in this study and these factors are:

    (a)   Broadcast media

    (b)   Print media

    (c)   Ora media

The results further suggest that only four campaign communications tools could be very relevant in local electioneering campaigns viz:

    (a)   Personal selling (by candidate, party workers and supporters)

    (b)   Direct selling

    (c)   Party identity

    (d)   GOTV

These are equally related to the models developed in this study. These findings are in accordance with similar studies carried out by Nimmo (1970), Rothschild (1979), Nwosu (1990), Sarwate (1990), and Rallings and Thrasher (1997).

One other interesting finding in this study is that the dimensions that characterise campaign management functions were reduced to only two factors by factor analysis. These two factors are planning and communicating/motivating; and organising/controlling.

The two factors account for 93.1 percent of the total variance of the data that characterise or describe campaign management functions. No considerable positive interaction was found between the two factors implying that they are both very important campaign management factors that stand on their own but must be used at all times for effective political campaigns. Okoroji (1998: 154) found in his studies that news commentaries influenced voting behaviour by 9.4%, voters' relationship with party candidate 22.8%, and membership to party 19.9%. Okoroji also reported that adverts and campaigns influenced voting behaviour by 36.9% while candidate's religion had 7.1% influence.

To investigate the null hypothesis that voting behaviour is not dependent of the consideration of a number of significant marketing communications factors, logarithmic multiple regression was carried out. The logit modelling analysis revealed nine significant campaign media and twelve significant communications tools that may be used in local electioneering campaigns. These are:

    (a)   <u>Campaign Media:</u>

    (i)   Television   (negative regression)

    (ii)   Magazine

    (iii)   Newspaper   (negative regression)

    (iv)   Billboards

    (v)   Posters   (negative regression)

    (vi)   House to house

    (vii)   Candidate's contact with voters

    (viii)   Political rallies

    (ix)   Oramedia.

    (b)   <u>Communications tools:</u>

    (i)   Image commercials

    (ii)   Issue commercials   (negative regression)

    (iii)   Candidate's personal appearance

    (iv)   Candidate's voice/speeches

    (v)   Posters displayed during campaign (negative regression)

    (vi)   Posters displayed at polling booth

    (vii)   Promises made by candidate (negative regression)

    (viii)   Event sponsorship (negative regression)

    (ix)   Donations made by candidate at some event

    (x)   Activities of opinion leaders

    (xi)   Face caps, vests and stickers

    (xii)   Statement made to local press

Consequently, logit modelling using maximum likelihood estimation was carried out to yield nine campaign media models (see table 4.50) and twelve communications tools models (see table 4.51). However, an analysis of means of the performance of local election candidates in campaign media and communications tools/means of importance attached by voters to the same characteristics was further examined using a two-dimensional and four quadrant geometrical configuration. And results were displayed on graph of performance on the Y-axis and importance on the X-axis.

The coordinate measures obtained in that analysis may provide a guide for use of the models developed in this study, as that may offer time and energy savings during local electioneering campaigns.

In none of the models was the regression (y) equal to zero (don't vote). They all produced positive voting behaviour situations.

The results obtained, nevertheless, seem to agree with the practice of Government or political hierarchy. In Nigeria, as in the developed countries, the Local Government is the third-tier of government that serves the needs of the "grassroot" (the local people). Hence, with the comparability of means between rural and urban segments obtained in this study, the guide provided by the importance/performance analysis, and means of the influence of media and communications tools, the models may be ready instruments for use during local electioneering campaigns.

From the nine campaign media models, one composite model of campaign media has been developed and another composite model of communications tool obtained from the elevent models of communications techniques using the simplified logistic probability formula.

$$y_i = \log\left[\frac{P}{1 - P}\right] = \alpha + \beta_{xi} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_{2\ +} + \beta_3 X_3 + \ldots + \beta_n X_n + E$$

The simplification yielded the following results:

Model of campaign media for local council elections

$y_i = 0.050 - 0.794 T_V + 4.802 M_a - 2.598\ N_e + 0.493 B_b - 2.523 P_s + 1.313 H_h +$

$0.615C_V + 0.366P_r + 1.755R_M + 1.000 \ldots$ Peter 1

(all other endogenous and exogenous variables remaining constant).

where y_i	=	voting behaviour (vote, yes = 1, Don't vote, No = 0)
T_V	=	Television
Ma	=	Magazine
Ne	=	Newspaper
Bb	=	Billboard
Ps	=	Posters
Hh	=	House to house
Cv	=	Candidate's contact with voters
Pr	=	Political rallies
Rm	=	Oramedia

Model of campaign communications tools for local council elections

y_I = $0.05 + 2.729Im - 1.819Is + 0.659Ca + 0.997Cs - 3.890Pc + 0.860Pb - 2.228Pm - 1.578Es + 3.013Dc + 1.703P_L + 1.300Fc + 1.460Sp + 1.346 \ldots$ Peter 2.

(all other endogenous and exogenous variables remaining constant).

where:	Im	=	Image commercials
	Is	=	Issue commercials
	Ca	=	Candidate's personal appearance
	Cs	=	Candidate's voice/speeches
	Pc	=	Posters displayed during campaigns
	Pb	=	Posters displayed at polling booth
	Pm	=	Promises made by candidate during campaign
	Es	=	Event sponsorship
	Dc	=	Donations made by candidate at some event
	P_L	=	Activities of opinion leaders
	Fc	=	Facecaps, vests, stickers
	Sp	=	Statements made to local press

The values of standard error, E = 1.000 and 1.346, are the highest standard errors among the significant factors, and have thus been chosen for use in the models.

The keys to application of the model are:

(i)   The equation must sum up to almost one (1) for a yes (vote situation), that is y_i ≙ 1. If the equation tends towards zero a "don't vote " situation arises;

(ii)   The higher the parameter estimate of a variable in the equation, the lesser the weight or attention attached to that variable. The guide for attachment of weights are results of means of influences in tables 4.42 and 4.43. Weights are to range from 0.012 to 0.867 (for minimum and maximum respectively of means of significant factors in table 4.42) for campaign media. While they (weights) will run from 0.088 to 0.900 (for minimum and maximum respectively of means of significant factors in table 4.43) for communication tools;

(iii)   More attention and weight should be given to variables that are of high importance rating but fall into the low performance axis of the quadrant (see figure 4.5), so that such variables could be improved upon. Therefore, particular attention should be paid to television media, image commercials, and promises made by candidate;

(iv)   Any variable in the model that falls into the high performance and high importance segment of the quadrant in figure 4.5 should carry a weight not less than that in the means of influence results in tables 4.42 and 4.43, so that performance would not diminish. Therefore, in the model, the following should not carry any weight less than the means of their influences, billboard media, House to house media, political rally media, posters and candidate's contact with voters media, candidate's speeches, posters displayed during campaigns, activities of opinion leaders, candidate's personal appearance;

(v)   A variable in the low importance but high performance segment of the quadrant should have the least attention. And, in fact, a weight lower than that in the means of influence results in tables 4.42 and 4.43 given to such variable, to enable political parties and candidates save time and energy for use in other campaign areas as these are areas of possible overkill that require de-emphasis of

human and financial resources. Incidentally, no variable in the model appears in this low importance/high performance quadrant;

(vi)   The least attention should be paid to variables in the low performance and low importance segment of the quadrant as they are low priority variables. Variables in this quadrant which occur in the model are newspaper and magazine media, face caps, stickers etcc., posters displayed at polling booth, event sponsorship, donations made by candidate at some event, and statement made to local press. These variables should receive the least attention; and

(vii)   A variable with a negative parameter estimate implies a negative relationship between that variable and y_i (voting behaviour). Such a variable should have proper attention paid to its weight as errors in weight allocation could quickly result in negative voting behaviour that would spell doom for the ultimate goal of electoral success. These are called highly sensitive variables whose messages, presentations, and scheduling must conform with the appropriate requirements of the electorate. The sensitive media variables in the campaign media model are television, newspaper and posters. While those of the campaign communications tools are issue commercials, posters displayed during campaigns, promises made by candidate during campaign, event sponsorship, and mobile campaign on motor cade.

The results of the importance/performance analysis that form a basic to the use of the models developed in this study are:

(a)   <u>Keep up the good job (areas of high importance/high performance):</u>
-        Party symbol or logo
-        Party motto
-        Party manifesto and programmes
-        Advert on billboard
-        Party rallies
-        Activities of Opinion Leaders
-        Candidate's voice/speeches

- Posters displayed during campaign

- Door to door canvassing

- Candidate's contact with voters

- Political debates

- Getting out supporters to vote on election's day

(b)   High priority (areas of high importance/low performance):

- Advert or publicity on radio

- Advert or publicity on television

- Image commercials

- Issue commercials

- Time and day of the week for campaign

- Promises made by candidate during campaign

(c)   Overkill: (areas of low importance/high performance):

- Party identity

- Active participation of party supporters in campaign

- Mobile campaign on motor cade

(d)   Low priority (areas of low importance/low performance):

- Voter inducement with money or some other items

- Tribal sentiments

- Candidate's friends or relations

- Religious activities

- Gender sentiments

- Professional affiliations

- Advert or publicity in magazine

- Face caps, vests, stickers

- Selling candidate through phone

- Direct mail of candidate's leaflets

-       Inserts in newspapers/magazines

-       Posters displayed at polling booths during election

-       Event sponsorship

-       Donations made by candidate at some event

-       Statement made to local press

-       Fund raising ceremonies for candidate

Majority of voting behaviour is rational, so the theory of rational buying behaviour of Wentz and Eyrich (1970) has been validated by this study.

The research findings equally agree with recent findings of Nimmo (1970), Denver (1989), Allen (1990), Butler and Collins (1994), Iornem (1995), and Sargeant (1999). While Nimmo (1970:115) showed that "Americans rely heavily on the televised media for news and that they are more likely to believe what they see than what they read in Newspapers", Patterson and McClure (1989) found that "precise statistics on televised advertising's manipulative effects are hard to develop because like other forms of media persuasion, advertising works among and through a complex web of other influences; seldom does a voter make his candidate's or party's choice for a single reason, whether the reason be political commercials, party loyalty, or a particular issue". Sargeant (1999: 259) concluded his findings in studies on social marketing that "the ultimate goal of any form of marketing is to influence behaviour". All the findings above agree with Wentz and Eyrich (1970:176) ordinalist Theory of choice that states that "a buyer (voter) has an ordered system of preferences. That the buyer (voter) would prefer product (political party or candidate) A to B, B to C, C to D and so on – and that he will act rationally in making choices between goods (political parties or candidates).

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.0   SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

This chapter summarises the major findings of this research, makes conclusions, and finally makes recommendations. It equally discusses areas for further research.

5.1   SUMMARY OF FINDINGS:

From the findings of this research, it is obvious that voting behaviour is influenced by a significant number of marketing communications media and techniques. Though, these campaign media and communications techniques may vary in the level of influence of voting behaviour. In the long run, three major campaign media are highly favoured in influencing voting behaviour and these are Broadcast media, print media and Oramedia. Likewise, four communications techniques are highly relevant in their influence of voting behaviour, these are personal selling (by candidate, party workers and supporters), direct selling, party identity and GOTV. These seem to conform to results obtained from the factor analysis outputs shown in tables 4.48 and 4.49 in this study.

Specifically, socio-economic characteristics of voters have significant negative or positive relationship with their perception of the importance of marketing communications factors. And age, sex, marital status, income, and education, have both negative and positive relationship with five media of televison, newspaper, posters, political rally, and candidate's contact with voters. Occupation, however, has some positive relationship with some communications techniques, these are promises made by candidate at rallies, event sponsorship, candidate's contact with voters, statement made to local press, and fund raising activities for campaign.

The following findings show difference in significant influence of marketing communications strategy on voting behaviour among urban and rural segments of the local council market:

(a)   Radio, television, newspaper, magazine, posters, opinion leaders and political rallies appear to significantly influence voters in the urban and rural areas differently; and

(b)   Advertising, selling, event sponsorship, door to door canvassing, sales promotion, and point of voting display, may significantly influence voting behaviour among the urban and rural segments differently.

The study has revealed that the same strategies pertaining to out door billboard, house to house, and candidate's contact with voters as media of campaign could be applied in the urban and rural areas. Also, candidate's packaging, publicity, word or mouth and party identity as communications tools could have similar strategies for the urban and rural political segments, the study revealed.

It has also been found from this research that although campaigns could be carried out anytime of the day, mornings (26.40%) and evenings (32.4%) are preferred by voters.

Essentially, six (6) campaign media significantly influence voting behaviour. These are: (a) Radio   (b) Billboards   (c) Posters   (d) House to House   (e) Opinion leaders   (f) Political rally. While   nine (9)   campaign communications tools significantly influence voting behaviour; these are: (a)   Issue commercial   (b) Candidate's personality (c) candidate's personal appearance (d) Adverts and publicity on bill boards (e) posters displayed during campaigns (f) door to door canvassing (g) political rally activities   (h)   activities of opinion leaders   (i) Get out the vote activities.

The campaign media model (named Peter 1) developed in this study has the following significant variables. (a) Television (b) Magazine (c) Newspapers (d) Billboards (e) Posters (f) House to House   (g) Candidate's contact with voters (h) Political rallies   and (I) Oramedia. While the campaign communications model (Peter 2) has the following significant variables: (a) Image commercials (b) Issue commercials (c) Posters displayed during campaigns   (d) Candidate's personal appearance (e) Candidate's voice/speeches (f) Posters displayed at poll booth (g) Promises made by

candidate at rallies   (h) Event sponsorship (i) Donations made by candidate at some event (j) Activities of opinion leaders (k) Face caps, stickers etc. (l) Statements made to local press.

5.2   **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION:**

In summary, the following two logistic regression models have been contributed to the body of knowledge of Political marketing.

The first model is for campaign media of local council elections and it is called Peter 1:

$$y_i = 0.050 - 0.794T_V + 4.802M_a - 2.598\ N_e + 0.493B_b - 2.523P_s + 1.313H_h + 0.615C_v + 0.366P_r + 1.755R_M + 1.000 \ldots \text{Peter I}$$

(all other endogenous and exogenous variables remaining constant).

The second model, is for communications tools, it is called Peter 2:

$$Y_i = 0.05 + 2.729Im - 1.819Is + 0.659Ca + 0.997Cs - 3.890Pc + 0.860Pb - 2.228Pm - 1.578Es + 3.013Dc + 1.703P_L + 1.300Fc + 1.460Sp + 1.346 \ldots \text{Peter 2.}$$

(all other endogenous and exogenous variables remaining constant).

These models have, therefore, been recommended for use by the academia, politicians, research students, candidates and party workers.

From the practical perspective, the results of the study suggest that voters' socio-economic characteristics and the rural/urban divide are necessary considerations in the formulation of marketing communications strategy using the significant factors. Time of the day and day of the week of campaign are also important considerations.

The implication of all these is that the results of this study have both practical and theoritical relevance. Practically, the models suggest that campaign management practitioners ought to adopt a flexible approach to political campaigns in local council

elections such that varying weights could be attached to media and communications tools from time to time. Theoretically, this study adds to the stream of research findings in political marketing (Allen, 1968; Nimmo, 1970; Crewe, 1981; Butler and Kavanagh, 1988; Denver, 1989; Nwosu, 1992; Rallings and Thrasher, 1997; and Sargeant, 1999), that have addressed communications strategy in the political market place. This is the first field survey in Nigeria that examines the marketing communications strategy of local council electioneering campaigns, especially as it relates to modelling voting (buying) behaviour with respect to effective marketing communications strategy.

5.3 **<u>SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH:</u>**

Further political marketing research could be carried out for congressional, gubernatorial and presidential elections in Nigeria in the area of marketing communications strategy. These are substantive elections that need to be addressed in order to profer pragmatic suggestions for marketing communications strategy on which campaign management often relies.

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Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE 1: ON CANDIDATES-ELECTED COUNCIL CHAIRMEN

MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN NIGERIAN LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Part 1:

Personal Informationa:

Please read the questions carefully and tick **[✓]** the answer you prefer or fill in the blank spaces as the case may be.

1.1 **Sex:** (i) Male **[ ]** (ii) Female **[ ]**

1.2 **Religion:** (i) Christianity **[ ]** (ii) Islam **[ ]** (iii) Pagan **[ ]** (iv) Non-confirmist **[ ]** (v) Others **[ ]**

1.3 **Tribe (ethnicity):** ---

1.4 **Local Government Area of residence:** ---

1.5 **State of Residence:** --

PART 2:

Please tick **[✓]** the option that suits you most or fill in the blank space.

2.1 Under which of the following political associations that participated in the December 5, 1998 Local Elections did you contest?
   (i) Alliance for Democracy **[ ]**
   (ii) All Peoples Party **[ ]**
   (iii) Democratic Advance Movement **[ ]**
   (iv) Movement for Democracy and Justice **[ ]**
   (v) National Solidarity Party **[ ]**
   (vi) Peoples Democratic Party **[ ]**
   (vii) Peoples Redemption Party **[ ]**
   (viii) United Democratic Party **[ ]**
   (ix) United Peoples Party

2.2 Did you constitute a campaign management team for your electioneering campaigns in respect of the December 5, 1998 local government elections?
   (i) Yes **[ ]** (ii) No **[ ]**

2.3   If your answer to question 2.2 is Yes, please tell me how often your campaign team leader carried out the following management functions:

		Very often	Often	Fairly often (sometimes)	Not often (rarely)	Not at all
viii	Planning	5	4	3	2	1
	Effective communication	5	4	3	2	1
	Directing and coordinating	5	4	3	2	1
	Trust worthiness	5	4	3	2	1
	Organising	5	4	3	2	1
	Delegation of functions	5	4	3	2	1
	Team spirit	5	4	3	2	1
	Effective control	5	4	3	2	1
	Care for team members	5	4	3	2	1
	Motivation	5	4	3	2	1

2.4   Did you use any form of consultants during your campaigns?
(i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.5   If your answer to question 2.4 is Yes, please tell me the role the consultants played?
        (i)   Media consulting   [   ]   Advertising agency [   ]
(iii)   Campaign management   [   ]   (iv) Management consulting [   ]
(v)   Technical consulting   [   ]

2.6   Did you use any communications media during your electioneering campaigns?
        (i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.7   If your answer to question 2.6 is Yes, kindly tell me how often you used the following media:
Please circle one number only.

		Very often	Often	Fairly often	Not often	Not at all
1	Radio	5	4	3	2	1
2	Television	5	4	3	2	1
3	Newspapers	5	4	3	2	1
4	Magazines	5	4	3	2	1
5	Direct mail	5	4	3	2	1
6	Outdoor bill board	5	4	3	2	1
7	House to house canvassing	5	4	3	2	1

8	Posters, handbills, stickers, face-caps	5	4	3	2	1
9	Friends, relations, colleagues	5	4	3	2	1
10	Opinion leaders	5	4	3	2	1
11	Candidate's contact with voters					
12	Political rallies or meetings					
13	Oramedia					

2.8   In what language did you communicate your campaign message most often?
(i)   English   [   ]   (ii)   Local language [   ]
(iii)   All of the above   [   ]

2.9   At what time of the day did you communicate your campaign message most often
(i)   Morning [   ]   (ii)   Afternoon   [   ]   (iii)   Evening   [   ]

2.10   What day of the week did you carry out your electioneeing campaign most often
(i)   Between Monday & Friday [   ] (ii) Saturday [   ] (iii) Sunday [   ] (iv) All of the above [   ]

2.11   During which period did you commence your electioneering campaign most often?
(i) Before campaigns begin   [   ]   (ii) After clearing of candidates   [   ]
(iii) During campaign periods   [   ]   (iv) Just before elections   [   ]
(v) All of the above   [   ]

2.12   Did you carry out proper analysis of voters in your local government area before
targeting your campaign messages?   (i)   Yes   [   ] (ii)   No   [   ]

2.13   Did you lay out your communications objectives in your overall campaign objectives
before packaging your messages for the electorate?
(i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.14   Were your communications objectives achieved?
(i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.15   Did you distribute your campaign messages in sequence in the media you chose to use?
(i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.16   If your answer to question 2.15 is No, then did you concentrate your campaign
messages   (i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.17   Were your campaign messages short and integrated?
(i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.18   How did you raise funds for your electioneering campaign?
(i) From personal savings [   ]   (ii) From your political party [   ]
(ii)   From funds raised from family, friends, business associates and well-wishers [   ]
(iv) From loans   (vi)   All of the above except Loans   [   ]

2.19 Please tell me how often you used the following attributes or factors during your electioneering campaigns. Circle one number only.

		Very often	Often	Fairly often	Not Often	Not at all
1	Party symbol or logo	5	4	3	2	1
2	Party motto	5	4	3	2	1
3	Party manifesto and programme	5	4	3	2	1
4	Party identity	5	4	3	2	1
5	Active participation in party campaigns.	5	4	3	2	1
6	Inducement with money or other items	5	4	3	2	1
7	Tribe	5	4	3	2	1
8	Campaigning on the basis of friendship & family relation	5	4	3	2	1
9	Religion	5	4	3	2	1
10	Gender (sex)	5	4	3	2	1
11	Professional or business relationship	5	4	3	2	1
12	Advert or publicity on radio	5	4	3	2	1
13	Advert or publicity on television	5	4	3	2	1
14	Advert or publicity in newspaper	5	4	3	2	1
15	Advert or publicity in magazine	5	4	3	2	1
16	Advert on bill board	5	4	3	2	1
17	Distribtion of party vests, diaries, stickers face caps, calenders,	5	4	3	2	1
18	Party rallies/meeting	5	4	3	2	1
19	Opinion leaders	5	4	3	2	1
20	Image commercials on your candidature	5	4	3	2	1
21	Issue commercials	5	4	3	2	1
22	Your personal appearance	5	4	3	2	1
23	Consideration of time & day of the week for campaign	5	4	3	2	1
24	Speeches	5	4	3	2	1
25	Phone calls selling your candidature	5	4	3	2	1
26	Direct mail of posters/leaflets	5	4	3	2	1
27	Inserts in newspapers/magazines	5	4	3	2	1
28	Posters displayed during campaign	5	4	3	2	1
29	Door to door canvassing	5	4	3	2	1
30	Making promises during campaigns	5	4	3	2	1
31	Sponsorship of sporting event or some other programme	5	4	3	2	1
32	Making donations at some event	5	4	3	2	1
33	Personal contact with voters	5	4	3	2	1
34	Political debates with opponents	5	4	3	2	1
35	Statements made to local Press	5	4	3	2	1
36	Fund raising ceremonies	5	4	3	2	1
37	Getting supporters to polls to vote on election's day.	5	4	3	2	1
38	Mobile campaign on motorcade	5	4	3	2	1

2.20   Do you think the media you used for your campaign influenced the electorate in their voting choice?   (i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.21   If your answer to question 2.20 is No, then, did the media you used simply serve as a channel of awareness creation and information for voters?
(i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.22   Do you think the communications techniques you used influenced voters in their choice at the election?   (i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

2.23   If your answer to question 2.2 is No, then, did the communications tools you used simply provide information or create awarenes among voters?
(i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

Part 3:

General Opinion:

3.1   Generally speaking, was your marketing communications strategy successful in terms of bringing in the votes?

3.2   Please give any suggestion about how to make marketing communications effective during Local Government chairmanship electioneering campaigns.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

MR. PETER ESE ORIAVWOTE
Ph.D. Candidate

Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE II: ON REGISTERED VOTERS

MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN NIGERIAN LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

PART 1:

PERSONAL INFORMATION:

Please read the following questions carefully and tick [✓]   the answers you prefer or fill in the blank spaces as the case may be.

1.   **Age:** (i) 18 – 29 [   ]   (ii) 30 – 39 [   ]   (iii) 40 – 49 [   ]   (iv) 50 -59 [   ]
      (v) 60 and above [   ]

2.   **Sex:** (i) Male [   ]   (ii) Female [   ]

3.   **Marital status:**   (i) Single [   ]   (ii) Married [   ]   (iv) Others [   ]

4.   **Occupation:** (i) Public Servant [   ]   (ii) Professional [   ]   (iii) Student [   ]
      (iv) Unemployed [   ] (v) Farmer [   ] (vi) Trader [   ]

5.   **Income per annum:** (i) ₦0 - N36000 [   ]   (ii) 36,001 – 72,000 [   ]
      (iii) N72,001 – N100,000 [   ]   (iv) N101,001 and above [   ]

6.   **Level of education:** (i) No formal education [   ]   (ii) Primary School [   ]
      (iii) Secondary School [   ]   (iv) Higher School and above [   ]

7.   **Religion:**   (i)   Christianity [   ]   (ii) Islam [   ]   (iii) Pagan [   ]
      (iv) Non-confirmist [   ]   (v) Others.[   ]

8.   **Tribe (ethnicity):** --

9.   **Local Government Area of residence:** ---

10.   **State of Residence:** ---

PART 2:

Please tick [✓] the option that suits you most or fill in the blank space.

1.   Were you a member of any of the nine political associations that participated in the December 5, 1998 Local Government elections?   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No [   ]

2.	Are you a member of any of the three registered political parties, that is, Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Peoples Party (APP), and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)?
	(i) Yes [ ]	(ii) No [ ]

3.	Which of these three political parties do you belong to?
	(i) Alliance for Democracy (AD) [ ]	(ii) All Peoples Party (APP) [ ]
	(iii) Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) [ ]	(iv)	Not applicable [ ]

4.	If your answer to either no. 1or 2 or both is yes, did you participate in the planning and/or execution of political campaigns for the 1998 Local Government elections for your party/association?	(i) Yes [ ]	(ii)	No [ ]

5.	Did you register your name during the National Registration Exercise in 1998?
	(i) Yes [ ]	(ii)	No [ ]

6.	Did you cast your vote at the Dec. 5, 1998 Local Government elections? (i) Yes [ ]
	(ii)	No [ ]

7.	If your answer to no. 6 above is 'no', please give reason for not voting ----------------------------
	---

8.	Which of these political associations did you cast your vote or would have voted for?
	(i)	Alliance for Democracy	[ ]
	(ii)	All Peoples Party	[ ]
	(iii)	Democratic Advance Movement	[ ]
	(iv)	Movement for Democracy and Justice	[ ]
	(v)	National Solidarity Party	[ ]
	(vi)	Peoples Democratic Party	[ ]
	(vii)	Peoples Redemption Party	[ ]
	(viii)	United Democratic Party	[ ]
	(ix)	United Peoples Party	[ ]

9.	Did you vote or would have voted for that political party/associaton simply for reason connected with the party and/or its motto, philosophy, and programme?
	(i) Yes [ ]	(ii)	No [ ]

10.	Did voters in your neighbourhood get any kind of inducement like money, food items or some form of gift from anyone before voting at that election?	(i) Yes [ ]	(ii) No [ ]

11.	Were they influenced in any way by that inducement in casting their votes for that party or candidate?	(i) Yes [ ]	(ii)	No [ ]

12.	The chairmanship candidate you voted or would have voted for is your relation or friend
	(i) Yes [ ]	(ii)	No [ ]

13.	The Chairmanship candidate you voted or would have voted for is your tribe's man or woman

(i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**

14.   Do you belong to the same religious faith as the chairmanship candidate you voted or would have voted for?   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**

15.   Is the chairmanship candidate you cast your vote or would have voted for of the same sex as you are?   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**

16.   The chairmanship candidate you voted or would have voted for is your professional or business colleague.
(i) Yes **[   ]** (ii)   No **[   ]**

17.   Please write any other connection you have with the candidate you voted or would have voted for: --

18.   If your answer to any of nos. 12 to 16 is 'yes', did it have or would it have had any influence in casting your vote for the chairmanship candidate? (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**

19.   Let us talk about the media through which you often heard about the political association/candidate you voted or would have voted for.

19(a)   Through radio (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(b)   Through television   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(c)   Through magazine   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(d)   Through newspaper   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(e)   Through bill boards   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(f)   Through posters, hand bills, stickers, face caps, calenders (i) Yes **[   ]** (ii) No **[   ]**
19(g)   Through friends, relations, or colleagues   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(h)   Through opinion leaders (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
19(i)   Through contact with the candidate (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(j)   Through a political rally or meeting (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
19(k)   Through a media   (I) Yes **[   ]**   (ii) No   **[   ]**

20   Would you prefer the message conveyed in English language through any of the media above?
(i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**

21   Would you also want the campaign message conveyed in the local language
(i)   Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No   **[   ]**

22   Please tell me if the following promotional activities influenced or would have influenced your choice of candidate:

22(a)   Image commercials on candidate   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
22(b)   Issue commercials   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii)   No **[   ]**
22(c)   Personality of candidate   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii) No   **[   ]**
22(d)   Candidate's personal appearance (i) Yes **[   ]** (ii) No   **[   ]**
22(e)   Candidate's voice / speeches   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii) No   **[   ]**
22(f)   Selling candidate through phone call   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii) No   **[   ]**
22(g)   Leaflets on candidate/association sent by mail   (i) Yes **[   ]** (ii) No **[   ]**
22(h)   Leaflets/inserts in newspapers/magazines   (i) Yes **[   ]**   (ii) No **[   ]**

22(i) Advertisements on bill boards   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(j) Posters before election   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(k) Posters at polling booth during elections   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(l) House – to – house canvassing   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(m) Political rallies and meetings (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(n) News reports and editorial/commentaries in the mass media (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No [   ]
22(o) Promises made at rallies/meetings   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(p) Sponsorship of sporting events or some other programme   (i)   Yes [   ](ii) No [   ]
22(q) Donations made by candidate at some event (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No [   ]
22(r) Activities of opinion leaders (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No [   ]
22(s) Personal contact with candidate   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(t) Face caps, vest, calenders, diaries, and stickers   (i) Yes [   ] (ii) No [   ]
22(u) Political debates   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(v) Statements made to local press   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(w) Fund raising activites for campaign   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No   [   ]
22(x) Getting supporters to the polls to vote on election's day   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No [   ]
22(y) Mobile campaign on motor cade   (i) Yes [   ]   (ii) No [   ]

23   At what time of the day would you prefer to hear the message of a candidate/party
       (i)   Morning [ ] (ii) Afternoon [ ] (iii) Evening [ ] (iv) All of the above [ ]

24   What day of the week would you like hear the message of a candidate/party
       (iii)   Between Monday & Friday [ ] (ii) Saturday [ ] (iii) Sunday [ ] (iv) All of the above [ ]

25   What, if anything, do you like about the candidate/political association you voted or would
       have voted for at the Dec. 5, 1998 Local Government election?   ---------------------------------
       ----

26   What, if anything, do you dislike about the candidate/political association you voted or would
       have voted for at the Dec. 5, 1998 Local Government elections?   ---------------------------------
       ----

27   Please tell me how well, over all, you like the political association/candidate you voted or
       would have voted for at the Dec. 5, 1998 Local Government elections on a ten (10) point scale
       where 10 is your highest overall rating and 1 is your lowest overall rating. You may choose a
       10, a 1 or any number in between. Circle one number only. Over all like of choice of
       candidate/association: 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

28   Which of the nine political associations would you rate the best in terms of effective
       communications including presentation of their candidates and programmes?
       ----

29   Did your rating in no. 28 above have any influence or would have had any influence in your
       choice of candidate?   (i)   Yes   [   ]   (ii)   No   [   ]

30   During which period would you recommend that candidates/political parties carry out
       promotional activities?
       (i) Before campaigns begin   [   ]   (ii) After clearing of candidates [   ]
       (iii) During campaign periods [   ]   (iv) Just before elections [   ]

(v) All of the above **[   ]**

PART 3:

I would like to talk about the promotional factors and some other factors that you may perceive as important when considering which candidate/political party to vote for. After each attribute or factor, please show how important it is, using a "5" to indicate "very important" and "1" to indicate "not at all important". You may use a 5 or 1 or any number in between. Circle one number only.

		Very impor-tant	Impor-tant	Fairly impor-Tant	Not impor-tant	Not at all impor-tant
1	Party symbol or logo	5	4	3	2	1
2	Party motto	5	4	3	2	1
3	Party manifesto and programme	5	4	3	2	1
4	Your membership of candidate's political party.	5	4	3	2	1
5	Your active participation in party campaigns.	5	4	3	2	1
6	Inducement with money or other items	5	4	3	2	1
7	Candidate is your tribes man or woman	5	4	3	2	1
8	Candidate is your relation or friend	5	4	3	2	1
9	You belong to the same religion as your candidate	5	4	3	2	1
10	Candidate is of the same sex as you are	5	4	3	2	1
11	Candidate is your professional or business colleague	5	4	3	2	1
12	Advert or publicity on radio	5	4	3	2	1
13	Advert or publicity on television	5	4	3	2	1
14	Advert or publicity in newspaper	5	4	3	2	1
15	Advert or publicity in magazine	5	4	3	2	1
16	Advert on bill board	5	4	3	2	1
17	Candidate's vests, diaries, stickers face caps, calenders,	5	4	3	2	1
18	Party rallies/meeting	5	4	3	2	1
19	Activities of opinion leaders	5	4	3	2	1
20	Image commercials on candidate	5	4	3	2	1
21	Issue commercials	5	4	3	2	1
22	Candidate's personal appearance	5	4	3	2	1
23	Time & day of the week for campaign	5	4	3	2	1
24	Candidate's voice/speeches	5	4	3	2	1
25	Phone calls selling candidate	5	4	3	2	1
26	Direct mail of candidate's posters/leaflets	5	4	3	2	1
27	Inserts in newspapers/magazines	5	4	3	2	1
28	Candidate's posters displayed during campaign	5	4	3	2	1
29	Posters displayed at poll booth	5	4	3	2	1
30	Door to door canvassing for candidate	5	4	3	2	1
31	Promises made by candidate	5	4	3	2	1
32	Sponsorship of sporting event or some other programme	5	4	3	2	1
33	Donations made at some event by candidate	5	4	3	2	1
34	Personal contact with candidate	5	4	3	2	1
35	Political debates	5	4	3	2	1
36	Statements made to local press	5	4	3	2	1
37	Fund raising ceremonies for candidate	5	4	3	2	1
38	Getting supporters to polls to vote on election's day.	5	4	3	2	1
39	Mobile campaign on motor cade	5	4	3	2	1
						1

PART 4:

SPECIFIC OPINION:

1. In your opinion, what are the qualities needed to be a good campaign coordinator/candidate (Please tick [✓] any quality you perceive important).

   (i) Planning ability [   ]   (ii)   Effective communication [   ]
   (iii)   Ability to direct and coordinate properly [   ]   (iv) Trust worthiness [   ]
   (v) Ability to organise [   ]   (vi) Willingness to delegate function [   ]
   (vii)   Team spirit   [   ]   (viii)   Effective control [   ]
   (ix) Care for team members [   ]   (x)   Motivation   [   ]
   (xi) Others (specify) --

2. Please rank the following media of Local Government electioneering Campaign in order of importance:

   (i) Radio   (ii)   Television   (iii) Newspaper   (iv) Magazines
   (v) Bill boards   (vi)   Posters, hand bills, stickers, face caps, calenders
   (vii) Opinion leaders   (viii)   Political rallies/meetings   (ix) Candidate's contact with voters
   (x)   House to house canvassing. ---

   (i)   --
   (ii)   --
   (iii)   --
   (iv)   --
   (v)   --
   (vi)   --
   (vii)   --
   (viii)   --
   (ix)   --

3. Kindly rank the following promotional tools that you may perceive as important for Local Government chairmanship electioneering campaigns, in order of importance:

   (i) Advertising   (ii) Selling   (iii) Packaging of candidate (iv) Event sponsorship
   (v) Door to door canvassing and direct mail (vi) Sales promotion   (vii) Publicity
   (viii) Point of voting displays   (ix) Word of mouth (x)   Party identity

   (i)   ---
   (ii)   ---
   (iii)   ---
   (iv)   ---
   (v)   ---
   (vi)   ---
   (vii)   ---
   (viii)   ---
   (ix)   ---
   (x)   ---

4.   Please give any suggestion about how to make marketing communications effective during Local Government Council electioneering campaigns.

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MR. PETER ESE ORIAVWOTE

PH.D CANDIDATE

Appendix C

POST - CODING - QUESTIONNAIRE 1 - ON CANDIDATES- LOCAL COUNCIL CHAIRMEN

Variable/ Attribute	Values	Codes	Columns 1 - 3 for Respondent's Identification
Sex	Male	1	4
	Female	2	
Religion	Christianity	1	5
	Islam	2	
	Pagan	3	
	Non Conformist	4	
	Others	5	
Tribe (Ethnicity)	Indigenous Local Tribe	1	6
	Non Local Tribe	2	
Local Government Area	Urban	1	7
	Rural	2	
State of Residence	Benue	1	8
	Delta	2	
	Enugu	3	
	Kaduna	4	
	Lagos	5	
Political Association Membership	Alliance for Democracy	1	9
	All Peoples Party	2	
	Democratic Advance Movement	3	
	Movement for Democracy and Justice	4	
	National Solidarity Movement	5	
	Peoples Democratic Party	6	
	Peoples Redemption Party	7	
	United Democratic Party	8	
	United Peoples Party	9	
Appointment of Campaign Management Team	Yes	1	10
	No	0	
Campaign Planning	Very often	5	11
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Effective Communication among team members	Very often	5	12
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Directing and Coordinating	Very often	5	13

Variable/ Attributes	Values	Codes	Columns
by team members	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Trust worthiness among team members	Very often	5	14
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Organizing ability of team leader	Very often	5	15
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Delegation of functions by team leader	Very often	5	16
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Team Spirit	Very often	5	17
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Effective Control of team members	Very often	5	18
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Care for Team Members	Very often	5	19
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Motivation of team members	Very often	5	20
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Consultants	Yes	1	21
	No	0	
Role played by consultant at campaign	Not applicable	6	22
	Media consulting	5	
	Advertising agency	4	
	Campaign management	3	
	Management consulting	2	

	Technical consulting	1	
Use of communication	Yes	1	23
Media	No	0	
Use of radio	Very often	5	24
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Television	Very often	5	25
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Newspapers	Very often	5	26
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Magazines	Very often	5	27
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Direct mail	Very often	5	28
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of outdoor bills boards	Very often	5	29
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of house to house canvassing	Very often	5	30
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of posters, handbills, stickers, facecaps	Very often	5	31
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of friends, relations, colleagues	Very often	5	32
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	

Variable/ Attributes	Values	Codes	Columns
Use of opinion leaders	Very often	5	33
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of personal contact	Very often	5	34
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of political rallies or meetings	Very often	5	35
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of oramedia	Very often	5	36
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Language of campaign message	English	1	37
	Local Language	2	
	All of the Above	3	

Variable/ Attributes	Values	Codes	Columns
Time of day for campaign message	Morning	1	38
	Afternoon	2	
	Evening	3	
	All of the Above	4	
Day of week for campaign	Monday to Friday	1	39
	Saturday	2	
	Sunday	3	
	All of the Above	4	
Period of commencement of campaign	Before Campaign begins	1	40
	After clearing of candidate	2	
	During campaign period	3	
	Just before election	4	
	All of the Above	5	
Segmentation and Targeting	Yes	1	41
	No	0	
Communications Objectives	Yes	1	42
	No	0	
Achievement of objectives	Yes	1	43
	No	0	
Sequence of campaign	Yes	1	44

com.

Variable/ Attributes	Values	Codes	Columns
	No	0	
Concentration of messages	Yes	1	45
	No	0	
Short and integr.messages	Yes	1	46
	No	0	
Raising of Campaign Fund	* From personal savings	1	47
	* From your political party	2	
	* From funds raised from family friends,		
	Business associates, & well-wishers	3	
	* From Loans	4	
	* All of the Above	5	
	* All of the Above except loan	6	
Use of Party symbol at campaign.	Very often	5	48
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Party motto or slogan at campaign	Very often	5	49
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Party manifesto and programmes at campaign	Very often	5	50
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of party identity at campaigns	Very often	5	51
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	

Variable/ Attributes	Values	Codes	Columns
Encouraging active participation of party supporters at campaigns	Very often	5	52
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Money or other items for	Very often	5	53

inducing voters	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Campaigning on the basis of Tribe	Very often	5	54
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Campaigning on the basis of friendship and family relationship	Very often	5	55
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Campaigning on the basis of Religion	Very often	5	56
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Campaigning on the basis of gender (sex)	Very often	5	57
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Campaigning on the basis of professional of business relation-ship	Very often	5	58
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Using advert or publicity in radio during campaigns	Very often	5	59
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Using advert or publicity on television during campaigns	Very often	5	60
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Using advert or publicity in newspaper during	Very often	5	61
	Often	4	

campaigns			
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Using advert or publicity in magazine during campaigns	Very often	5	62
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Using advert on bill boards	Very often	5	63
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Distribution of party vests, diaries, stickers, face caps, calendars during campaigns	Very often	5	64
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of Party rallies/meetings	Very often	5	65
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of opinion leaders during campaigns	Very often	5	66
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Placement of image commer-cials on candidate	Very often	5	67
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Placement of Issue commer-cials.	Very often	5	68
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Use of personal appearance as factor during campaigns	Very often	5	69
	Often	4	

	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Consideration of time and day of the week for campaigns	Very often	5	70
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Making of speeches during campaigns	Very often	5	71
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Making phone calls to sell your candidature	Very often	5	72
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Carrying out of direct mail of posters/leaflets	Very often	5	73
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Placing inserts in newspapers/magazines	Very often	5	74
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Displaying posters during campaigns	Very often	5	75
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Posters displayed at Poll booth	Very often	5	76
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Door to door canvassing	Very often	5	77
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Making promises during campaigns	Very often	5	78
	Often	4	

	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Event sponsorship	Very often	5	79
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Making donations at some event	Very often	5	80
during campaigns	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Personal contact with voters	Very often	5	81
during campaigns	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Engaging in political debates	Very often	5	82
with opponents	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Making statements to local	Very often	5	83
press	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Fund raising ceremonies for campaigns	Very often	5	84
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Getting supporters to polls to	Very often	5	85
vote on election's day.	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Mobile campaign on motor cade	Very often	5	86
	Often	4	
	Fairly often	3	
	Not often	2	
	Not at all	1	
Perceived influence of media of	Yes	1	87

campaign on electorate	No	0	
Media as channel of awareness creation and Information for voters	Yes	1	88
	No	0	
Perceived influence of campaign communications techniques on voters	Yes	1	89
	No	0	
Communications tools as avenues of information or awareness creation	Yes	1	90
	No	0	
Success of the marketing communications strategy in terms of vote yield	Very successful	5	91
	Successful	4	
	Fairly successful	3	
	Not successful	2	
	No Marketing Communications Strategy	1	
Personal Suggestions	* Removal of Government's undue Influence	5	92
	* More time should be allocated for official campaigns	4	
	* The Government should help in rekindling the interest of the electorate	3	
	* Parties and candidates who induce voters with money or some Other items should be disqualified by the electoral body	2	
	* The media should be more objec- tive in their analysis and reporting of political events	1	
	* No Response	0	

Appendix D

POST CODING - QUESTIONNAIRE II: ON REGISTERED VOTERS

Attributes/Variables	Values	Codes	Columns
			1 - 3 Respondent Identification
Age	18 – 29 30 – 39 40 – 49 50 – 59 60 and above	1 2 3 4 5	4
Sex	Male Female	1 2	5
Marital Status	Single Married Others	1 2 3	6
Occupation	Public servant Professional Student Unemployed Farmers Traders	1 2 3 4 5 6	7
Annual income	N0 – 36,000 36,001 – 72,000 72,001 – 100,000 N100,001 and above	1 2 3 4	8
Education	No formal education Primary school Secondary school Higher school and above	1 2 3 4	9
Religion	Christianity Islam Pagan Non-conformist Others	1 2 3 4 5	10
Tribe (ethnicity)	Indigenous local language Non-local language	1 2	11
Local Government	Urban Rural	1 2	12
State	Benue Delta	1 2	13

	Enugu	3	
	Kaduna	4	
	Lagos	5	
Attributes/Variables	**Values**	**Codes**	**Columns**
Membership of political association	Yes	1	14
	No	0	
Membership of political party	Yes	1	
	No	0	15
Political party affiliation	AD	1	
	APP	2	16
	ADP	3	
	Not applicable	4	
Participated in party's election campaigns	Yes	1	17
	No	0	
Registered during 1998 National Registration exercise	Yes	1	18
	No	0	
Voted at the Dec. 5, 1998 local election	Yes	1	19
	No	0	
Reason for not voting	Voted	1	
	Sick	2	
	Travelled	3	20
	Not disposed	4	
	Not interested in the transition	5	
	Did not like candidate(s)	6	
Political association voted or would have voted for	AD	1	
	APP	2	
	DAM	3	
	MDJ	4	21
	NSM	5	
	PDP	6	
	PRP	7	
	UDP	8	
	UPP	9	
Voted for reason of party motto, philosophy, programme	Yes	1	22
	No	0	
Voter inducement with money, food items and so on	Yes	1	23
	No	0	
Voter influenced by inducement in making choice	Yes	1	24
	No	0	
Candidate is a relation or friend	Yes	1	25
	No	0	
Candidate is a tribe's man or woman	Yes	1	26
	No	0	
Belongs to same religious faith	Yes	1	27

as candidate	No	0	
Candidate is same sex	Yes	1	28
	No	0	

Attributes/Variables	Values	Codes	Columns
Candidate is a business or professional colleague	Yes	1	29
	No	0	
Other connections with candidate	Recommended to me	1	30
	Social/cultural affiliation	2	
	No connection	3	
Influence of Columns 25 to 30	Yes	1	31
	No	0	
Radio media used by political association/candidate	Yes	1	32
	No	0	
Television media used by political association/candidate	Yes	1	33
	No	0	
Magazine as a media used by political association/candidate	Yes	1	34
	No	0	
Newspaper as a media used by political association/candidate	Yes	1	35
	No	0	
Billboards as media used by political association/candidate	Yes	1	36
	No	0	
Posters as media	Yes	1	37
	No	0	
House to house	Yes	1	38
	No	0	
Opinion leaders as media	Yes	1	39
	No	0	
Candidate's contact with voters	Yes	1	40
	No	0	
Political rallies/meetings	Yes	1	41
	No	0	
Oramedia	Yes	1	42
	No	0	
English language prefered for communicating message	Yes	1	43
	No	0	
Use of local language for communicating message	None	0	44
	Local language	1	
	Other language	2	
Image commercials influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	45
	No	0	
Issue commercials influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	46
	No	0	

Personality of candidate influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	47
	No	0	
Candidate personal appearance influenced vote choice	Yes	1	48
	No	0	

Attributes/Variables	Values	Codes	Columns
Candidate's voice and speeches influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	49
	No	0	
Selling candidate through phone call influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	50
	No	0	
Leaflets on candidate/ association sent by mail influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	51
	No	0	
Leaflets/inserts in newspapers/ magazines influenced the choice of candidate	Yes	1	52
	No	0	
Advertisement on billboards influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	53
	No	0	
Posters before elections influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	54
	No	0	
Posters at polling booth during elections influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	55
	No	0	
House to house Canvassing influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	56
	No	0	
Political rallies and meetings influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	57
	No	0	
News report and editorial / commentaries in the mass media influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	58
	No	0	
Promises made at rallies/meetings by candidate influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	59
	No	0	
Event sponsorship	Yes	1	60
	No	0	
Donations made by candidate at some event influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	61
	No	0	
Activities of opinion leaders influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	62
	No	0	
Personal contact with candidate influenced choice of candidate	Yes	1	63
	No	0	

Face caps, vests, calenders, and stickers bearing party signs distributed to voters influenced choice of candidate	Yes No	1 0	64
Political debate between candidates influenced choice of candidate	Yes No	1 0	65
Attributes/Variables	**Values**	**Codes**	**Columns**
Statements made to local press by candidate influenced choice of candidate	Yes No	1 0	66
Fund raising activities for campaign influenced choice of candidate	Yes No	1 0	67
Getting supporters to the polls on election's day influenced choice of candidate	Yes No	1 0	68
Mobile campaign on motor cade	Yes No	1 0	69
Time of the day of campaign	Yes No	1 0	70
Day of the week to hear campaign messages	Monday to Friday Saturday Sunday All of the above	1 2 3 4	71
Reasons for preference of candidate/political association	None Members are credible Good party programmes Candidate has good record Because of his friendship etc keeping to electoral promises	0 1 2 3 4 5	72
Reasons for dislike of candidate/political association	Members not credible Don't like party programme Too much influence of money Don't like candidate None	1 2 3 4 0	73
Overall like rating of political association	No Response AD APP DAM MDJ NSM PDP PRP	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	74

	UDP	8	
	UPP	9	
Best political association in terms of effective communication and candidate's presentation	AD APP MDJ NSM PDP PRP URP UDP UPP	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	75
Whether rating on effective marketing communications including candidate presentation influenced choice of candidate	Yes No	1 0	76
Best period for carrying out promotional activities	Before campaign begins After clearing of candidates During campaign periods Just before elections All of the above	1 2 3 4 5	77
Level of importance attached to party symbol or logo by voters	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	78
Level of importance attached to motto by voters	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	79
Level of importance attached to party manifesto and programme	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	80
Level of importance attached to Membership of candidate's political party	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	81
Level of importance attached to Active participation in party campaigns	Very important Important Fairly important Not important	5 4 3 2	82

	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to inducement with money or other items	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	83
Level of importance attached to tribal relationship	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	84
Level of importance attached to relations and friends	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	85
Level of importance attached to religion	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	86
Level of importance attached to gender (sex)	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	87
Level of importance attached to professional and business relationship	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	88
Level of importance attached to advert or publicity in radio	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	89
Level of importance attached to advert or publicity in television	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	90
Level of importance attached to advert or publicity in newspaper	Very important Important Fairly important	5 4 3	91

	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to advert or publicity in magazine	Very important	5	92
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	

Attributes/Variables	Values	Codes	Columns
Level of importance attached to advert on bill boards	Very important	5	93
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to candidate's vests, diaries, etc	Very important	5	94
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to party rallies/meetings	Very important	5	95
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to activities of opinion leaders	Very important	5	96
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to image commercials on candidate	Very important	5	97
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to issue commercials on candidate	Very important	5	98
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to candidate's appearance	Very important	5	99
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	

Level of importance attached to time and day of the week for campaign	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	100
Level of importance attached to candidate's voice/speeches	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	101
Level of importance attached to phone calls selling candidate	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	102
Level of importance attached to direct mail of candidate's posters/leaflets	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	103
Level of importance attached to inserts in newspapers/ magazines	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	104
Level of importance attached to candidate's posters displayed during campaigns	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	105
Level of importance attached to posters displayed at polling booth	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	106
Level of importance attached to House to house canvassing	Very important Important Fairly important Not important Not at all important	5 4 3 2 1	107
Level of importance attached to promises made by candidate	Very important Important Fairly important Not important	5 4 3 2	108

	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to sponsorship of sporting event	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	109
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to donations made at some event by candidate	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	110
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to personal contact with candidate	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	111
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to political debates	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	112
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to statement made to local press	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	113
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to fund raising ceremonies	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	114
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to getting supporters to polls to vote	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	115
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Level of importance attached to mobile campaign on motor cade	Very important	5	
	Important	4	
	Fairly important	3	116
	Not important	2	
	Not at all important	1	
Planning ability	Yes	1	117
	No	0	
Effective Communication	Yes	1	118

	No	0	
Ability to direct and coordinate properly	Yes	1	119
	No	0	
Trust worthiness	Yes	1	120
	No	0	
Ability or organise	Yes	1	121
	No	0	
Willingness to delegate function	Yes	1	122
	No	0	
Team spirit	Yes	1	123
	No	0	
Effective control	Yes	1	124
	No	0	
Care for team members	Yes	1	125
	No	0	
Motivation	Yes	1	126
	No	0	
Radio	1st rank	9	
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	127
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Television	1st rank	9	128
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Newspaper	1st rank	9	129
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	

	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Magazine	1st rank	9	130
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Bill boards	1st rank	9	131
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Posters etc.	1st rank	9	132
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Opinion leaders	1st rank	9	133
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Political rallies etc.	1st rank	9	134
	2nd rank	8	

	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Candidate's contact with voters	1st rank	9	135
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
House to house	1st rank	9	136
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Advertising	1st rank	9	137
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Selling	1st rank	9	138
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	

	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Packaging of candidate	1st rank	9	139
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Event sponsorship	1st rank	9	140
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Door to door canvassing	1st rank	9	
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	141
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Sales promotion	1st rank	9	
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	142
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Publicity	1st rank	9	
	2nd rank	8	

	3rd rank	7	143
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Point of voting display	1st rank	9	
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	144
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Word of mouth	1st rank	9	145
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Party identity	1st rank	9	146
	2nd rank	8	
	3rd rank	7	
	4th rank	6	
	5th rank	5	
	6th rank	4	
	7th rank	3	
	8th rank	2	
	9th rank	1	
	10th rank	0	
Voters suggestion as to how to make marketing communications effective during local electioneering campaigns	Use of consultants and experts	6	
	Dialogue with the people	5	
	Local language	4	147
	Mobile campaign	3	
	More time for campaign	2	
	Ban of electoral inducement	1	
	No comment	0	

Appendix E

St. Clements University
Turks and Caicos Island,
British West Indies,
C/o SCU Consultancy Services
18/19, Ahmadu Bello Way
Kaduna.

1ˢᵗ August, 1999

Dear Sir/Madam/Dr/Chief/Hon/Mr./Mrs./Miss,

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

    I am a Doctor of Philosophy (Political Marketing) candidate of the above-named institution. I am conducting a research on "Marketing Communications Strategy and Voting Behaviour in Nigerian Local Elections".

    I would like you to please answer a few questions in connection with this study. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

    All information supplied will be treated in strict confidence, hence, I have deliberately not asked for your name.

    Thank you for sparing your time and willingness to share your experience.

Yours sincerely,

PETER ORIAVWOTE

Appendix F

St. Clements University
Turks and Caicos Island,
British West Indies,
C/o SCU Consultancy Services
18/19, Ahmadu Bello Way
Kaduna.

1st August, 1999

Dear Sir/Madam/Dr/Chief/Hon/Mr./Mrs./Miss,

INTRODUCTION OF INTERVIEWER

I am a Doctor of Philosophy (Political Marketing) candidate of the above-named institution. I am conducting a research on "Marketing Communications Strategy and Voting Behaviour in Nigerian Local Elections".

Please permit me to introduce Mr/Miss…………………………………….. to you. He/ she has been trained to administer this questionnaire.

Kindly accord him/her the necessary cooperation.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours Sincerely

PETER E. ORIAVWOTE