

**A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF PARTY POLITICS AND POLITICAL  
CAMPAIGNS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: THE STUDY OF 2015  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.**

**BY**

**HALIMAT MUSA  
MATRIC NUMBER: 15PS1140**

**BEING A PROJECT WORK SUBMITTED TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF  
SOCIAL SCIENCES, KOGI STATE UNIVERSITY ANYIGBA,  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B.Sc. HONS)  
DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**JANUARY, 2019.**

## **DECLARATION**

I, **HALIMAT MUSA** with matriculation number 15PS1140 hereby declare that this Project titled: **“A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF PARTY POLITICS AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IN NIGERIA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC: THE STUDY OF 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION”** has been written by me and that it is a record of my research work. It has not been presented for the **STUDY OF 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NIGERIA**” award of B.Sc. degree in Political Science in any other institution. All authorities cited in this work have been duly acknowledged in the references.

-----  
**HALIMAT MUSA**

Researcher

-----  
**DATE**

**CERTIFICATION**

This research project has been read and approved as having satisfied the requirements for the award of Bachelor of Science (B.sc) Degree in Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kogi State University, Anyigba.

.....

**DR. SANUSI S. AVIDIME**

Project Supervisor

.....

**DATE**

.....

**DR. S.O USMAN**

Head of Department

.....

**DATE**

.....

**PROFESSOR ADESOLA OGIDIOLU**

Dean, Faculty Of Social Science

.....

**DATE**

.....

**EXTERNAL EXAMINER**

.....

**DATE**

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my creator, Allah the Almighty, the eternal absolute, most beneficent most merciful and the creator of all creations.

I also dedicate this work to my husband, Dr. Nuhu Itopa Idris, my pillar and support, whose encouragements ensured that I give it all it takes to complete what I already started.

And to my lovely daughter, beautiful princess, shining star, wonderful friend, gist partner and amazing reading mate, thank you for being my faithful companion through thick and thin.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I wish to express my profound gratitude to Almighty Allah, for His Mercies, blessings, guidance and protection and for making this day a reality.

This wouldn't have been possible without the untiring attention and guidance of my hardworking supervisor Dr. S. S. Avidime who took time to go through this work and made worthy corrections page after page. May Almighty Allah continue to guide and protect you and your family. Ameen.

My sincere appreciation also goes to the Head of Department; Dr. S. O. Usman and all the lecturers in the Department of Political Science, Kogi State University, Anyigba especially Mallam Usman for their collective efforts in molding and shaping me towards becoming a better citizen and a graduate of Political Science.

I must not also fail to acknowledge the unrivaled efforts, prayers and support of my amiable parents; Chief and Mrs. Musa A. O. Adegbe. May your labour not be in vain. To my loving siblings; Mall. Abubakar Sadiq Musa, Mrs. Nafisat Musa Alhassan, (late) Mall. Ahmad Musa, Mrs. Aishat Musa Abdulkareem, Mrs. Halimat Musa Idris, Miss. Maryam Musa and Mall. Abdulbasit Musa, thank you for being you and just being there!

My heartiest appreciation also goes to my Husband, my “Bee”, joy and treasure; Dr. Nuhu Itopa Idris. Alhamdulillah our paths crossed. Thank you for being uniquely you and for being everything to me. Thank you for your support, encouragements, patience, guidance and above all for staying true. And, Alhamdulillah for our awesome daughter too.

My heartfelt gratitude also goes to my dearest friends; Mr. Sunday Hayatu (Esq.) and Mr. Elejade Christopher Festus. Thank you for being part of my success story.

And to my inestimable neighbours, Mall. Umar and wife, and their children; Miss Nafisat Umar, Miss Aminat Umar, Miss Halimat Umar and all too numerous to mention, may Allah bless you for taking my daughter as yours, for the physical and emotional support, for the troubles we caused you and for your patience and tolerance. May your journey through life be an easy one.

## ABSTRACT

*The road towards the 2015 presidential election was overcrowded with salient political issues and challenges for the country. The socio-economic and political problems as captured by the realities of systemic poverty, massive unemployment, raising income inequalities, infrastructural decay, widespread corruption and general insecurity of lives and property in the country were frightening and the desire to control state power gave birth to massive political campaign via various methods in seeking for electorates votes in the 2015 presidential elections. The study examined party politics and political campaigns in Nigeria with reference to 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria. Consequently, it ascertain whether parties in the 2015 presidential election were campaigning on issues or ideology, hate campaigns during the 2015 presidential elections and to evaluate the social media level reportage on political parties during the 2015 presidential election. The research work made use of game theory. The study has it method rooted in the survey research design using both the primary and secondary sources of data collection which has to deal with structured and unstructured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, text books, journals, internet materials. Using the simple random sampling technique, 150 study participants were selected across the study areas. Findings from the study reveal that; that party politics in Nigeria as exemplified by the 2015 presidential election is dominated by the few people who actively partake in most of the activities as depicted by 70% of the respondents, that most of the political parties are not known by the electorate at the grass root levels, campaign of political parties during the 2015 presidential election was marred by hate campaigns, and to a large extent political campaign during the 2015 presidential election was based on issues of hate campaigns and parochial sentiments and not on ideology. The study recommends that; Political candidates and parties should strive to practice politics without bitterness by making frantic efforts to inform or persuade electorates rather than deceive them with enticing words, Political candidates and parties should adopt simple expressions to communicate their political agenda without the use of force, violence, destructive tendencies and unhealthy rivalry, There is the need for inter-party dialogue that institutionalize and routines confidence and consensus-building feature of the electoral governance process and party politics in Nigeria.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page: - - - - -	i
Declaration: - - - - -	ii
Certification: - - - - -	iii
Dedication: - - - - -	iv
Acknowledgements: - - - - -	v
Abstract: - - - - -	vii
Table of Content: - - - - -	viii

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study: - - - - -	1
	Statement of the Problem: - - - - -	4
1.3	Research Question:- - - - -	5
1.4	Objective of the Study - - - - -	6
1.5	Scope and Limitation of the Study: - - - - -	7
1.6	Significance of the Study - - - - -	8
1.7	Conceptual Clarification - - - - -	8
1.8	Organization of the Study - - - - -	9

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

2.1	Introduction: - - - - -	10
2.1.1	Party politics - - - - -	10
2.1.2	Political Parties - - - - -	12
2.1.3	Political Campaign - - - - -	16
2.1.4	Parties Politics and Elections in Nigeria before 1999 - - -	19
2.1.5	Parties Politics and Elections in Nigeria, 1999-2014 - - -	32
2.2	Theoretical Framework - - - - -	38
2.3	Relevance of the Theory - - - - -	41

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.0	Introduction - - - - -	43
3.1	Research Design - - - - -	44
3.2	The Study Area - - - - -	45
3.3	Study Population and Sampling Technique - - - - -	46
3.4	Method of Data Collection - - - - -	47
3.5	Sources of Data Collection - - - - -	47
3.6	Method for Data Analysis - - - - -	48

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

4.1	Introduction -	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
4.2	Section A: Socio-Demography Characteristics of Respondents							50
4.3	Section B: Data Presentation and Analysis - -	-	-					51
4.4	Findings from the Interview - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	59

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

5.1	Summary --	-	-	--	-	-	-	63
5.2	Conclusion -	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
5.3	Recommendations -	-	-	-	-	-	-	68
	Bibliography -	-	-	-	-	-	-	70

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the Study

Man by nature is a political animal. This suggests that man is both gregarious and solitary. A higher standard of living depends partly on philosophical contemplation which can be demonstrated or expressed through employment of social virtues exercised in the company or association of others (Peck, 1955). Politics focuses on ‘who gets what’, ‘when and how’. It determines the process through which power and influence are used in the promotion of certain values and interests (Lasswell 1960, 1977; Danziger, 1998). The concept of politics revolves around three fundamental questions: Who governs? For what ends? And by what means? These are played out through discussion, disagreement, lobbying, rioting, campaigning and voting (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013).

Significantly, the quantum of political expressions employed by political elites determine to a reasonable extent, their level of attaining their set goals and political end. In other words, every political circumstance is explained and addressed differently by the stakeholders involved using carefully selected words that will justify or validate their particular course of action. Interestingly, political language is used quite deliberately and intentionally either to praise or blame. It can be creative, constructive or destructive, perhaps, because it is a weapon with

which one attacks or defends oneself from opponents. This brings us to focus on the concept of political campaign.

Political campaigns are an organized effort which seeks to influence the decision-making process within a specific group or environment. It can also be viewed as the mobilization of forces either by an organization or individuals to influence others in order to effect an identified and desired political change. It shows people and particularly, political candidates' ability to sensitize the political community in relation to making the community see them as potentials and better representatives of the people. At any rate, every campaign is unique, and the ultimate goal of almost every political campaign is to win election. Although there is no single 'best' campaign strategy but the right strategy may differ from one candidate to another and for each election (Lynn, 2009).

The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria, the fifth since 1999 when the military handed over power to elected civilians was considered by many observers as the first time that the opposition would have a realistic chance of wresting power from the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). The presidential election was a two-horse race between the ruling PDP and the main opposition party, the All Progressive Congress (APC)—the party formed in February 2013 from a merger of three ethnically and regionally based political parties – Congress of Progress Change (CPC), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and All Progressive

Grand Alliance (APGA). Before the emergence of the APC, opposition parties were mostly fragmented along regional and ethnic lines, making it impossible for them to mount a credible challenge to the ruling PDP (Ajibe, 2014).

The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria has come and gone. The presidential candidate of the main opposition party APC, Muhammadu Buhari was elected as the president of the country. In the keenly contested election, President Muhammadu Buhari defeated incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan the candidate of the ruling PDP. In a move that will contribute to the deepening of the democratic process in Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan accepted the electoral defeat without contesting the process at the tribunal. But core to the study is the nature of the political campaigns that accompanied the contest and the key issues that dominated the electioneering campaigns and the role of the social media.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

This research project seeks to examine party politics and political campaigns in Nigeria to determine the instrument used by parties and the extent to which this have affected parties performances in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria.

The road towards the 2015 presidential election was overcrowded with salient political issues and challenges for the country. The socio-economic and political problems as captured by the realities of systemic poverty, massive

unemployment, raising income inequalities, infrastructural decay, widespread corruption and general insecurity of lives and property in the country were frightening. Moreover, the emergence of a viable opposition coincides with a period of great tension between north and south, arising from the decision of President Goodluck Jonathan to contest the 2011 elections, a decision that has made many northerners feel cheated of their turn in producing the president and that induced some violence. With President Jonathan, a southern Christian, contesting again and very likely facing a northern Muslim candidate, the elections will have implications not just for north-south relations but also for the survival of the country's democracy (Ajibe, 2014). Besides, the Boko Haram insurgency makes this election particularly fraught. It is of great concern to many Nigerians and is also garnering significant international attention. However, the Boko Haram crisis is only a microcosm of the country's deeper malaise. It should not distract from fundamental Nigerian political practices and tactics – which often include the use of armed thugs and other political violence (ICG, 2014).

The election also witnessed unprecedented mass media coverage ever in the history of elections in Nigeria. The mass media were inundated with not just political advertisements but also news analysis, news features, news stories, editorials, opinion articles, predictions among other media genre to the extent that on daily basis before the election, the mass media (print and electronic) became the

mass educator (Ibraheem, Odozi Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Tejumaiye, 2015). All these issues were core drivers of the electioneering campaigns before the 2015 presidential election, especially between the two dominant political parties – the ruling PDP and the opposition APC. Against this background, the study examines the nature of political campaigns during the 2015 presidential election, discusses the key issues that were drivers of the political campaigns during the 2015 election and then analyses the role of social media in the political campaigns of the 2015 presidential election.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

- i. Were the parties campaigning on issues or ideology in the 2015 presidential election?
- ii. Was hate campaign used by political parties in the course of 2015 presidential election?
- iii. To what extent was the social media effective in balancing reportage of party activities in the 2015 presidential election?

## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of the study is to examine party politics and political campaigns during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. The specific objective includes the following:

- i. To ascertain whether parties in the 2015 presidential election were campaigning on issues or ideology.
- ii. To determine if there was hate campaigns during the 2015 presidential elections.
- iii. To evaluate if the social media provided a level reportage on political parties during the 2015 presidential election.

## **1.5. Assumptions of the Study**

- ✚ When political parties campaign based on issues they will lose their popularity.
- ✚ When political parties dwell on hate campaigns they will lose their supporters.
- ✚ When the social media presents a balanced reportage on contenders in an election, there will be free and fair elections.

## **1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study is restricted to party politics and the political campaigns of the 2015 presidential election. In this regard, the study is limited in scope to the character of political campaigns, issues that dominated the political campaigns and the role of the social media in the political campaign.

However, the researcher encountered some constraints in the course of gathering data and conducting the research work. The major issue was time. Given that the 2015 presidential elections took place in April, the time designated for the study was inadequate since the researcher had to combine the research work with academic study.

The novel nature of the subject matter also affected the ability of the researcher to access sufficient data. However, with greater enthusiasm and hard work, the constraints were overcome, and adequate data collected which assisted in conducting the research through the regular use of internet and the University Library at Anyigba.

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

Available body of literature on political parties always centered on election, violence and rigging. However, a thorough research on party politics and campaign strategies in Nigeria has not been fully investigated. This then constitute the gap in

the literature which this study seeks to fill. This then will serve as our contribution to the body of knowledge.

This research project is therefore significant in the sense that, the Nigerian electoral trajectory and party politics has been characterized by violence. To this end, the politicians of the present era do not seem to have learnt their lessons given the kind of campaign witnessed in the 2015 presidential election. In view of this, the research project will attempt to unfold why these campaign strategies were used and will attempt to proffer solutions.

### **1.8 Conceptual Clarifications**

The meaning of the following concepts as they are used in this study are provided below:

- i. **Party Politics:** The various activities of political parties targeted at capture of state power.
- ii. **Political Campaigns:** The various activities and programmes political parties engage in during elections to convince and persuade the electorates to vote their parties into power.
- iii. **Politics:** According to Harold Laswell 'it is who gets what, when and how.
- iv. **Democracy:** Abraham Lincoln defined Democracy as government of the people; for the people and by the people.

- v. **Democratic Consolidation:** Democratic consolidation is about regime maintenance and about regarding the key political institutions as the only legitimate framework for political contestation and adherence to the democratic rules of the game. (Zayyan, 2002:2010)

## **1.9 Organization of Study**

This work is structured or organized into five chapters namely; chapter one, chapter two, chapter three, chapter four and chapter five.

**Chapter one** entails the following; Background to the study, Statement of the problem, Research questions, Objectives of the study, Assumptions of the study, Scope and limitations of the study, Significance of the study, Conceptual clarifications and Organization of the study.

**Chapter two** is all about literature review and theoretical framework, and current literature relating to this area of research work was reviewed. For instance, party politics and political campaigns were critically examined, party politics and elections in Nigeria before 1999 was discussed, party politics and elections in Nigeria, 1999 - 2014 was assessed, the Theoretical framework was analyzed and in brief, the relevance of the theory was made.

**Chapter three** centers on research methodology taking into cognizance the following: Research design, the study area, study population and sampling techniques, method of data collection, sources of data and method of data management.

**Chapter four** deals with the collection, presentation and analysis of data: The social and economic background, evaluating the level of participation in the electoral process of 2015, party campaign issues, social media and the balance of political reportage.

**Chapter five** entails the summary of the whole work, policy recommendations and conclusion of the research project.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

In this chapter relevant literature on the subject matter and the theoretical framework of analysis underpinning the study will be reviewed.

##### **2.1.1 Party Politics**

Party politics are activities of political parties in a democratic environment to seek for the control of political offices through stated norms of elections (Olaniyi 2001: 99). To this extent, party politics exist when elective principles are present in a state and by implication under a democratic regime which recognizes the legitimate choice of the citizens to select or elect those to represent them in governmental offices, for example, in the pre-independent era in Nigeria, party politics was not in existence until 1922, when the Clifford constitution introduced for the first time in the country the elective principle. And with military incursion into the Nigerian polity, all democratic structures and institutions, including the elective principle were banned and dissolved.

According to Okoye (1982), party politics therefore are “activities of formal structure, institution or organization which compete through electoral process to control the personnel and policies of government, and with the aim of allocating the scarce resources in a state through an institutionalized means or procedure”.

Hence, the primary objective of party politics is directed toward a single goal of wrestling for governmental or political power.

However, despite the fact that party politics serve some other numerous purpose, outside the primary objective, such as integrative mechanism, feedback mechanism, aggregative machinery or tool, regulatory and promotional roles, its roles are punctured and truncated by various negative activities such as polarizing and widening gap between and/or among ethnic groups, unhealthy rivalry, marginalizing tool, exploitative mechanism and expropriator role, apart from undemocratic rule (Azeeze, 2012).

Party politics is the politics engaged in by, expressed through the channel of and or considered from the ideal of political parties as opposed to national interest (Nwankwo, 2001). To this end, party politics exist when elective ideals are present in a democratic system and the views, opinions or political philosophies are debated with the consciousness of promoting and protecting the interest of the party in power. More so, party politics are activities of formal structure, institution and organization which competes through electoral mechanism to influence the people policies and programme as well as allocation of public wealth through a stipulated and articulated procedure (Okoye, 1982). Though, party politics is ordinarily directed towards ensuring Checks and balances in governance, strengthening the democratic institution and serve as feedback mechanism,

however, its activities have been extremely abused through political rivalry, ethno-religious sentiment and making it undemocratic (Philip, Samson and Ogwu, 2014).

### **2.1.2 Political Party**

In the west a political party has generally been defined more in functional than in structural terms, with two core elements, namely that a political party helps to (a) structure electoral choice and (b) conduct the business of government, under a party label or banner. A party needs not perform both functions but generally all parties tend to perform both functions, *more or less*. In short, the core functions of a political party, not its organizational structures, are what typically distinguish a political party as a conceptual category from other organizations. It also follows from the functional definition that the significance of political parties for liberal democracy is that under conditions of competitive party and electoral politics, a political party (i) presents the electorate with a choice of candidates and programmes from which to choose; and in doing so (ii) helps to decide which party or coalition of parties should govern for a fixed number of years. In other words, this functional definition of the party is predicated on the assumption of the competitiveness of the electoral process (Adele, 2011).

Thus, in a liberal democratic system, the party provides the medium through which the accountability of the executive and the legislators to the electorate is exercised through periodic elections under a multiparty electoral politics. This is of

course the theory. The reality is and can be much different, because of the constricting effect on the choice of the electorate of (i) contradictions such as oligarchic and undemocratic tendencies in political party organization; and (ii) market imperfections and structural distortions in the economic organization of the liberal democratic state (Adele, 2011).

A political party is an organized group of people with at least roughly similar political aims and opinions that seek to influence the public, policy by getting its candidate elected to public office (Likoti, 2005). Edmund Burke defined political party as a body of men united for promoting their joint endeavors that national interests upon some particular principles in which they all agreed (cited in Ojo, 2009). The existence of political parties according to this definition must be based on the principles of promoting national interest. This is because political parties are often expected to have their membership spread across the country. This explain, for instance, why Nigerian constitution required parties to reflect federal character before they can be registered (Tordoff, 1999). Similarly, Osumah (2009) conceives political party as a voluntary association organized by persons bind by common interests or aims, which seeks to acquire or retain power through the election of its candidates into public office. Here political party was perceived as an instrument of acquiring political power in order to implement government policies.

Political Parties are integral part of the process of institutionalizing democracy. Thus, political parties according to IDEA (2000) produce the candidates, set the parameters of issues and agenda within which elections are to be held and they are expected to perform these duties periodically. The, functions of a political party were summarized by Carr (cited in Egbewole and Muhtar, 2010) as:

- i. Stimulating the citizenry to take a greater interest in election and activities of government.
- ii. Defining political issues of the day and sharpen the choice between alternative paths.
- iii. Presenting candidates who are committed to announce position with respect to issues.
- iv. Majority party provides basis upon which government can be operated.
- v. Accepting responsibility to govern upon winning election.

In addition, Political Parties, according to Huntington (1968), perform the functions of ordering the political system; they serve to structure political process and ensure that citizen participation in that process is orderly; they seek to provide a distinctive collective identify for their followers, one that is premised upon

acceptance of basic rules of the national political arena. As a result of these functions, Diamond (1997) asserted that:

Political parties remain important if not essential instruments for representing political constituencies and interests, aggregating demands and preferences, recruiting and socializing new candidate for office; organizing the electoral competition for power, crafting policy alternatives, setting the policy-making agenda, forming effective governments, and integrating groups and individuals into the democratic process. In order to perform these functions positively, political party should be guided by distinctive ideology which will sell them to a core set of electorates and distinguish them clearly from other political parties.

At this juncture, ideology becomes important feature of political parties. Party ideology, according to Seruton is moral systems that enshrine the sanctity of contact and promise between them (parties) and electorate; it constitute the political doctrine from which a programme of political actions emanates and on which basis citizens choose how they will like to be ruled (Sambine, 2004). In his opinion, Nnoli (2003) posited that ideology is very important aspect of politics, not only by serving as a cognitive structure for looking at society generally and providing a guide to individual action and judgment, but as a powerful instrument of conflict management, self-identification, popular mobilization and

legitimization. The party's policies plus strategies for achieving them and code of conduct for party members are encapsulated in ideology. On this basis, Simbine (2005) posited that parties and their manifestoes need to espouse the ideology on which they plan to run the government in order to give the electorates a clear picture of where the country is heading to and to decide whether or not to work in that direction. Absence of ideology in parties will therefore make it difficult for political parties to harmonize members view on political issues (Lamidi and Bello, 2013).

### **2.1.3 Political Campaigns**

Political campaigns are an organized effort which seeks to influence the decision-making process within a specific group or environment. It can also be viewed as the mobilization of forces either by an organization or individuals to influence others in order to effect an identified and desired political change. It shows people and particularly, political candidates' ability to sensitize the political community in relation to making the community see them as potentials and better representatives of the people. At any rate, every campaign is unique, and the ultimate goal of almost every political campaign is to win election. Although there is no single 'best' campaign strategy but the right strategy may differ from one candidate to another and for each election (Lynn, 2009).

What seems to be very important in any political campaign is the ‘message’ that is sent to the electorates. A campaign message is an important and potent tool that politicians use to express views and feelings to the public with the intention of reshaping and redirecting the electorates’ opinions to align with theirs. The message should be a simple statement that can be repeated severally throughout the campaign period to persuade the target audience or influence voters’ act in the candidates’ favour. The campaign message ought to contain the salient ingredients that the candidate wishes to share with the voters and these must be repeated often in order to create a lasting impression on the voters. As a matter of fact, good campaigners prefer to keep the message broad to attract the voters. In other words, appropriate use of language calls for the proper identification of the kinds of electorates targeted for mobilization during or after a political campaign. Lekan Oyeleye in the same context, classifies three kinds of audiences in this respect: i ) Captive Audience, who is fanatically interested in a mobilization programme and therefore gives his support without any need for persuasion. ii) Hostile Audience- an outright uninterested individual in the programme to which he /she may steer clear by not given any support to it and iii) Monitor Audience, who is merely indifferent and outright disinterested in the programme.

It is imperative to note that there are specific purposes for expressing political speeches, party slogans and campaign expressions. This action may be to

inform the electorates about the intention of a political aspirant and/or express the manifesto of a political party. It may also be intended to persuade or convince the consciences of the electorates to vote in favor of a candidate or a political party. It is usually not an intention during political campaigns to merely entertain the audience. The reason accountable for not attempting such purpose or goal is mainly because the language of political campaigns ought to reflect the felt need of the society/people at any given point in time. Once this goal is achieved, the possibility of informing and persuading electorates to vote in favour of certain individuals or a political party becomes easy.

Every electorate has expectations which may be clearly expressed or otherwise but such expectations are usually measured against certain symbols particularly, language expressions, which may present different meanings in the context of political campaigns. Oyeleye (2004) notes in his article, "The Power of words and the Techniques of Public Communication" that the situation, audience and purpose of communication integrate to determine the function and choice of language to use in an exchange (172). He further identifies two functions of language: informative function, which expresses the encoder/speaker's experience and the regulatory function which can establish and maintain social mobilization and empowerment.

This background lends credence to the need for clear expression of political messages without any form of ambiguity. The speaker, who may be a presidential, gubernatorial or senatorial candidate should ensure a display of interest in the assumed or perceived need(s) of the people, while expressing clear understanding of those needs and making required or concerted efforts to satisfy those needs. Political campaign language is often characterized and shaped by rhetoric, persuasion, propaganda, metaphor, euphemism, parallelism, jingles and slogans (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013).

#### **2.1.4 Party Politics and Elections in Nigeria Before 1999**

Nigerian parties have largely revolved around favorite sons who parade themselves as the best people to articulate ethnic positions either in alliance with others or alone in opposition. Issues and ideology have always been secondary considerations, at best, despite the tags of conservatives and progressives, socialists and feudalists, populists and elitists and the like. If the Nigerian party system as it later emerged can trace regional pivot of its component parties to the NNDP, its tendencies to respond to ethnic pressures can be similarly traced to the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM). Originally, the Lagos Youth Movement which in 1939 became the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) was an open political organization. It was open in the sense that it attracted to its fold persons from the different Nigerian groups. Ernest Ikoli, an Ijaw by ethnic extraction, was a visible and

active a founding member of the movement as was Samuel Akinsanya J. C. Vaughan and H. O. Davies. The initiation of Nnamdi Azikiwe into the movement broadened faster its ethnic scope (Kalu, 1964). The aspiration aspect of the movement reflected its national membership. The Nigerian Youth Charter' erected for the movement the ideal among others of bringing together the different ethnic groups in the country in addition to raising their collective awareness. As part of the practical approach towards its objective, the movement established branches in the Eastern towns of Aba, Calabar and Port Harcourt, in the Western towns of Benin-City, Ibadan, Ijebu Ode and Warri, and in the North in Jos, Kaduna, Kano and Zaria (Azikiwe, 1957). However, the promise of the National front it held forth was not realized. In 1941, the NYM, to intents and purposes, shed its national character. Nnamdi Azikiwe and the Ibo members of the movement together with Samuel Akinsanya and the Ijebu Yoruba left the movement. The reason for the action was that the non-Ijebu Yoruba had supported the victorious candidacy of the Ernest Ikoli, an Ijaw man, to the legislative council over that of Samuel Akinsanya. This incident marked as much the coming event of the tribalisation of the National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroon's (NCNC) which succeeded the NYM in nationalist appeal, just as it marked the interethnic disagreements that made the Action Group (AG) that was formed later the weak party it was despite its superior organization.

The ethnic sentiment undermined internal democratic values of these parties. The NCNC (1946-1966) was formally inaugurated on 26 August 1946 in Lagos. Some members of the Nigerian Union of Students had prevailed upon Herbert Macaulay and Nnamdi Azikiwe to rise to the leadership demand of the dispersed nationalist energies in the country to weld the heterogeneous masses of Nigeria in one solid block (Coleman, 1963). The nationalist reach of the NCNC was shown in its imaginative spatial links, its comprehensive of its leadership core, the universal causes it espoused, and in its somewhat mass character. Herbert Macaulay, the founder of the NNDP, was elected the president of the party in 1946 and the link with the generation that most members of the NYM fell in was established through Nnamdi Azikiwe who became the General Secretary of the party. The organizational affiliates of the party link it with an assortment that include literacy groups, social clubs, tribal associations, trade association, trade unions and athletic clubs in an imaginative mobilization scheme (Coleman, 1963). The leadership of its eventual radical core, the Zikist movement, was multi-ethnic in composition. The founders included an Edo, a Yoruba, an Ibo, and in time an Ebira, H. R. Abdallah became president of the movement. To be mentioned too is the remarkable Mallam Sa'ad Zungar from Bauchi who rose to the position of general secretary. The NCNC delegation to London in 1947 included Mallam Bukar Dispharima, a Kanuri, Chief Nyong Esien, an Ibiobio, P. M. Kale, a

Bakwerri (in the present Cameroon Republic), and Mrs. R. Kuti, a Yoruba among others (Coleman, 1963). There was therefore a great degree of internal democracy in the NCNC as at that time. However, the NCNC started gravitating towards the regionalist tendencies as from 1943 and especially in 1948 when Dr. Nnamdi was elected president of the Ibo State Union, an ethnic organization, and his speech the following year in that capacity dented his nationalist image (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013). In a remarkable chauvinistic pronouncement, Azikiwe noted that “the governing of Africa has specially created the Ibo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages.... the Ibo nation cannot shirk its responsibility (Azikiwe, 1937). If the earlier statement motivated the Ibo state union to seek to bring the Ibo linguistic group into a political unit in accordance with the NCNC freedom charter, the latter succeeded in presenting Azikiwe still correctly as one of the great fathers of Nationalism. By 1959, the NCNC which had begun in 1946 as a promising national organization had been reduced to regional proportions and its support more reliably drawn from an ethnic group. These drift towards primordial cleavages made NCNC to negate the tenets of internal democracy in its operations (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013).

There was a major cultural challenge to the nationalist promises of the NCNC and thus the Nigerian party system as it had then developed organizational roots in the formation of the Action Group (AG) in 1951. From the onset, there

was no room to doubt the biases of the AG (1951-1966). The document that announced the party's birth described it frankly as a Western Regional Political Organization, pure and simple (Post, 1963). The fact that the AG identified with just a part of the South, the West, was acknowledgment of the administrative division of the South into East and West in 1939. But even within the Western Region, the AG consciously cultivated a particular cultural group, the Yoruba, and their less distant kin groups who excluded Ibo speakers of the region. This deliberate exclusion, besides its regional bias is antithetical to the doctrines of intra-party democracy (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013). The limited electoral successes of the AG in the West as in all of Nigeria – it lost to the NCNC in its regional base in the 1954 election – compared with the strength of the NCNC and the NPC in their respective regional bases may be attributed to its excessive cultural emphasis in a region that was not culturally monolithic and in a country where the region was neither the largest numerically nor the entire people culturally indifferent (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013).

In 1951, the NPC proclaimed itself a formal political party and true to its descriptive reference, its objectives were northern. It is important to observe that the exclusive regional, emphasis of the NPC was a reaction to the Southern factor within the North as well. In 1948, Sir Abubakar T. Balewa, founder – member of the NPC as well as its most articulated spokesman, destined eleven years later to

become the country's first Prime Minister, could still reason that: "Many Nigerian deceive themselves by thinking that Nigeria is one.... this pretence of unity is artificial ... the Southern tribes ... now pouring into the North do not mix with Northern look upon them as invaders" (Whitaker, 1970). This aptly captures the picture of how the party structurally and practically circumcised the principles of openness and equity and as such, hamstrung intra-party democracy from blossoming. Leadership is central to organizations. This is particularly true of political parties where the orientation and behaviour of leaders determine what the party will do. In underdeveloped societies such as Nigeria, where the masses are predominantly illiterate, the elites seem to have greater freedom in what they do, and are not necessarily responsive to popular feelings and aspirations. Politics in such societies is seen more as an elite game and a luxury to the masses. In short, the generality of the population are pawns in the elite game of politics. In such societies, if the elites can unite, they can inspire their followers to the same purpose. If they fail to unite, they can become the centres for sectional affiliation. This was the Nigerian experience up to 1964 (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013).

Before 1959, the three major political leaders remained as regional premiers, leaving national politics to their lieutenants. Perhaps the main reason for this disposition was because internal self-government was granted to the regions while the central administration was still under the control of colonial officials. The

effect of this behaviour pattern was that the centre was placed in the inferior position to the regions in terms of perception of effective power. The regions were seen as the real bases of power. Since the premiers depended on regional support for the exercise of power, they had to defend regional interests. Their attachment to the regions worked to the detriment of national integration. After 1959, the premiers of the Eastern Western Regions decided to enter federal politics. The leader of the NPC, the Sardauna of Sokoto, remained in the Northern Region and left his subordinates as the national Prime Minister. This arrangement did not give national politics the prestige it needed at this critical point. Attachment to the federalist cause remained a matter of political expediency, and each party and leader aspired to control power at the centre, while maintaining their hold on their respective regions. The three major parties at the time of independence in 1960 were each identified with a region in terms of support base. Despite pretensions, none of them was a national organization in the real sense of the term. Competition for power at the centre took the form of a contest among the regions with its gross disregard for the tenets of intra-party democracy in their modus operandi. In the 1959 election, none of the parties was able to secure a majority of seats to govern by itself (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013). After protracted negotiations, the NPC and the NCNC agreed to form a coalition government. Alhaji Tafawa Balewa of the NPC became the federal Prime Minister while Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of the NCNC

became Governor-General. Though, the task of this study may not necessitate a detailed account of the events that unfolded, the failure of the political actors to abide by the tenets of democracy and by implication, intra-party democracy must be noted. After the Western Regional Elections of 1965, the country descended into chaos. A day after the commonwealth Conference ended on 15 January 1966, a military coup occurred and ended the first Republic (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013).

Structurally, it is obvious that the Nigerian party system violated conditions for political stability in the three-pronged party formation and the exclusiveness of their membership. As a consequence, there were no organizations with criss-crossing membership that could have acted as catalysts for national unity. With the three major parties entrenched in a region, Nigeria had what Etzioni (1965) has called a three-elite unit where each participant is constantly confronted with the possibility that the two (or more) others will form a coalition against him. This probability became a reality in 1959 when the NPC and the NCNC ganged up against the AG, and in 1964, when the NCNC and the AG grouped against the NPC. Such a setting has not always been conducive to national unity and integration. The rigid posture of the ruling party and its dictatorial tendencies alienated the Eastern, Western and Mid-Western Regions. The federal government became more a northern government (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013). Likewise, in other regions, each party attempted to isolate its rivals from fair competition. Each

region was in fact a one-party regime. The climate in Nigeria was one of mistrust which only the arrival of the soldiers helped to clear. Nigerian political parties failed to build bridges across ethnic and linguistic lines and instead reinforced existing societal cleavages. They could not perform the integrative functions which political parties must perform if the federal experiments are to succeed. Understandably, therefore, the system collapsed, giving way to a long period of military rule. When the ban on partisan politics was lifted, associations sought registration as political parties. At the end, five political parties out of fifty political associations that applied for registration were given the nod to function as parties (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013). These parties were the Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP), the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), The Nigeria People's Party (NPP), People's Redemption Party (PRP), and the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). From a plethora of analytical perceptions, it was generally accepted that with the exception of the GNPP all the other parties were to a certain extent, reincarnations of political parties of the moribund first republic (Yaqub, 2002). Politics was therefore practiced not in tandem with the principles of internal democracy and universal standards but hinged principally on clientelism and prebendalism (Joseph, 1987). Consequently, the scope of electoral support par se may not necessarily bring about political stability and national integration. The experiences of the 1962 Action group crises as well as the examples in other states in the second republic

are quite illuminating in this regards (Ollawa, 1989). Apart from the break-up of the NPN – NPP accord, bitter splits occurred in the GNPP, NPP and PRP between 1980 and 1982 which seriously affected the stability of the party leadership and its support bases as well as the transactional relationships between individual legislators and their parties. Certainly much of the tension between the NPN and the alliance of the so-called progressive parties – UPN, NPP, and factions of PRP and GNPP which also spilled over into the operations of the National Assembly as evidenced by the unnecessary delays in the passage of important legislation including the revenue allocation bill, and the annual budgets, can be traced to the peculiarity of Nigerian party politics (Ollawa, 1989). The paradox of party politics in the second republic is that intuitional attempt to evolve a party system which would promote stable contest between parties presumably characterized by different programmes manifested in issue-oriented ideologies, which would work towards the integration of the people with the governing of the society, what emerged in practice was transactional politics based on opportunistic and informal networks of politicking replete with intra-party factionalism that constantly led to shifting of alliances, a situation which unavoidably supplanted the formal structures of party organization. Preparatory to the 1983 elections, almost all the political parties circumvented internal democratic norms in nominating their flag-bearers (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013). Even though Shagari did not exhibit readiness

to re-contest early enough, ostensibly due to the zoning arrangement in NPN which fell into Zone 'B', a situation which made Chief M.K.O. Abiola to indicate interest to contest, early in 1982, Umaru Dikko, undoubtedly the most influential, confident of President Shagari, put the renomination machine of Shagari into motion (Remi and Ojukwu, 2013). By May, it was possible for the national executive committee to favour the renomination of Shagari for a second term. In June 1982 the party planned a special convention to choose a presidential candidate. When nomination closed at 12:30pm on 5 June 1982, Shagari was the only candidate who had filed nomination papers. Umaru Dikko, alias "Mr. Fix it" was the main architect of this victory". Dikko, using a Hausa proverb warned interested candidates before the convention that 'a rich man should be content to remain a king's friend, rather than try to become the king himself. The day he tries to do so, that day people will show him his limits (the New Nigerian 12, June 1982, p.3). To that extent therefore, Chief M.K.O Abiola was frustrated in his ambition in flagrant abuse of normal provisions for the emergence of party flag-bearers and in outright disregard for the doctrines of intra-party democracy. It is instructive to note that for the other political parties, the question of a presidential candidate was not a problem as only one candidate was in the running. On 9 December 1982, the national president of the UPN, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was unanimously nominated as the party's candidate at its fifth yearly congress in

Lagos. He was also recommended to the summit of the PPA meeting later that month, for adoption as the presidential candidate of the alliance. Nnamdi Azikiwe was chosen as the NPP presidential candidate at the party's fourth national convention in Port-Harcourt on 18 December 1982. It is imperative to state that for the NPN and more so for the UPN serious attempts were made to seek the views of the members of the party in each state, senatorial district, and constituency on the candidate with the largest following for the various positions. This use or abuse of primaries caused serious cleavages in these parties in many areas and in particular in states where the party was in control of state administration. In some cases, the political parties were unable to heal the wound. The mutilation of Nigeria's body politic is undoubtedly the proximate cause of the collapse of the second republic on 31 December, 1983 (Innocent, 2012).

Taking the argument further and offering explanation to the events that culminated in the termination of the third republic, Simbine (2013:2-3) affirmed that:

During the aborted Third republic, two political parties were registered and allowed to operate namely, the National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP). Thereafter, under the Abacha transition programme, eighteen political associations applied for registration as political parties, out of which five were registered, viz: The Congress for National Consensus (CNC), the Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), the Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM), the National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN) and the United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP). The

apparent bankruptcy and lack of distinctive ideology made former Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Bola Ige, to describe the parties as “five fingers of a leprous hand” (Aduku and Umoru, 2014).

### **2.1.5 Party Politics and Elections in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic (1999 – 2014)**

The controversial and sudden death of General Sanni Abacha (the then head of state) signalled the commencement of the fourth republic. Upon his sudden death, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, as it was alleged, who was to have been retired by General Abacha, along with other senior military officers on June 8, 1998 (Iroanusi, 2000: 178), emerged as the new Head of State on June 9, 1998. He was essentially preoccupied with organising another transition to civil rule while attempting to re-enact a collaborative foreign policy with countries that had regarded Nigeria as a pariah state (Fawole, 1999 and Adebajo, 2006: 10-16).

In stating the premises upon which he arrived at a conclusion for dissolving all the five political parties, former Head of state, General Abdulsalami Abubakar stated that, ‘in particular, democratization was marred by manoeuvring and manipulation of political institutions, structures and actors. In the end, we have only succeeded in creating a defective foundation on which a solid democratic structure can neither be constructed nor sustained (Gen. Abubakar, 1998)’. Thus, he doubted that the parties could be the strong pillars and instruments through which democracy can be cultivated and entrenched, maintaining that these qualities

were certainly lacking in the Nigerian political space (Simbine, 2013:3-4). Abdulsalami's transition programme essentially threw up three major political parties: Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Peoples Party (APP) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) (Momoh2013:11).

In the march towards the Fourth republic, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) initially granted provisional registration to nine (9) political parties in 1998 (Simbine, 2013:4). The 1999 elections ushered in the Fourth Republic. Three political parties contested the elections. These were the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), the All Peoples Party (APP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD). The political parties that had sought to engage the emerging democratic order were 24 (Abdu, 2002: 94). However, only three were registered by the Independent National Electoral Commission to assume the status of political parties. This was with the condition that after the local government elections of that year, those that had 10% votes and above in at least 24 states of the Federation would qualify to contest the subsequent State and Federal elections (Simbine, 2013:4).

This was after supposedly surmounting the constitutional huddles of showing that they were not sectional, ethnic, or religious party and that their membership and support bases were sufficiently reflective of the diversity of the country. The empirical test of this national spread requirement was the nationwide

local council elections conducted in 1998. Actually, the AD did not exactly pass the test “but was nevertheless registered. The government felt this was the only way that the South West which had sustained the pro-democracy agitation since 1993, would participate in the transition programme, thereby lending it credibility” (Agbaje, et al 2007: 84).

A major feature of the Fourth Republic is the proliferation of political parties, that primarily do not seek to contest elections, but which are in more ways limited and self serving in roles and interests. Though the number of political parties was 30 in 2002, 33 in early 2006 and 50 in 2007, only 16 fielded candidates in the 2003 General Elections while only 26 contested the 2007 General Elections. Even the parties that contested the elections were merely “temporal machines for electoral contests” (TMG, 2003:18).

Thus the major parties, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), and All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) have been plagued by deep internal crises, disorder, recurring tensions and turmoil manifested in factional fighting, expulsions and counter-expulsions, multiple executives and dual offices. There is a high level of money politics, political vagrancy, indiscipline and in-cohesion (Omotola 2009:612).

Some months into the Fourth republic, with Obasanjo as President, politicians began to clamour for the registration of more parties. The federal government

initially refused to register more political parties, a development that forced the unregistered associations to seek redress in court (Simbine, 2013:4).

With Court judgment in their favour, it appeared that a floodgate was opened for parties to seek and get registered. Thus, while about 30 political parties contested during the 2003 elections, the number grew to 63 as the 2011 elections drew near. As of April 2013, only 25 political parties are recognized by the election management body (Simbine, 2013:4). With the registration of the new political parties; All Progressives' Congress (APC) which is a product of a Merger from the three main opposition parties: Action Congress of Nigeria, All Nigerian people's party, Congress for progressive Change and factions of two other parties) People's Democratic Movement (PDM), Independent Democrat (ID) the number of the political parties still stand at 25 (*Aduku and Umoru, 2014*).

At the 1999 Presidential election, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of PDP had contested against a coalition of two other parties (APP and AD) which had brought forward Chief Olu Falae as presidential candidate (Momoh, 2013:13). The election was however not free and fair while traces of ethnic politics still manifested in the creation of political parties as AD had its main followership in the south west. But while the 1999 elections were not free nor fair, the 2003 General Elections were characterised by fraud, miscounting, rigging, and malfeasance. In addition, the election was not issue-oriented, the political parties lacked well-thought out

programmes and manifestos, the executive lord over the other two arms through actual disrespect of ruling or threat of impeachment and blackmail, (Momoh, 2006: 71-73).

The 2007 General elections could best be described as *electoral Tsunami* or what have been euphemistically referred to as Direct Capture (DC), within the overall strategic framework of Primitive Accumulation of Votes (PAV). In early stages of PAV political parties rigged elections and although the state was generally not neutral, its institutions were used (instrumentalised) for the purpose of achieving PAV “In other words, state institutions were first captured by private interests, particularly political parties, and then deployed for PAV” (Ibeanu, 2009: 15).

Political parties in Nigeria are not keen about deepening democracy; rather they are more preoccupied with the crude capture of power. They have abandoned their traditional role of membership recruitment and mobilization, and political education (Momoh, 2013:27). With the emergence of godfathers, owners and joiners, political nomads and the use of uncivil means to win elections, Nigerian political parties have continued to contribute to de-democratization. The central challenge of party system dwells on party processes, inter-party relationship, violence, and other ecological factors (Momoh, 2013:27).

In contra- distinction, Jinadu (2013:6) rising to the defense of political parties in Nigeria especially in the fourth republic contends that:

This is not to say that all has been bad or that all has not been well since May 1999. It is only to point to creeping and indeed deepening contradictions, which require urgent policy action. The action is urgent, if the considerable and obvious progress the country has made towards deepening democratic transition since 1999 in the following areas is not to turn into a fleeting mirage: (i) continuing commitment to federalism; (ii) the political succession, in line with constitutional fixed term limits and/or through democratic elections, at the federal and state level, even if still problematic and controversial in several respects; (iii) the ebb and flow in the watchdog role of the legislature and judiciary especially at the federal level, under the separation of powers; (iv) the apparent subordination of the military to civilian control; (v) the vibrancy of the civil society as democratic sentinel; and (vi) the limited, though not inconsequential, success of democracy-promoting institutions, such as the independent national electoral commission, the national human rights commission and the economic and financial crimes commission (Aduku and Umoru, 2014).

## **2.2. Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework suitable for this study is the game theoretical model. The game theory owes its origin due to its write up by Emil Borel in 1920s. The theory was further developed by John Von Neu (a mathematician) who used it to deal with classic problem of defining the behaviour of the economic man or the ‘rational’ actor. It was only after Neumann and Oskar Mogenstern (an economist) published their work “Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour in 1944 that it

gained popularity. This explains why the approach is often called the “economic” theory of politics.

However, the credit of introducing and to some extent applying the model to Political Science goes to R. Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa, Martin Shubik and Anatol Rapoport (Olaniyi, 2001: 76). According to Plano and Riggs (1973:33), game theory involves “a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, when each participant or player seeks to maximise gains and minimize losses.” Abrams (1980: 189) also defined it as: “essentially the study of collective choice situations in which individual decisions depend not only upon individual preferences but upon the preferences of other individuals involved, and upon the outcomes which result from different sets of individual choices”.

Based on the two definitions, it is obvious that game theory involves a game of rationality on the parts of actors involved. Also, the theory involves the formulation of strategies of decision. In the words of Kolawole (1997: 270), it emphasizes the fact that a decision of one actor depends on the decisions of other actors, thus it emphasizes the interdependence of actors’ decisions. The game theoretical model has two main categories, namely the zero-sum game and the N-sum game. The zero-sum game type is one where there are two or more players involved, with the ultimate objective of winning employing the rules and strategies

associated with the game. The rules of the game include: there can be only one winner, each player is strictly on his own-there are no compensations for losers, etc.

In such a situation, each player would seek to play according to the rule, however, as there can be only one winner, who takes the entire prize that is at stake, the frustrations of the prospective losers may cause them to adopt under-hand strategies that are alien to the rule of the game. Thus, violence becomes inevitable. Furthermore, as the outcome would only favor only one player, the other players that are excluded from the prize may turn to violence as the only alternative, either to prevent the winner from enjoying the benefits, or allow for negotiations and concessions (Kehinde, 2007: 100).

On the other hand is the N-sum game category. It also involves two or more players. The rule of the game allows for coalition to be made among or between players. Here, everybody wins, although the degree of the prize varies; it depends on the performance in the game. Here, winner does not take all and the losers do not lose all; the implication here is that everybody is a winner and 'sharer' in the gains of the game. The instances of violent behaviour according to Kehinde (2007: 101) are reduced to the barest minimum.

Looking the two categories of the game theoretical model, the former (zero-sum model) is applicable to the present study. Applying the model to the present

study, there is more than one contestant vying for the post of president. Each contestant tries as much as possible to adhere to the rules of the game and the winner takes all among the contestants. The winner takes all in form of playing politics in such a way that he wins the presidential primaries and goes on to contest for presidential election. There will not be any compensation for the loser of the game (Kehinde, 2007: 100).

### **2.3. Relevance of the Theory**

Politics is all about the acquisition, use and consolidation of state power (Kehinde, 2007). In a liberal democracy, political parties compete to acquire state power to further their political objectives. The game theory is relevant to this study because it gives us an understanding of the political parties in the 2015 presidential elections in their quest to capture power. The electioneering campaigns of the parties provided an opportunity for them to persuade and convince the electorate to voting for them and contributing to their electoral success and their eventual capture of state power (Kehinde, 2007).

In the quest to win political power, political parties undertake electioneering campaigns to persuade the electorate to vote them into power as the best alternative to other parties. Within the context of the game theory this is important as the focus of the theory is about winning and using organized

means like political campaigns to win. The campaigns represented a platform for political parties promote their policies and electoral values so as to maximize the political gains and capitals while minimizing the tendency for any lost.

In party politics there are many players and stakeholders and available means are deployed into making sure the party comes victorious. Eventually, the winning party forms the government to fulfill its electioneering promises. This is the hallmark of the game theory. The various political parties and stakeholders do and use everything at their disposal to win an election as exemplify in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria.

Eventually, the APC presidential candidate won the election by defeating the ruling PDP presidential candidate. The APC has taken over government and is the process of fulfilling its electioneering promises, without recourse of inviting the PDP to be part of the government. This is the thrust of the game theory; there are always winners and losers in any political contest. In the Nigerian scenario, it is a zero sum game.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

Research mythology refers to the process of scientific enquiry to be used in a research. The purpose of research according to Kothari (1990) is to ‘discover answer to questions’. No truthful research information can be arrived at, unless appropriate research methods and procedures are carefully selected for the study and correctly applied.

The nature of the problem determines the method for the collection of information needed to analysis is (Izah, 1984). There are several methods for conducting research. Nevertheless for the purpose of this study, the survey method was used. This method was adopted for the fact that survey improves the level of our understanding through the information generated from the field about party politics. Also, survey research method determine the status of given political phenomenon and establish factors that are responsible for it. Likewise, survey research focuses on the vital aspects of population of respondents. Survey method equally focuses on the present conditions and present needs. Therefore, this method would help in providing the requisite data needed for this research. This is because it involves the observation of behavior which will enable one to establish the truth and predict the future.

### **3.1 Research Design**

Research design is the deliberate strategic approach used in conducting a scientific enquiry. It answers the questions about a scientific inquiry in terms of what, where, when, how and by what means? A research design is the operational paradigm and conceptual frame of the scientific enquiry. It gives shape, form and identify to the research activity. Research design serves as the anchor of the scientific study. It provides smooth sailing and enables the evaluation of the scientific exercise. It is the research plan or blueprint of action.

The principles of research design involve a set of rules and norms that guide the choice and development of a research design. The choice of research design involves decisions relating to: what entities (individuals, groups, communities, organizations, and nations) should be studied? What aspects of characteristics of these entities are of interest? Where will the study be located? When is the study being undertaken? What period of time will the study cover? Where can data be found? What type of data is needed? And what kind of relationship is anticipated/will be studied?

### **3.2 The Study Area**

The study area for this work is Nigeria with main emphasis on three political parties that contested for 2015 presidential election.

Nigeria is an amalgamation of ancient Kingdoms, Caliphates, Emirate and City-States with a long history of organized societies. Its boundaries were drawn as a result of trade and overseas territorial ambitions of western European powers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The name “Nigeria” was adopted in 1898 by Miss Flora Shaw to designate the British protectorates on the River Niger. Nigeria was colonized by Britain in 1885, and become a British protectorate in 1901. Colonization lasted until 1960, when an independent movement succeeded in gaining Nigeria its independence (Faloa, 2008).

Nigeria is a Federal Constitutional Republic comprising 36 states, 774 Local Government Areas and the Federal Capital Territory in Abuja. Nigeria is located in West Africa and share land borders with the Republic of Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in east, and Niger in the north. Its coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea in Atlantic Ocean. Nigeria is often referred to as the “Giant of Africa” due to its large population and economy, with approximately 174 million inhabitants and a total land area of 923, 768km (Peter, 1989).

Nigeria is blessed with the abundance of natural and mineral resources, though under exploited. They include natural gas, limestone, coal, lead, copper, iron ore, tin and columbines, etc. Despite the abundance of natural resources, of the country’s foreign exchange is very low. In terms of population, Nigeria is the most

populated country in Africa and the 7th most populous country in the world. In the country is habited by over 500 ethnic groups with varying languages, customs and religions. Thus, creating a country of rich ethnic diversity. (Falola, 2008).

Nigeria returned to democracy after experiencing almost 33 years of military dictatorship. However the country has witnessed uninterrupted democracy from 1999 till date. Nigeria is modeled after the United States of American with executive powers exercise by the president (Charles, 2005).

### **3.3 Study Population and Sampling Technique**

The study population is a subset of the population that is representative of the entire population. Population refers to the entire groups of people or objects living in a place at a given period of time. The study populations were Adults and Youths of about the ages of 18 and above Kogi State University Anyigba and Federal University Lokoja. The reason is that different tribes are represented at the institutions and also participated in the voting.

However, we relied more on secondary sourced material, though systematic qualitative content analysis. The analysis of data collected for this research was done through the descriptive or qualitative. Analytical method is a type of research that utilizes critical thinking to find out facts about a given topic and from the answers obtained develop new and useful ways of doing things.

### **3.4 Method of Data Collection**

Data for the study were collected through qualitative instruments/techniques. Qualitative data was elicited through primary/secondary sourced materials such as relevant textbooks, previous empirical studies by eminent scholars, newspapers, journals, articles, magazines, periodicals, and the internet. According to Obasi (1999), secondary data are information recorded by other persons or events observed by such persons, data from textbooks, newspapers, magazines, journals, articles, written by others etc.

### **3.5 Sources of Data Collection**

According to Osuala (1991), data simply refers to facts. In most cases they are raw facts which are used to build up more comprehensive and useful information. There are two sources of data namely: primary and secondary sources.

**Primary Source:** There are direct sources of data which gives the researchers firsthand information on the subject from where he or she can make accurate inference. Primary sourced data may be obtained through actual observation, eye witness account, direct participation in the events or interaction with the original source and in their original forms.

**Secondary Sources** on the other hand are already used and processed forms of data which gives the researcher a good insight into topic or subject under study since it affords the researchers the liberty of better understanding. This is because it would have available, already tested knowledge on the subject matter as well as on trends in its evaluation as the case may be. However, in this research work, primary and secondary sources of data were used. Sources were obtained from text books, journals and related articles on the internet.

### **3.6 Method of Data Management**

The transcription of the qualitative data was carried out to buttress the analysis. This was done descriptively. Thereafter, summary of important quotations were reported to highlight individual and collective views. Also, information sourced from newspapers, magazines, journals, articles were well quoted and referenced appropriately and were used for better analysis of the research study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### COLLECTION, PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

To enhance the collection, presentation and analysis of data in this chapter, the researcher gave out one hundred and fifty structured questionnaires to respondents and due to his diligence collected back the one hundred and fifty questionnaires from the respondents.

#### 4.2. SECTION A: SOCIAL ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

S/N	Variables	Option	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	SEX	Male	90	60
		Female	60	40
		Total	150	100
2	AGE	18 – 30	50	33.33
		31 – 40	40	26.67
		41 – 50	30	20
		51 and above	30	20
		Total	150	100
3	MARITAL STATUS	Single	40	26.67
		Married	50	33.33
		Divorced	30	20
		Widowed	30	20
		Total	150	100
4	RELIGION	Christianity	50	33.33
		Muslim	50	33.33
		Traditional	30	20
		Any other	20	13.33
		Total	150	100

5	EDUCATION	O. Level	20	13.33
		OND/NCE	50	33.33
		HND/BSC	50	33.33
		MSC, PHD	30	20
		Total	150	100
6	OCCUPATION	Student	50	33.33
		Civil	40	26.67
		Servant	30	20
		Farmer	30	20
		Trader	150	100
		Total		
7	DURATION OF STAY IN NIGERIA	0 – 2	10	6.67
		3 – 6	10	6.67
		7 – 10	30	20
		11 – 20	50	33.33
		21 and above	50	33.33
		Total	150	100

### 4.3. SECTION B: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

**TABLE 1: Membership of any Political Party in Nigeria**

<b>YES</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>70%</b>

In table 1 above, about 30% of the respondents indicated that they are members of a political party in Nigeria while 70% are non members of any political party. To a large extent, the statistics shows that a large proportion of the respondents are not interested in party politics. This implies that party politics is a game that is played mostly by the few – presumably the elites in Nigeria.

**TABLE 2: Participation in the Electoral Process of 2015**

<b>YES</b>	<b>65%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>35%</b>

In table 2 above, 65% of the respondents showed that they participated in the electoral process of 2015 while 35% said they did not participate. This statistics clearly shows that majority of Nigerians took part in the electoral process and as such confer some element of legitimacy on the process.

**TABLE 3: Level of Participation in the Electoral Process of 2015**

<b>Voting</b>	<b>70%</b>
<b>Party Agent</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>INEC Official</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>Any Other</b>	<b>15%</b>

Table 3 shows the level of participation of the respondents in the electoral process. 70% of the respondents took part in the voting process, 10% took part in the electoral process mainly as party agents, 5% as INEC officials while 15% took part in other aspects of the electoral process. The statistics is indicative of the reality that majority of Nigerians would rather partake in the seemingly passive

process of the electoral process than take part in the membership of political parties and actively partake in electioneering campaigns.

**TABLE 4: Party Campaigns Issues Based**

<b>YES</b>	<b>75%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>25%</b>

From table 4 above, majority of the respondents (75%) are of the opinion that the political party campaigns of the 2015 presidential election was based on issues of hate campaigns and not on ideology while 25% are of contrary opinion.

**TABLE 5: Were there Hate Campaigns?**

<b>YES</b>	<b>90%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>10%</b>

About 95% of the respondents in table 5 indicated that hate campaigns dominated party politics in the 2015 presidential election while 10% of the respondents are of contrary view. This statistics probably support the position of the majority of the respondents' views that political party campaigns of the 2015 presidential election was not based on issues and ideology as obtained in table 4.

**TABLE 6: Political Parties and Degree of Use of Hate Campaign**

<b>PDP</b>	<b>90%</b>
<b>APC</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>APGA</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>PPA</b>	<b>0%</b>

In response to the question which political party used hate campaign most in the 2015 presidential elections, 90% of the respondents said PDP while 10% indicated APC. No other political parties were mentioned to have used hate campaigns by the respondents. The restriction of hate campaign to the PDP and APC probably indicates that they were the dominant and competitive political parties during the 2015 presidential elections.

**TABLE 7: Number of Political Parties that Existed in Your Ward**

<b>Option</b>	<b>Numbers of political party</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>40%</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>20%</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>20%</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10%</b>

In table 7 above, 40% of the respondents said only two political parties existed in their wards, 20% indicated three political parties existed in their ward

respectively while 10% said one political party existed in their wards respectively. Based on this statistics there is no doubt that political parties were not grass root based and did little to sell themselves to the people in the grass root.

**TABLE 8: The Campaigns and Effects on Voters' Behaviour**

<b>YES</b>	<b>20%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>80%</b>

In table 8 above, 80% of the respondents said the campaigns did not have effects on the voting behavior of the electorate while 20% said the campaigns had effects on voters' behavior. This indicates that the electorate is literate enough to discern who to vote, hate campaigns or not.

**TABLE 9: Freeness and Fairness of the 2015 Elections**

<b>YES</b>	<b>80%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>20%</b>

The 2015 presidential election according to 80% of the respondents in table 9 was free and fair while 20% was of contrary opinion. This statistics to some degree will add value to the credibility as well as the legitimacy of the election and electoral process.

**TABLE 10: 2015 Presidential Election and Violence**

<b>YES</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>95%</b>

The views expressed by respondents in table 10 show that 95% of them said that the 2015 presidential election was violence free while 5% was of the contrary opinion. This may indicate the maturity of the electorate preference for an election that is rancor free rather than follow the sentiments implicit in the preceding hate campaigns of the political parties.

**TABLE 11: Subscription for Hate Campaigns in Future Elections**

<b>YES</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>95%</b>

Table 11 above shows that an overwhelming number of the respondents (95%) rejected any place for any form of hate campaign in future elections while 5% holds contrary view. That 5% of the respondents subscribed for hate campaigns in future election shows the degree to which party politics have degenerated to and there is need to campaign to root out all forms of hatred in party politics in the country.

**TABLE 12: Hate Campaigns and the Voting Pattern of the Electorate**

<b>YES</b>	<b>8%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>92%</b>

In table 12 above, 92% of the respondents said that the hate campaigns did not influence their voting behavior while 20% said the campaigns had effects on voters' behavior. This indicates that the electorate is literate enough to discern who to vote for, hate campaigns or not. Despite the overwhelming lack of effect of hate campaigns on voters, the small number of respondents it has influence on shows how powerful hate campaigns could get when allowed to thrive in party politics.

**TABLE 13: Social Media and the Balancing of Political Reportage**

<b>YES</b>	<b>70%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>30%</b>

In table 13, 70% of the respondents are of the view that social media were involved in the balanced reportage of political activities during the 2015 presidential election. This partly reflects the power of Information Communication Technology in enhancing the dissemination of political issues and creating awareness among the electorate. However, 30 of the respondents are not of the view that social media were involved in the balanced reportage of political activities during the election.

**TABLE 14: Candidates and Equality of Campaign Opportunity**

<b>YES</b>	<b>55%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>45%</b>

In table 14, 55% of the respondents are of the opinion that candidates were given equal opportunity to campaign by the social media during the 2015 presidential election. This tends to agree with the position of majority of respondents that said that the social media allowed balanced reportage of political activities. Yet, 45% of the respondents do not agree that candidates were given equal opportunity to campaign by the social media during the election.

**TABLE 15: Awareness of Political Party in Your Ward**

<b>YES</b>	<b>55%</b>
<b>NO</b>	<b>45%</b>

Table 15 above shows that 65% of the respondents have awareness of political parties in their wards while 35% do not have any awareness of political parties in their wards. Despite the general level of awareness of the activities of political parties as evidenced in table 15, it still does not augur well for party politics that a serious number of the electorate does not have knowledge of the activities of political parties in their area.

#### **4.4. FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS**

Evidences from the written interview conducted through the collection of data indicated the following observations:

That party politics in Nigeria as exemplified by the 2015 presidential election is dominated by the few people who actively partake in most of the activities. For example, 30% of the respondents in table 1 indicated that they are members of a political party in Nigeria while 70% are non-members of any political party. To a large extent, the statistics shows that a large proportion of the respondents are not interested in party politics. This implies that party politics is a game that is played mostly by the few – presumably the elites in Nigeria.

Also, observation from the field indicated that most of the political parties are not known by the electorate at the grass root levels. This was partly due to the non existence of the parties in these places. For example, 40% of the respondents in table 7 said only two political parties existed in their wards, 20% indicated three that parties existed respectively while 10% said one political party existed in their wards respectively. Based on this statistics there is no doubt that political parties are not grass root based and did little to sell themselves to the people in the grass root.

That the campaign of political parties during the 2015 presidential election was marred by hate campaigns, although in consonance with assumption two of the study which states thus: When political parties dwell on hate campaigns it will lose its supporters, the hate campaigns had little impact on the way the electorate voted.

That the views of majority of the respondents on the freeness and fairness of the 2015 presidential election tends to give credibility to the electoral process to a large extent and enhance the legitimacy of the elected government. For example, the 2015 presidential election according to 80% of the respondents in table 9 was free and fair while 20% was of contrary opinion. This statistics to some degree enhances the credibility as well as the legitimacy of the election and electoral process.

That to a large extent political campaign during the 2015 presidential election was based on issues of hate campaigns and parochial sentiments and not on ideology. For example, majority of the respondents (75%) in table 4 are of the opinion that the political party campaigns of the 2015 presidential election was based on issues of hate campaigns and not ideology while 25% are of contrary opinion.

Those political parties that base their campaigns on issues are likely to lose their popularity. The outcome of hate campaigns as evident in the 2015 presidential

election in which the PDP, adjudged by majority of the respondents in table 6 to be culpable of, lost the election seem to agree with assumption one of the study which states that: When political parties campaign on issues it will lose its popularity and assumption two of the study which states that: “When political parties dwell on hate campaigns it will lose its supporters”.

That the importance of social media in modern electoral process was evident in the acknowledgement by majority of the respondents that the 2015 presidential election enjoyed balanced reportage from the social media. Also, there seems to be a link between the import of social media to the credibility and assumption 3 of the study. For example, in table 13, 70% of the respondents are of the view that social media were involved in the balanced reportage of political activities during the 2015 presidential election. This partly reflects the power of Information Communication Technology in enhancing the dissemination of political issues and creating awareness among the electorate. However, 30 of the respondents are not of the view that social media was involved in the balanced reportage of political activities during the election. This development also justify assumption three of the study which states that: When the social media presents a balanced reportage on contenders in an election, there will be free and fair elections.

That to a large extent the 2015 presidential election was violence free and this tends to indicate the maturity of the electorate not to be deceived by hate and ethnic campaigns of politicians. This also adds value to the credibility and legitimacy of the electoral process. For example, the views expressed by respondents in table 10 show that 95% of them said that the 2015 presidential election was violence free while 5% was of the contrary opinion. This may indicate the maturity of the electorate preference for an election that is rancor free rather than follow the sentiments implicit in the preceding hate campaigns of the political parties.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.1. Summary**

The study examined Party Politics and Political Campaigns in Nigeria with specific focus on the 2015 Presidential Election. Political campaigns are an organized effort which seeks to influence the decision-making process within a specific group or environment. It can also be viewed as the mobilization of forces either by an organization or individuals to influence others in order to effect an identified and desired political change. The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria provided the opposition a realistic chance of wresting power from the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). The presidential election which was a two-horse race between the ruling PDP and the main opposition party, the All Progressive Congress (APC) was won by President Muhammadu Buhari of the opposition party APC.

The nature of the political campaigns that accompanied the 2015 presidential contest, the key issues that dominated the electioneering campaigns and the role of the social media in the political campaigns are the thrust of the study. Specifically, the study examined whether the parties campaigned on issues or ideology during the 2015 presidential election, whether hate campaign was used by political parties

in the course of 2015 presidential election, and the extent to which the social media was effective in balancing reportage of party activities in the 2015 presidential election.

Evidence from the study shows that party politics in Nigeria as exemplified by the 2015 presidential election is dominated by the few people who actively partake in most of the activities. To a large extent, the statistics in the study shows that a large proportion of the electorates tend to content themselves to voting during elections only and seem satisfied with it, neglecting issues of party membership and organizing campaigns. Moreover, the study reveals that the activities of most of the political parties as are not known by most of the electorate in the grass root. This was partly due to the non existence of the parties in the grass root and the political parties not doing enough to sell themselves to the people in the grass root.

Besides, the findings from the study indicates that the campaign of political parties during the 2015 presidential election was marred by hate campaigns, although in consonance with assumption two of the study, the hate campaigns had little impact on the way the electorate voted. In this regard, the outcome of hate campaigns as evident in the 2015 presidential election in which the PDP, adjudged by majority of the respondents to be culpable of lost the election, seem to agree

with the assumption that political parties that campaign on issues and hate will lose its popularity.

Furthermore, evidence from the study shows that the 2015 presidential election was largely free and fair. In addition, the acknowledgement that the 2015 presidential election was violence free by majority of the respondents added value to the credibility to the election and the electoral process and to a large extent enhances the legitimacy of the elected government.

The study also reveals the importance of social media in modern electoral process was evident in the balanced reportage of the 2015 presidential election. Evidently, there seems to be a link between the effective performance of social media and the credibility of elections as exemplified by the 2015 presidential election. This partly reflects the power of Information Communication Technology in enhancing the dissemination of political issues and creating awareness among the electorate.

In essence, political campaigns are central to the ability of political parties winning elections. Political campaigns are core to mobilizing the people to participate in elections and party activities, and thus expand the base of the parties. Although there is no single 'best' campaign strategy but the right strategy may differ from one candidate to another and for each election (Lynn, 2009), yet based

on the study of the 2015 presidential election, it is established that political parties that focus on policies and programmes rather than on issues and hate campaigns are likely to win elections. Generally, the study on the 2015 presidential election has reveal the strong link between party politics, political campaigns, effective performance of social media and the violent free nature and credibility of elections.

## **5.2. Conclusion**

Politics remain a human activity which involves interactions and inter-relationships amongst free and equal citizens. It must aim at improving the conditions of man for the satisfaction of human needs or demands for higher standard of living in the society. This is quite significant to give meaning to life and to affirm the uniqueness of individuals. Political campaigns can also be viewed as the mobilization of forces either by an organization or individuals to influence others in order to effect an identified and desired political change. It shows people and particularly, political candidates' ability to sensitize the political community in relation to making the community see them as potentials and better representatives of the people. At any rate, every campaign is unique, and the ultimate goal of almost every political campaign is to win election. Although there is no single 'best' campaign strategy but the right strategy may differ from one candidate to another and for each election (Lynn, 2009).

What seems to be very important in any political campaign is the ‘message’ that is sent to the electorates. A campaign message is an important and potent tool that politicians use to express views and feelings to the public with the intention of reshaping and redirecting the electorates’ opinions to align with theirs. The message should be a simple statement that can be repeated severally throughout the campaign period to persuade the target audience or influence voters’ act in the candidates’ favour. The campaign message ought to contain the salient ingredients that the candidate wishes to share with the voters and these must be repeated often in order to create a lasting impression on the voters.

Drawing from the evidence from the study, the nexus between party politics, political campaigns and electoral successes/failures of political parties and the credibility of elections is strong. The lack of popular participation as the 2015 presidential election reveals tends to leave party politics in the hands of a domineering few, especially the privileged political elite. This partly explains the problem of god-fatherism in politics in Nigeria and the absence of internal democracy in most of the political parties. The outcome of the election also reveals the poor effects of resort to hate campaigns and other issues by political parties. The election also witnessed unprecedented social media coverage ever in the history of elections in Nigeria.

Moreover, the social media inundated with not just political advertisements but also news analysis, news features, news stories, editorials, opinion articles, predictions among other media genre to the extent that on daily basis before and during the election, the social media became the mass educator (Ibraheem, Odozi Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Tejumaiye, 2015). It is important to note that all these issues were core to examining the discourse on the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria and the basis for understanding the nature of party politics underpinning the election.

### **5.3. Recommendations**

In the light of the findings and conclusion from this paper the researches recommends the following:

Political candidates and parties should strive to practice politics without bitterness by making frantic efforts to inform or persuade electorates rather than deceive them with enticing words. Political candidates and parties should adopt simple expressions to communicate their political agenda without the use of force, violence, destructive tendencies and unhealthy rivalry.

There is the need for inter-party dialogue that institutionalize and routines confidence and consensus-building feature of the electoral governance process and party politics in Nigeria. This forms the basis for a new political and legal culture, which anchors party politics on the demands and dictates of constitutional

government: ethics, accountability, transparency, tolerance of diversity, inclusiveness, and the rule of law. All political parties should be made to develop a well designed and meaningful party manifestoes and strictly campaign on the bases of the manifestoes by INEC. By so doing, the parties outside government can criticize the policy of ruling party base on their programme and not sentiments and parochialism.

Critical attention needs to be paid to the political parties as institutions that play diverse but central roles in democratic consolidation. The parties need to be re-engineered from mere institutions for acquiring political power to effective institutions that are capable of structuring, mediating and reconciling societal interests and conflicts. This means that issues of organizational capacity, effective leadership, internal democracy, discipline, institutionalization and personalization, ideological platforms of mobilization and linkage to civil society and the masses have to be tackled. All political parties should practice internal democracy to make them strong, effective and efficient through consistent observance of principles of transparency, accountability, consultation and consensus building in policies and decision making.

## REFERENCES

### TEXT BOOKS

- Abdu, H. (2002) *“Political Party Formation and Electoral Process in Nigeria: Examining Some*
- Abrams, R. (1980), *Foundation of Political Analysis: An Introduction to the Theory of Collective Choice*, New York: Columbia Press
- Azikiwe, N. (1957) *The Development of Politics Parties in Nigeria* (London: Office of the Commissioner, in the UK on the Eastern Region of Nigeria
- Diamond, L. (1997) *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Huntington, S.P. (1968) *Political Order in Changing Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press,
- Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Iroanusi, S. (2000) *The Making of the Fourth Republic*, Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications
- Joseph, R. (1987): *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic*.
- Kehinde, M. O. (2007), “Democracy and Political Violence in the Nigerian Federalism” in Femi Omotoso (ed). *Readings in Political Behaviour*, Ibadan: Johnmof Printers Ltd.
- Kolawole, D. (1997), *Reading in Political Science*, Ibadan: Dakaal Publisher.
- Nigeria Under Democratic Rule 1999-2003*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd.
- Nnoli, O. (2003) *Introduction to Politics. Revised 2nd Edition*, Enugu: PACREP.
- Ojo, E., (2009) “Vote Buying in Nigeria.” IFES. *Money, Politics and Corruption in Nigeria* Jos & Ibadan: IFES
- Okoye M 1982. *Party Politics and Election: Historical and Functional Analysis*. Lagos: Malthus Press Publisher.
- Olaniyi J.O 2001. *Foundation of Public Policy Analysis*. Ibadan: Sunad Publishers Ltd.

- Oyeleye, L. (2004). The Power of words and the techniques of public communication. In L. Oyeleye (Ed.) *Language and discourse in society* (pp.168-178). Ibadan: Hope Publications.
- Peck, A.L.(1955). *Historia animalium*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Plano, J.C. and Riggs, R.E. (1973), *Dictionary of Political Analysis*, Hinsdale III: The Dryden Press Limited.
- Tordoff, W. (1997) *Government and Politics in Africa*, 3rd Edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Whitaker Jr., C. S. (1970) *The Politics of Tradition* (Princeton): Princeton University

## JOURNALS

- Adebajo, A. (2006) *Prophets of Africa's Renaissance: Nigeria and South Africa as Regional Hegemons*, Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- Aduku, A.A. and Umoru, Y.A. (2014) Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation In Nigeria's Fourth Republic , *Global Journal of Political Science and Administration* Vol.2,No.3, pp.79-108,
- Agbaje, A., Akande A., and Ojo, J., (2007) "*Nigeria's Ruling Party: A Complex Web of Power and Money*". *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 14, 1, 79-97
- Ajibe, J. (2014). The 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria: issues and challenges, *African Renaissance*, the Brookings Institutions/ Africa Growth Initiative, 3– 9.
- Azeez, A. (2009). Ethnicity, Party Politics and Democracy in Nigeria: Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) as Agent of Consolidation? *Stud Tribes Tribals*, 7(1): 1-9 (2009), 1 – 9.
- Barzilia N. K. 2005. "Network gatekeeping theory of information. *Behaviour: A researcher's guide* K.E. Fisher, S. Erdele and E.F. Mekehine (Eds) Medfoid: M.J. Information today, pp. 247-254,
- Ibraheem, I. A. Odozi, A.O Tejumaiye, A. (2015). *Beyond influence: Media and the 2015 presidential Elections*, Department of Mass Communication, Lagos: University of Lagos, Nigeria, 1 – 13.
- ICG. (2014) *Nigeria's Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence*, Africa Report N° 220 / 21 November 2014m 1 – 41.

- Innocent, A.P. (2012). Party-Politics And Intra-Party Democracy In Nigeria: A Historical And Contemporary Perspective , Journal of Social Science and Policy Review, Volume 4, 1 - 15
- Kalu, E. (1964) Institutional Developments in Nigeria, London: Cambridge University, Press). Legislative Council Debates, Nigeria, 4 March, 1948, p. 227.
- Lamidi, K.O. and Bello, M.L. (2013) Party Politics and Future of Nigerian Democracy: An Examination of Fourth Republic, European Scientific Journal, vol.8, No.29: 168 – 178.*
- Omotola, J.S. (2009). Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology, Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences 1(3).
- Osumah, O. (2009).“Peoples Democratic Party and Governance in Nigeria, 1999-2007” Journal of Social Science, 9 (3).
- Remi, R.A and Ojukwu, C. C. (2013). Language of Political Campaigns and Politics in Nigeria, Canadian Social Science, Vol. 9, No. 3 2013, pp. 104 – 116 Canada.

### **CONFERENCE PAPERS**

- Adele, J. L. (2011).Inter-Party Dialogue In Nigeria: Examining The Past, Present & Future, Lead paper at the inaugural DGD Political Parties Dialogue Series, held on October 4, 2011 at Bolingo Hotel, Abuja.*
- Democracy in Nigeria, Organized by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, in collaboration with the Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June, 2013
- Ibeanu, Okechukwu (2009) “*Conceptualising the Specificities of Direct Capture in the 2007 Elections*” in Jibrin Ibrahim and Okechukwu Ibeanu (eds) *The 2007 Nigerian General Elections and the subversion of Popular Sovereignty* (Abuja: CDD)
- Jinadu, A. L. (2013) *Elections, Democracy & Political Parties in Nigeria: Trends and Trajectories*. Being a paper presented at National Conference on Political Parties and the Future
- Likoti, F.J. (2005). Investigating Intra-Party Democracy in Lesotho: Focus on Basutoland Congress Party and Basuto National Party. EISA Occasional Paper Series, No 39, December.

Momoh, A. (2013) *Party System and Democracy in Nigeria* being a paper presented at National Conference on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria, organized by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, in collaboration with the Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June, 2013

Yaqub, N. (2002) “*Political Parties and the Transition Process*” in Onuoha, B. And Fadakinte, M.M. (eds.) *Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*, Lagos, Malthouse Publishers, pp. 118 – 134.

## **ARCHIVES**

*Contentious Issues in the Review of 1999 Constitution*”, in Igbuzor, Otiye and Bamidele, Ololade, eds., *Contentious Issues in the Review of the 1999 Constitution*. Lagos: Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reforms. Pp 93-118.

Simbine, A.T. (2004) “Impact of More Parties on Democratic Project” in Saliu, H.A (ed)

Simbine, A.T. (2005). Political parties and Democratic Sustainable in Nigeria in Onu, G and Momoh, A (eds) *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, Lagos: Nigeria Political Science Association (NPSA).

Transition Monitoring Group (2003) *Do The Votes Count?* Final Report of the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria

## **INTERNET MATERIALS**

Lynn, S. (2009) Political campaign planning manual: a step by step guide to winning elections. Retrieved from [www.ndi.org/files/political\\_campaign-planning\\_Manual\\_Malaysia.pdf](http://www.ndi.org/files/political_campaign-planning_Manual_Malaysia.pdf) (2009).

Lynn, S. (2009). Political campaign planning manual: A step by step guide to winning elections. Retrieved from [www.ndi.org/files/political\\_campaign-planning-manual\\_malaysia.pdf](http://www.ndi.org/files/political_campaign-planning-manual_malaysia.pdf).

Nwankwo A 2001. Political Parties in Nigeria. [www.allafrica.com](http://www.allafrica.com).

## **QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear Respondent,

### **INTRODUCTORY LETTER**

I HALIMAT MUSA, a student of Kogi State University Anyigba (KSU) in the Department of Political Science, with matriculation number 15PS1140, is conducting a research on the topic, "Party Politics And Political Campaigns In Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A Study Of 2015 Presidential Elections".

I therefore crave your indulgence to provide adequate answers to the questions bellow. This is mainly for academic purposeS and will be treated with utmost confidentially.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

**HALIMAT MUSA**

## APPENDIX

### SECTION A: SOCIAL-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

1. Sex: (a) Male (b) Female.
2. Age: (a) 18 – 30 (b) 31 – 40 (c) 41 – 49 (d) 50 and above.
3. Marital Status: (a) Single (b) Married (c) Divorced (d) Widowed.
4. Religion: (a) Christianity (b) Muslim (c) Traditional (d) Any other.
5. Level of Education Attained: (a) O. level (b) OND, NCE (c) HND, Bs.c. (d) MSC, PHD.
6. Occupation: (a) Student (b) Civil servant (c) Farmer (d) Trader.
7. How long have you lived in Nigeria? (a) less than 3 years (b) 3 – 6 years (c) 6 – 10 years (d) 10 – 20 years (e) 20 years and above.

### SECTION B

1. Are you a member of any political party in Nigeria? (a) Yes (b) No.
2. Did you participate in the electoral process of 2015? (a) Yes (b) No.
3. If yes, in what capacity? (a) Voting (b) party agent (c) INEC official (d) any other.
4. Were the parties campaigning on issues or ideology? (a) Yes (b) No.
5. Were there hate campaigns? (a) Yes (b) No.
6. Which political party used hate campaign most? (a) PDP (b) APC (c) ABGA (d) PPA (e) CPC.
7. How many political parties exist in your ward? (a) 1 (b) 2 (c) 3 (d) 4 (e) 5.
8. Does the campaign affect voter's behavior? (a) Yes (b) No.
9. Was the election free and fair? (a) Yes (b) No.
10. Was there violence in the 2015 presidential election? (a) Yes (b) No.
11. Do you subscribe to this type of campaign in future elections? (a) Yes (b) No.
12. Do you think the electorate will vote because of this hate campaign? (a) Yes (b) No.
13. Were the social media balancing the political reportage? (a) Yes (b) No.

14. Were the candidates given equal opportunity to campaign? (a) Yes  
(b) No.
15. Are you aware of political parties in your ward? (a) Yes (b) No.