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KOGJOURN

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Vol. I No. 1 October, 2010



**KOGI STATE UNIVERSITY,
ANYIGBA, NIGERIA.**

KOGJOURN

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 1

OCTOBER, 2010

A Publication of the
**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
KOGI STATE UNIVERSITY,
ANYIGBA NIGERIA**

MAIDEN EDITION

FIRST PUBLISHED: 2010 by
Bookmakers Publishing
67 Old Otukpo Road, High Level,
Makurdi, Benue State Nigeria.

For the

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Kogi State University,
Anyigba, Nigeria

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EDITORIAL

KOGJOURN, an International Journal of Sociology was conceived in the first quarter of 2010 in the Department of Sociology, Kogi State University, Anyigba after due consultations and meetings with all the stake holders in the academic project. The major aim of the Journal is to provide a forum for extensive discourses in Sociology & other related academic disciplines and to provide an academic platform for published authors to display their findings in both theoretical and empirical researches.

In this maiden edition, various contributors present ideas of analytical, explanatory and reflective nature from their disciplines, that will engender useful discourse and inspire further research. Ideas explored by authors in this issue cover broad concerns in social and Management Sciences Scholarship.

Rowland examines electorates' rating of political marketing effectiveness in Nigeria with a recommendation that parties should seek compliance with the best practices in democratic culture. While Akor reviews Globalisation and the changing value systems in Africa, Enajo examines, in the context of available literatures, salient lessons for the Nigerian women in the current agitation for feminism. Kehinde, using the binocular of the Management Sciences, investigates conflict management in the media industry, Tinuola and Ekundayo in an empirical study, examine Spirit Spousal Sexual Relationship and its implication on the sexual & reproductive behaviour of selected university girls in Nigeria. In the face of current negative public image of the Nigerian Police Force, Ikoh and Charles examine the extent to which the police fulfill their constitutional roles of crime prevention, detection and control in Calabar metropolis.

In a study on the influence of children on family purchasing decisions, Akinyele found that parents underestimate the role of their children on family buying decisions. Dibua and Agweda examine the problem of stigmatization of HIV/AIDS patients while Gomment examines salient issues in sustainable development in Nigeria with the recommendation that appropriate technology, conservation of the earth's ecosystem and government legislation

are required to achieve effective and sustainable development. Victor Egwemi and Monday examine the link between leadership, corruption and the crisis of development in Nigeria, Oluwabamide reviews the role of extended family in enhancing health care delivery with a suggestion that the potentials of the family should be explored and practically harnessed into health care development policy, Wegh discusses the concept of ethnic ideology and the underdevelopment of Africa while Owoyemi, in a field work on knowledge and attitude of teachers to adolescents' sexuality education, recommends the need to increase the level of knowledge of teachers on sexuality issues. Akpomuvie examines Communal Conflicts in Nigeria: Types, Causes and Consequences

The Board wishes to thank all our contributors and referees for making this maiden edition of the Journal possible. We specifically thank Dr. Ada Okau, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kogi State University, for his support towards executing the mandate of KOGJOURN.

It is hoped that our reader will find this issue, inspiring, and that the discourses herein will be extended and applied to the furtherance of human quest for knowledge. Happy reading.



October, 2010
Dr. Femi TINUOLA
(Chief Editor)

PREFACE

One of the very difficult things to do is to reconstruct an idea, especially an academic idea, so as to become a tangible piece of work. The usual procrastination that bog down academic exercises in many Nigerian Universities' departments could not affect the Department of Sociology in Kogi State University. Like the famous African - American, Jesse Jackson, once said "if you try, you may win but if you don't try you will never win" this spirit explains the "birth" of this Journal. It is a successful adventure.

There are fourteen articles in this pioneering collection, and the collection has a frontier perspective. The potential significance of the perspective is the cosmopolitan attitude of the Editor-in-chief which made him go beyond kith, kin, and locality to accept articles from related disciplines spread across institutions of learning in the country. This is a demonstration of willingness to enhance academic dialectics.

The contributors to this collection have attempted to highlight local and national problems of social and political relations; of Government and Governmental systems, and of the ends which society seeks to attain. Some of the authors are very critical of the Nigerian society and Government. To us in Sociology, this kind of fair and genuine criticism is refreshing and it is even encouraged. Perhaps Naiwu Osahon, that enigmatic social critics, has succinctly emphasized this view when he wrote:

*Tell them I love my country more
Than I love my self
Tell them I have a right to love and
Criticize my mother.
Tell them I will die defending my
Right to criticize my mother because
She is not infallible and she
Must not die
I am nothing without my country
(Naiwu Osahon, Black Power, Lagos, Di Negro Press,
1976, p.92)*

This is what Gunnar Myrdal (in his Book, An American Dilemma) meant when he said that the "salvation for a race, nation, or class, must come from within."

In summary, this maiden issue of KOGJOURN has done two very important things. The first is that it has added to the creation of KSU academic culture by establishing a forum for debating in common idioms. Secondly, the collection is a social reconstruction of contemporary issues of our time. No other journal in our community here has been able to do this feat. Indeed, there are many ways of being first. The struggle must be continuous.

Ada Okau (Ph.D)

Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences

October, 2010.

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ELECTORATES' RATING OF POLITICAL MARKETING EFFECTIVENESS IN NIGERIA

Rowland E. Worlu

ABSTRACT

In political marketing literature, there appears to be two main streams of research on the determinants of a political party's effectiveness. One is based on the economic tradition which stresses the importance of external marketing factors. The other stream builds on the behavioural and sociological paradigms of marketing strategies as the prime determinants of effectiveness. It is in this sense that this paper identifies asymmetries among political parties within a democracy as acting to limit the contraction of differentials and equalization of votes which constitute the basic tool provided for the electorate to indicate their preferences for the marketing approach of political parties. Thus, the objective of this paper is to determine from the viewpoint of the electorate the effectiveness of marketing strategies in enhancing the competitiveness of Nigerian political parties. In pursuit of this goal, Nigeria was stratified into seven clusters (including Abuja) for the purpose of generating data through quota sampling techniques. 400 copies of the questionnaire were administered on the electorates in these clusters, and their responses constituted the data which were analyzed to crystallize the findings. The findings show that the leading People's Democratic (PDP) Party (PDP) was the most effective on each of the criteria used. This does not mean that the party conformed to the best practices in democratic culture. It is therefore recommended that they should seek to comply with the best practices in democratic culture such as internal democracy.

Keywords: Electorate, Political parties, Marketing Effectiveness, Democracy, Election.

Introduction

Prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960, the colonial administration had organized a couple of general elections without any deliberate and systematic marketing programme undertaken in any of them (Nzeribe, 1992). Yet, political parties and candidates canvassed for votes, located offices in different towns and villages, etc. This explains why Henneberg (1996) noted that researchers in political marketing will continue to discover that political parties do not always consciously make marketing decisions although one might classify certain activities or processes as marketing management.

After independence, however, a new dimension was observed as political marketing communications started gaining ground. In 1963 elections, for instance, advertising gained prominence as notable politicians like Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Action Group, used it to send messages to the public. Sales promotion also had its own slot when chief Awolowo used helicopters to write campaign messages in the sky (i.e. sky writing) to propagate his campaign messages. During the series of election conducted in 1979 to usher in the second Republic, deliberate efforts were made by virtually all parties to persuade voters by using marketing promotional techniques like advertising, sales promotion, personal selling, publicity, and even direct marketing. The trend continued in 1983 with the hiring of advertising agencies by some of the political parties to promote their candidates. The National Party of Nigeria (NPN), for example, hired Saatchi and Saatchi from Britain.

However, the best of times for political marketers in Nigeria came between 1991 and 1994 when Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC) which contested in the series of elections within the period continued the tradition of using professional advertising agencies. The SDP had a foreign team comprising British and American experts that worked with their Nigerian counterparts (e.g. Sunrise Marketing Communications). The NRC also followed suit as it syndicated creative campaign efforts through Nigerian and foreign experts (O'Cass, 2001). The result was that the SDP candidate (MKO Abiola) had a clear victory with 58.6% of all the votes cast, and having at least one third of the votes cast in 29 out of the then 30 states in Nigeria (Ibodje and Dode, 2007) According to Nnadozie (2007), the 1993 presidential

election gained popularity among Nigerians and therefore generally accepted by the people. It was also acclaimed by both national and international observers as the most genuine, freest and fairest in the history of elections in Nigeria.

Scholars believe that Abiola's victory was largely made possible by the massive deployment of marketing strategies, though he never became the President for reasons best known to the then military junta (Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004; Osuagwu, 2008). Due to what public opinion perceived to be an injustice to the winner of June 12, 1993 elections, political marketing began to lose its salt as interest in politics began to wane in Abacha days (i.e. between 1994 and 1998, even with the existence of parties like United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN) Congress for National consensus (CNC), National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN), and Grass root Democratic Movement (GDM).

But between June 1998 and May 1999, political marketing activities resumed with the restoration of democracy in Nigeria by General Abubakar Abdulsalam. This culminated in the swearing-in of Olusegun Obasanjo in May, 29 1999 as a civilian president. The 1999 general elections did not particularly win the accolade of Nigerian and International publics because of the incidences of rigging, and other electoral vices. But there seemed to be a general consensus, even, if unwritten, among Nigerians to tolerate the result so that the military will vacate the political arena (Nnadozie, 2007)

If marketing strategies could work in 1993 general elections, then there is a part it must play in our on-going political experience. That part is in the marketing concept which believes that our electoral process must be conducted in such a way that its outcomes are satisfactory to all and sundry. This is the crux and theme of this thesis. In pursuit of this theme, an analysis of the marketing strategies employed by the dominant political parties in 2003 general elections was considered worthwhile. The idea was to determine the extent to which marketing thoughts have pervaded the heart and soul of political parties in Nigeria. This helps to classify the characteristics of the Nigerian political market with a view to creating appropriate models for political marketing practice in Nigeria.

Conceptual Framework

Element of Marketing in Electoral Politics

Essentially, politics is about power; but the struggle for power results in conflict and competition. Therefore, under girding political practice is the struggle for power which creates disagreement and conflict. Nevertheless, the effects of politics which are conflict and disagreement are never permanent, and must be managed for the improvement of society to be achieved. From another dimension, politics is about policy. Extending this view, Bruce Miller in Nzimiro (1992) states that, 'policy is a matter of either the desire for change or the desire to protect something against change also leads to conflict.

According to Nzimiro (1992), politics in modern society is expressed through political parties which are created to achieve the goals of society. This is why political parties are organized around specific ideas often called 'ideologies'. Originally, they were formed from local communities and the spread of their influence evolve from the establishment of the electoral system. The history of human civilization shows clearly that class conflict is an inherent characteristic of human societies. Whereas in the past, this conflict derived from disproportionate ownership of land capital, today it is basically expressed in the control of state apparatus and media.

What is more? Each class saw marketing as a weapon to be employed in the ideological war of politics. The result is that political parties have now become the platforms for rearing leaders who are keenly interested in the contest for power through the electoral system. Politics now becomes the struggle to control the power base, as the state establishes its machinery for controlling the populace. The control of the populace is not always obvious for human nature abhors absolute dependence. Thus, political control is often disguised when the winning group controls political power, its constituent members, and operatives become the ultimate beneficiaries. Today, the electoral process has become the expression of the democratic form of struggle within a given class system.

A participant in this power struggle who is aptly called 'a politician' and whose aim is to be in government has to market himself and

his party's manifesto. He must be able to convince his electorate that his party's programme is more relevant to their needs than his competitors'. In addition, he must convince them that he can ably represent them and ensure that his party's programme is implemented. According to Ohiwerei (2002), the political party can be likened to a company, the party ideology to a company's mission statement; the party manifesto to a company's marketing strategy/plans, and the party candidate to a brand. The logical conclusion following from this thought process is that a political party, if it is to be effective and successful, should operate like a business or a company. Given this analogy, there is no gainsaying the relevance of marketing in politics.

The success of any company depends on the success of its brands or services. Similarly, the success of a political party in an election depends on the success of its candidates. It is imperative therefore for the politician to have a close look at what makes a brand successful. In brand marketing, the key to success is a thorough understanding of the market, the consumer and the competition, by the help of the market research. The knowledge thus acquired helps in having a clear vision of the role the brand will play in the market. That role must meet a particular need better than competing brands. In other words, the adoption of a marketing approach in politics promises to bring about rationality in our political processes.

The Concept of Election and Electoral Process

In the current edition of the International Encyclopedia of Social Science Vol. 5, election is defined as 'one procedure of aggregating preferences of a particular kind.' The two features of this definition are procedure and preferences. By procedure, the concept is used to describe a special way of doing something. Preference connotes choice between alternatives.

In the light of the above definition, Ibodje and Dode, (2007) described election as a procedure that allows members of an organization or community to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it. For Gwinn and Norton (1992), election is the formal process of selecting a person for public office or accepting or registering a political proposition by voting. They

state further that an election is one of the means by which a society may organize itself and make specified formal decisions, adding that where voting is free, it acts simultaneously as a system for making certain decisions regarding the power relations in a society, and as a method for seeking political obedience with a minimum of sacrifice of the individual's freedom. The essence of a democratic election is freedom of choice.

For Eya (2003), election is seen as the selection of a person or persons for office as by ballot and making choice as between alternatives. Eya defines Electoral process as the method adopted in the selection of persons for political offices. He further sees electoral frauds or malpractices as improper, illegal, deceitful or immoral behaviours and conducts which vitiate free and fair electoral processes. This definition will be adopted in this paper. A fair electoral process, according to him, must have some basic structures, which include; statutory provisions establishing the electoral bodies, delineation of wards/constituencies, registration of political parties, registration of voters, recruitment and training of ad-hoc staff, procurement of electoral material, logistic, screening of candidates, provision of polling agents, monitoring agents, actual voting, accreditation of voters, counting votes and providing avenues for settlement of disputed results.

Onyeka (2002) elucidates what characterizes a proper electoral process. For him, the basic objective of election is to select the official decision makers who are supposed to represent citizens-interest. He posits that an electoral process reinforces the concept of self-rule, celebrates it and legitimizes governmental power. Elections, according to Onyeka, extend and enhance the amount of popular participation in the political system adding electoral history started with restrictive voting based on property ownership and tax payment. The basic constituents of the electoral process according to Onyeka, include; political parties, political opinions, pressure groups and mass media. They all converge in the electoral process to determine who the leaders would be and ensure that the elected officials will represent their constituencies effectively.

Similarly, the 1987 Political Bureau Report gave a lucid clarification and interpretation of elections and electoral processes.

It states that four basic conditions are necessary for the holding and conduct of free and fair elections. These include;

- a. An honest, competent, non-partisan administration to run elections
- b. Enabling rules and regulations – Electoral laws;
- c. A developed system of political parties
- d. An independent judiciary to interpret electoral laws.

The Report underscores the importance of free and fair elections as a prerequisite and precursor for Peace, Stability and Progress in the polity. From the gamut of literature reviewed on the concepts of “democracy” and “election”, Nigeria’s democratic and electoral processes have always accommodated, provided and projected the basic principles, tenets and features of democracy and elections, yet the incidence of electoral frauds and malpractices have continued to emerge through the electioneering years.

For our purpose, election is defined as a form of procedure recognized by rules of an organization whereby all or some of the members of the organization choose a small number of persons or one person to hold office of authority. Election is said to be free and fair where it is conducted in accordance with the rules and regulations to the satisfaction of all stakeholders. Furthermore, general election is the process in which all political parties contest for elective posts. Ibodje and Dode (2007) have itemized the functions of election as follows:

- Provides a means of selecting office holders.
- Provides for popular control, ensuring that those who govern are, within the constraints of the choices offered to the voters.
- Guarantees that citizen’s support will be given to the government.
- Ensures that government is responsible since the representatives are answerable to the electorate.
- Provides a basis for peaceful change of government.
- Provides a channel of communication between governors and governed.

However, the electoral process suffers diminutive conceptualization in political discourse, such that it is taken to be equivalent to election or electoral system. But the concept, to wit, reaches beyond the method of choosing public office holders; or the method of translation of votes into seats or decision as to who has won an election. Perhaps, the most beneficial way to comprehend the electoral process is to explore a descriptive conceptualization, which exposes the distinctive features of the process. This is necessary in order to make the idea of electoral process clear and inclusive.

According to Nwabueze (1993), the electoral process embraces within its ambit all the institutional procedures, arrangement and actions involved in elections. Specifying, he said: It includes the suffrage, the registration of voters, delimitations of constituencies, the right to contest elections, electoral competition between rival political parties, body charged with the conduct and supervision of election, the method of selection of candidates within the political parties, nomination of candidates, method of voting, the actual conduct of elections, the determination of results, trials and determination of election disputes, electoral malpractices and their consequences.

Furthermore, the electoral process includes election observation and verification activities carried out by local and international bodies or both. It also includes the establishment of institutions and structures that will mobilize the populace towards involvement in the electoral process, and provides the rules and regulations that govern the process. Indeed, the electoral process is an all-encompassing process, which involves many issues and operations. The issues and operations are elastic depending on the type of political system and the level of maturity of the democratic process.

The electoral process can be divided into two parts, the Constitutional and non-constitutional. The constitutional aspect has issues that are prescribed in the constitution such as the body responsible for the electoral process and the independence of such a body. The non-constitutional aspect such as, voters' register, procedure at election, electoral offences etc., are issues that are more appropriately covered by Acts of National Assembly - i.e., the

Electoral Law. The dynamics of the electoral process require such matters as registration of voters, method of voting – whether by secret or open ballot or by Option A4, period and time table of elections etc. to be non-constitutional in order to make allowance for easy and expeditious change in the system when necessary (Nwabueze, 1993). Therefore, the electoral process is a defining and regulating process in the democratic contest.

It is imperative to add here that the electoral system is an institutionalized procedure for the choosing of office holders by some or all of the recognized methods of an organization (op. cit). There are two types of electoral system: the plurality system and the proportional system. Under the plurality system of first past the post, the person with the simple majority of votes wins. Under the proportional system, votes are allocated proportionally to candidates according to percentage scores of political parties.

Political Parties

According to Ibodje and Dode, (2007), a political party is an organized group with a clearly defined policy whose main aim is to win or retain political power. A party tries to win political power if it is the opposition, but if the party is in power, it tries to retain such powers. Ideally, political parties are manifestations of differences in the social structure. A political party is therefore, expected to represent a major interest group in society.

Theoretical Framework

Efficiency Theory

Efficiency theory has been instrumental in establishing what constitutes performance in an organization (Drucker, 1978). Johnie (1988) points out that the performance achieved by managers is actually made up of two important dimensions, namely: effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness is the ability to choose appropriate goals and achieve them. To put it in perspective, Drucker points out that effectiveness is essentially doing (i.e. accomplishing) the right things. Efficiency, on the other hand, according to him, is the ability to make the best use of available resources in the process of achieving organizational goals. Drucker calls this “doing the right thing”.

In essence, political parties as an organization needs to exhibit both effectiveness (doing things right) in order to achieve a high level of performance. Hunt (1994) indicates that productivity is the goal of a political party, and he calls productivity a performance measure which includes effectiveness and efficiency. Robbins (2001) maintains that productivity implies a concern for both effectiveness and efficiency. He further argues that effectiveness means achievement of goals, while efficiency is the ratio of effective output required to achieve it. A political party, for example, is effective when it wins at the polls, but it is efficient if it does so at a low cost. In other words, a political party is effective when it attains its votes or vote-share goals, but its productivity also depends on achieving those goals efficiently. Popular measures of political party efficiency include vote-share, size of membership, party growth rate, winning spread, minimal intra party conflict, minimal defections out of the party, (Barack, 1995).

Political Marketing Theory

Parties can use political marketing to increase their chances of achieving their goal of winning general elections. They alter aspects of their behaviour, including policy, membership, leadership and organization structure to suit the nature and demands of their market. They can do this by being product, sales or market oriented (Lees- Marshment, 2001).

A Product-Oriented Party argues for what it stands for and believes in. It assumes that voters will realise that its ideas are the right ones and therefore vote for it. This type of party refuses to change its ideas or product even if it fails to gain electoral or membership support.

A Sales-Oriented Party focuses on selling its argument to voters. It retains its predetermined product design, but recognises that desired supporters may not automatically want it. Using market intelligence to understand voters' response to its behaviour, the party employs the latest advertising and communication techniques to persuade voters that it is right. A sales- oriented party does not change its behaviour to suit what people want, but tries to make people want what it offers.

A Market-Oriented Party designs its behaviour to provide voters satisfaction. It uses market intelligence to identify voter's demands, and then designs its product to suit their needs. It does not attempt to change what people think, but to deliver what they need and want.

A market-oriented party will not simply offer voters what they want, or simply follow opinion polls because it needs to ensure that it can deliver the product on offer. If it fails to deliver, voters will become dissatisfied and the party will risk losing electoral support in the long term. It also needs to ensure that it will be accepted within the party and so needs to adjust its product carefully to take account of this. A market-oriented party therefore designs a product that will actually satisfy voters' demands; that meets their needs and wants, is supported and implemented by the internal organisation, and is deliverable in government.

Development of Measures

Data for this study were collected from the electoralates of the four political parties considered to be dominant among the thirty political parties that participated in the 2003 general elections in Nigeria. The data were collected through the questionnaire instrument in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria and Abuja. Probability sampling was used by utilizing a geographical area sampling methodology within the selected zones whereby a state was chosen in each geographical zone. Accordingly, four hundred copies of the questionnaire were administered on the electoralates of the selected zones confirmed to have voted for the four dominant parties through a pilot study to determine whether marketing strategies applied to the parties in question and if they were capable of improving significantly the level of electorate support. A total of 315 copies were returned; of which 300 were complete and usable resulting in a net response rate of 75.0%. This is an appreciably high response rate, considering that the average top executive survey response rates are in the range of 15% and 20%(Deng and Dart, 1994 & Felton 1959), and that collecting data for such a country -wide study with a large population is difficult due to the numerous obstacles encountered (Kohli and Jaworski, 1990; Mavondo, 2005; Miles and Snow. The data analyses were performed in two stages: (a) Manual computation and tabulation of

data; and (b) Analysis of variance (ANOVA) performed by computer using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) software. Demographic characteristics of the total sample in the study are presented in table 4.2. In all electorates more than half of the participants were male with the share of male respondents being highest (60.4%). The subsamples are similar with respect to the age of the average level of education, marital status, position in the party. Our main motivation for limiting the survey to certain states within a geopolitical zone was only the concentration of the membership of the parties being studied and their electorates in these areas.

TABLE 4.2 Sample Characteristics of Electorate

	PDP	ANPP	AD	APGA	TOTAL
Target respondents	200	120	40	40	400
Actual respondents	155	85	31	29	300
Response Rate (%)	75.5	70.8	71.5	72.5	75
Share of female (in %)	39.6	46.0	49.5	49.3	46.1
Share of male (in %)	60.4	54.0	55.5	50.7	53.9
Average age in years (standard deviation in bracket)	40.73 (17.68)	38.20 (16.09)	38.29 (14.12)	39.08 (12.56)	38.95 (15.44)
Share of respondents who have secondary education and above (in %)	66.4	64.5	76.5	77.3	71.3
Share of respondents who are employed or self employed (in %)	67.6	53.5	55.0	62.7	60.0
Share of respondents who are married	53.4	57.0	53.6	57.4	55.1

Source: Field survey, 2007

TABLE 4.21 Mean Scores of Marketing Strategy Effectiveness rating for Parties (Electorate Perspective)

S/NO	Effectiveness Criteria	ELP	ECP	EFP	ENP	Total
1	Vote share	4.4	3.9	3.7	3.2	15.2
2	Ideological relevance	4.7	4.1	4.0	3.3	16.1
3	Competitive position	4.2	4.0	3.8	3.7	15.7
4	Size of membership	4.8	4.2	4.0	3.1	16.1
5	Party growth	4.6	4.0	3.5	2.7	14.8
	Total Overall Effectiveness	22.7	20.2	19.0	16.0	

KEY: ELP= Electorate of Leader Party; ECP=Electorate of Challenger Party;

EFP=Electorate of Follower Party; ENP= Electorate of Nicher Party

4.7.4 Interpretation of Result

Table 4.21 above indicates that the leader party was the most effective in the application of marketing strategies with an overall effectiveness mean score of 22.7. This is closely followed by the challenger party ($\bar{x} = 20.2$).

On the whole, the parties were considered effective in their search for nationalist ideology and drive for membership. This is reflected in the total effectiveness means score of 16.1 in each of the two criteria. And that was the highest recorded for all the criteria. Although Hooley et al (2003) and Henneberg (1996) confirmed the three taxonomies of market growth strategies in favour of Lees-Marshment's stance, the relationship is further examined in this research using one-way ANOVA. The results are shown in tables 4.22, 4.23 and 4.24 for the two phases.

Table 4.24 Result of Descriptive and ANOVA Statistical Analysis of the Effectiveness of Market Growth Strategies of The Parties (Electorate Perspective)

Variables	LP	CP	FP	NP	Value F-Test Calculated	F-Tabulated	Decision	Relative Size
Vote share	4.43 (0.53)	3.88 (0.99)	3.25 (1.04)	3.17 (0.75)	3.21	0.040	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Ideological relevance	4.10 (0.53)	4.71 (0.49)	4.00 (0.53)	3.33 (0.52)	7.75	0.001	Reject Ho	C>L>F>N
Competitive position	4.14 (0.38)	4.00 (1.31)	3.83 (0.71)	3.75 (0.41)	0.33	0.807	Accept Ho	L>C>F>N
Size of membership	4.75 (4.00)	4.15 (0.40)	4.00 (0.89)	3.13 (1.25)	3.11	0.044	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Party Growth	4.57 (0.98)	4.00 (0.53)	3.50 (1.69)	2.67 (0.52)	3.66	0.026	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Total Overall Effectiveness	21.85	20.13	18.13	17.00				L>C>F>N

Level of Significance: $\alpha = 0.05$ or $\alpha = 0.01$

Decision Rule: Reject Ho if $F_{Cal} > F_{Tab}$; otherwise accept.

4.8.4 Interpretation of Result

From the perspective of the electorate, challenger party is the most effective in ideological relevance while the leader party is the most effective in other criteria such as vote share, competitive position, size of membership and growth rate.

Five criteria of effectiveness were used (i.e. Mass mobilization, competitive strength, conflict management, political branding, and internal marketing) to evaluate the effectiveness of the parties' marketing strategies. Challenger was the most effective in two criteria (i.e. Responsive leadership, and promotion of democratic ideals). Follower party was the most effective in one criterion (i.e. Ideological relevance) according to the parties. From the electoralates' perspective, the ANOVA F-statistics is highly significant for four out of five criteria of effectiveness on marketing strategies used by the dominant parties. Challenger party is the most effective in ideological relevance while the Leader party is the most effective in other criteria such as vote-share, competitive position, size of membership and growth rate.

Conclusion

Based on the findings and in consonance with the objective of this research the following conclusions are drawn:

Marketing strategies are effective in enhancing the competitive positions of the parties to the extent that they assist the parties in political branding and mass mobilization efforts. However, the marketing strategies were not the determinant factors in vote-share. Government and power of the state and other anti-democratic forces (rigging, God-fatherism i.e.) constituted 48% of the electorate success in Nigeria.

Kotler et al (1999) had concluded that organisations adopting the leader, challenger, follower, and richer strategies perform well in their setting provided the strategies are properly implemented. The implication is that it does not matter whether the party is product-oriented, sales-oriented or market-oriented. This is contrary to the traditional view that different environments favour different strategies. In other words, the Nigerian political environment as perceived by the parties may favour certain political marketing orientations.

Policy Implication and Recommendations

Effectiveness of marketing strategies is not only judged on the basis of the number of votes secured, but also on the implementation of the marketing strategy components. Such components include market analysis and planning, brand development, promotion, distribution, pricing, process, people, and physical evidence. In other words, popular votes do not count any more in Nigeria due to practices that are repugnant to marketing concept. Therefore, voters regress into political apathy with pessimistic mindset about elections and governance. Consequently, product and sales-oriented parties feed on this mass apathy to perpetrate novel and sophisticated forms of vote-rigging. This trend devalue the ballot, diminish popular sovereignty and deinstitutionalize democracy, and by extrapolation the marketing concept. Based on these findings, the following recommendations are pertinent:

- ❖ Civil society, as the soul of the Nigerian nation, must not only be critical but refuse to be part of the contradictions among the political class. Civil society must demand from the political class issue-based approach to politics and also canvass an end to the current diversionary emphasis on primordial factor of ethnicity to capture power. Political campaigns must focus on issues of , economic and political relevance to replace the episode of ideological bankruptcy across the political landscape by all the political parties.
- ❖ The judiciary must be alive to their responsibility to ensure that product and sale-oriented parties (which presently dominate our political landscape) do not perpetuate the culture of impunity by imposing their will on the electorate.

Since marketing concept is synonymous with democracy, Nigerian political parties should be market-oriented. This means that accountability and responsibility should be the watchwords of parties and their candidates. Such parties and their candidates must be ideologically driven.

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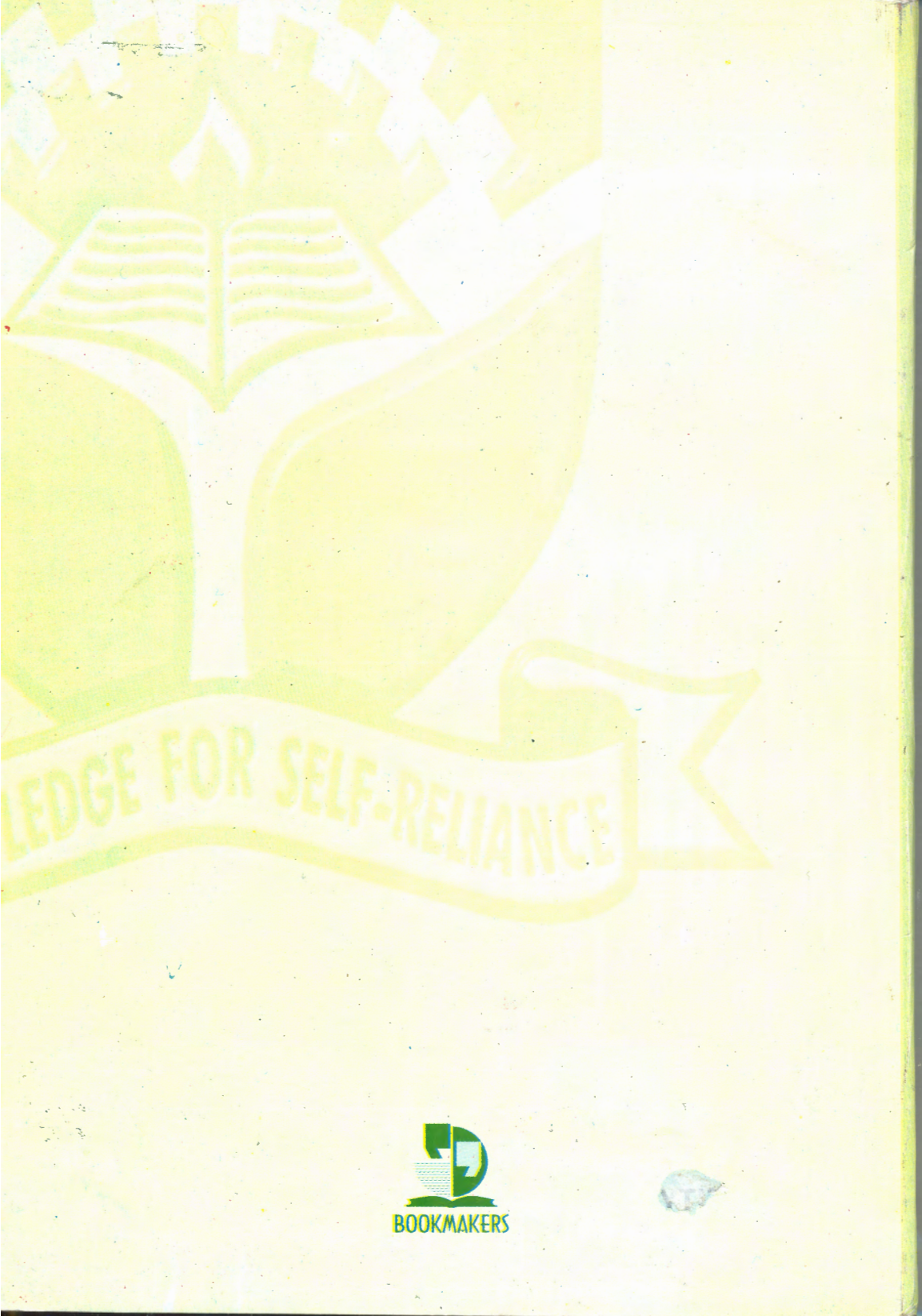
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KNOWLEDGE FOR SELF-RELIANCE

