A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MARKETING STRATEGIES OF DOMINANT POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA (THE CASE OF 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS)

BY

WORLU ROWLAND ENWUZURUIKE KPASOME
(CU03GP0040)

JUNE, 2010.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MARKETING STRATEGIES OF DOMINANT POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA (THE CASE OF 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS)

BY

WORLU, ROWLAND ENWUZURUIKE KPASOME
(CU03GP0040)

BEING A Ph.D THESIS SUBMITTED

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D) DEGREE IN MARKETING, OF THE DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS STUDIES, SCHOOL OF BUSINESS, COLLEGE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, COVENANT UNIVERSITY, OTA, OGUN STATE, NIGERIA.

SUPERVISOR: **PROF. J.A. BELLO**

CO.SUPERVISOR: **PROF. I.C. ACHUMBA**

JUNE, 2010.

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this study was carried out by Rowland Enwuzuruike Kpasome Worlu, of the Department of Business Studies, Covenant University, Ota, under our supervision and that the thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree in this or any other University.

Professor J.A. Bello
Supervisor

Signature and Date

Prof. I.C. Achumba
Co-Supervisor

Signature and Date

DECLARATION

It is hereby declared that this thesis entitled:" *A Comparative Analysis of The Marketing Strategies of Dominant Political Parties in Nigeria: The Case of 2003 General Elections*" was undertaken by Rowland E.K. Worlu. The thesis is based on his original study in the Department of Business Studies, College of Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota, under the supervisions of Professors J.A. Bello and I. C. Achumba; that the sources of all the materials used have been adequately acknowledged; and that this has not been submitted for the award of any degree in this or any other institution.

_____   _____
Rowland Enwuzuruike Kpasome Worlu   Signature & Date
            (Researcher)

The above declaration is attested to by:

_____   _____
Prof. J.A. Bello   Signature & Date
(Supervisor)

_____   _____
Prof. I.C. Achumba   Signature & Date
(Co-Supervisor)

_____   _____
Dr. Olalekan U. Asikhia.   Signature & Date
Ag. Head, Department of Business Studies
Covenant University, Ota.
Ogun State, Nigeria.

---   --
Prof. M.O. Ajayi   Signature & Date
Dean, College of Development Studies,
Covenant University, Ota.
Ogun State, Nigeria

---   ---
Prof. C.A. Awonuga   Signature & Date
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies
Covenant University, Ota.
Ogun State, Nigeria

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST for remaining faithful to His Covenant.

AND

To the memory of my late parents: Chief and Mrs. Marcus Kpasome Worlu for instilling in me the zest for academic excellence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the marketing strategies of dominant political parties in Nigeria with focus on 2003 General Elections. The broad objective of the research is to examine whether contemporary political parties in Nigeria are market-oriented organisations; and whether marketing offers a solution to the current democratic challenges in Nigeria. The study employed the survey method of research in which the data required for the study were generated through the instruments of questionnaire, and in-depth interviews. Four dominant political parties were selected out of thirty political parties that participated in the 2003 General Elections, and their electorates. Quota and stratified sampling techniques were mostly used in their selection; and a sample of 800 respondents was considered. In other words, eight hundred (800) copies of questionnaire were administered and six hundred and twenty six (626) were returned; out of which five hundred and ninety eight (598) were found to be usable. The answers to the returned questionnaire formed the data which were analyzed with tables, frequencies, percentages, ANOVA and chi-square to crystallize the findings. The findings indicate that 52% of electoral success in Nigeria is determined by marketing strategies while the remaining 48% is ascribable to anti-democratic forces like state power, godfatherism, etc. This is largely due to poor perception of the role of marketing strategies in politics. It was further found that Nigerian political parties are product and sales oriented in their marketing strategies as against the market- oriented approach of advanced democracies (e.g U.S.A). This accounts for ineffectiveness of parties, leading to waning interest and sporadic hostilities in Nigerian politics. Based on these findings, it is recommended, among other things, that parties should be voter-focused and responsive to the needs of the electorates.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

CHAPTER FOUR: Data Presentation, Analysis & Interpretation of Results

CHAPTER FIVE: Summary of Findings, Conclusion & Recommendations

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF CHARTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Prior to Nigerian   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, 1992:24). Yet, political parties and candidates canvassed for votes, located offices in different towns and villages, etc. This explains why Henneberg (1996: 23-31) 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 America 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: 1003).

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 then 30 states in Nigeria(Ibodje and Dode,2007: 119)

According to Nnadozie (2007:45), 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, 2004:12; Osuagwu, 2008:793).

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 Abubakar. This culminated in the swearing-in of 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, 2007:45)

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.

1.2   Statement of Research Problems

Marketing and marketing strategies are often used by organizations that are seeking for maximization of profit or welfare in their operations and activities, and political parties are no exceptions as they also seek for maximum "vote-catch responsiveness" from the electorate. But the roles which marketing mix strategies play in membership drive of political parties in developing countries are yet to be established. In other words, the identification of some traces of marketing in political parties makes it particularly necessary to investigate whether political parties are transforming into professional market-oriented organisations as has been claimed in some recent academic studies (Johansen, 2005:40; Ghershman, 2000:43) of developed democracies. The research problem addressed here therefore is the role which marketing strategies or strictly speaking, marketing mix strategies can play in the quest for political party membership.

Some recent studies on political marketing, though with focus on advanced democracies, attempted to show that marketing can be a tool for success in electoral politics (Johansen, 2005:40). Since this assertion was made within the context of advanced democracies (like U.S.A and United Kingdom), it is imperative to ascertain whether such can be said of developing democracy like Nigeria which has peculiar democratic problem (Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004:12; Osuagwu, 2008:793).

It is one thing to assert that marketing plays some prominent roles in politics, and quite another to so perceive. Variations in the perception of the role of marketing among political actors is said to account for variation in investment and performance differences among political parties, and as such a key theoretical and empirical issue in the field of political marketing (Scammel, 1999:718). Thus, the research problem to be addressed here is how the perception of the role of marketing strategies by political parties and their electorates affects the utilization of such strategies in politics.

In a democratic setting, marketing mix strategies are the primary determinants of party dominance in the political market place (Henneberg, 2003:27). Conversely, the resource based perspective posits that it is the party's internal structure that drives competitive advantage (Lees-Marshment, 2001:14). The question then arises, not about the specifics of descriptive or theoretical strategies but of the influence within politics of marketing concept. Have parties and their candidates adopted a voter-focus, putting voters at the beginning rather than at the end of the policy-production process? To what extent is this possible in Nigerian democracy with traditions of electoral rigging, selection, imposition and deselection of candidates? This makes it imperative to probe the contents of the competitive marketing strategies employed by the parties to enhance their electoral performance (vote-share).

The next area of concern is that the degree of congruence between the investment of political parties to gain competitive advantage and their market growth strategies has a profound theoretical underpinning. Bridging the gap between the needs of the electorate and the promise (manifestoes) of the political parties ought to be the focus of the marketing strategy if it must be effective. In this connection, Lees Marshment (2001:52) found that all three competitive postures (i.e. Leader, Challenger and Follower parties) performed equally well in any political environment provided that the marketing strategy is well implemented in terms of adequacy of investment and operation.

The above stance is contrary to the traditional view that different environments favor certain strategies over others (Kotler et al, 1999:224; Butler and Collins, 1996:32). Thus the research problem addressed here is the extent to which market growth strategies are effective in enhancing the electoral position of the Nigerian dominant parties.

1.3   Research Objectives

The broad objective of the study is to examine whether contemporary political parties in Nigeria are market-oriented in their approaches, and whether marketing offers a solution to the current democratic challenges in Nigeria. However, the specific objectives are as follows:

(a) to determine the role of marketing mix strategies in party membership drive.

(b) To investigate the ways political parties and their electorates perceive the role of political marketing strategies.

(c) To examine the content of the competitive marketing strategies employed by parties in enhancing their electoral performance (vote share)

4

(d) To assess the effectiveness of market growth strategies in enhancing the competitive positions of Nigerian political parties.

1.4   Research Questions

This study seeks to provide answers to the following research questions

(i)   What role do marketing mix strategies play in party membership drive?

(ii)   How do political parties and their electorates perceive the role of political marketing strategies in Nigeria?

(iii)   What are the contents of the competitive marketing strategies employed by political parties in Nigeria to enhance their electoral performance (vote share)?

(iv)   To what extent are the competitive marketing strategies effective in enhancing the competitive positions of Nigerian political parties?

1.5   Research Hypotheses

In conceptualizing party dominance as a dependent construct, it is imperative to note that the perception of the party as well as the electorate is of utmost significance. This is because dominance is something that is in the public glare. If the electorate, for instance, do not see a particular party as a dominant one, such party can not be; in spite of other factors. Again, empirical evidence indicates that in a democratic society, some parties and their electorates may perceive the role of political marketing strategies differently. It is this variation in the perception of the role of marketing strategies in politics that determines their preferences (in the case of political parties) for marketing strategies and consequently their effectiveness (in terms of patronage from the electorates).

The research problem addressed here is how the political parties' perception of the role of marketing strategies affects their utilization as well as the adoption of a specific political marketing orientation that brings about electoral success. The research question is: To what extent is there variation in the way political parties adopting marketing mix strategies and their electorate perceive the role such strategies play in enhancing electoral success? Hence, the first null hypothesis of this study is:

H_o: There is no significant difference in the way dominant political parties and their electorates perceive the role of political marketing strategies in Nigeria.

Several studies indicate that the marketing mix management (MMM) theory is the cornerstone of marketing strategy (McCarthy, 1960:54). But Johenson (2005:22) has noted that MMM theory is often labeled transaction marketing because its main focus is on facilitating singular purchases, and can be used to implement the marketing strategies of political parties.

The research question here is: What are the contents of competitive marketing strategies employed by political parties in Nigeria to enhance their electoral performance (vote-share)? This gives rise to the second null hypothesis:

H$_o$: There is no significant difference in the contents of competitive marketing strategies of Nigerian political parties in enhancing their electoral performance.

The congruence between the political environment and marketing strategy is a very important theoretical proposition. Lees-Marshment (2001:52) found that all three competitive postures: Leader, Challenger, and Follower parties performed equally well in any political environment provided that the strategy is well implemented. This is contrary to the traditional view that different environments favour certain strategies over others.

The research problem addressed here is the effectiveness or performance implications of marketing strategies adopted by the dominant political parties. The research question is: To what extent are the competitive marketing strategies effective in enhancing the competitive positions of Nigerian political parties? This gives rise to the third null hypothesis:

H$_o$: There is no significant difference in the levels of effectiveness of the market growth strategies adopted by the dominant political parties in Nigeria.

1.6   Significance of the Study

The rational behavior in political marketing management dictates that a political entity should seek to capture the votes of all the voters. Although this is desirable, yet in reality it is hardly possible because the political marketer's constituency is not a homogenous aggregate. There are differences in race, ethnicity, religion and socio economic status, which affect the choice that the voter makes. 'What the political marketer has to do, therefore is to make discriminatory judgment of what segment of voters to focus on, for the purpose of eliciting positive reaction which will assure him or her success at the polls' (Bennett, 1992:15) .

Ballantyne (2000:47) called this discriminatory judgment 'targeting' and explained 'targeting" as the fine art and the science of determining who and where (a candidate) high priority voters can be found and how he (the candidate) can persuade them to vote for him/her. Targeting, as a marketing strategy is not uniformly carried out by political parties in Nigerian elections. For example, too many campaign tools are used on every voter at the same time (Achumba & Dixon-ogbechi 2004:12).

In the light of the above, the relevance of this research can be appreciated from the following three dimensions.

Firstly, the need to properly adapt political marketing theories developed in advanced democracies to Nigeria, a nascent democracy, for more effective and efficient performance.

Secondly, the need to increase our general understanding of strategic marketing in politics, and be able to apply same to Nigerian political environment.

Thirdly, as an academic contribution towards improving the performance and the competitiveness of the Nigerian political parties in this era of democracy as a panacea to coup d' tact.

There seems to be a consensus among political marketing theorist on the need to study the marketing practices of successful and unsuccessful parties after an election in order to deduce the flaws that separate the winners from the losers.

This research is relevant in Nigeria today when most political parties are performing far below expectations in a 'democratic environment' to the extent that some parties did not win even one seat in the 2003 general elections. There is therefore the need to study and compare the marketing strategies of the dominant political parties in Nigeria with a view to finding explanation for the disparity in their performance levels.

In other words, this research serves as an academic contribution towards solving problems of inefficiency and low performance facing Nigeria political parties. The parties in Nigeria seem to have degenerated to the level where the wrong candidates win elections; voters prefer money to the right candidates, etc. All these tend to justify the intervention of military in politics. This may be construed on the ground that civil rule in Nigeria has severely been truncated by military intervention leading to a political flux that does not encourage effective political marketing practice.

Conclusively, therefore, this study is significant in the sense that:

1. It will bring about an improvement of marketing strategies for the management of election in Nigeria.

2. Time, energy and resource will be saved when the relevant marketing strategies are identified for emphasis by political parties, candidates, and campaign managers

3. The government, electoral and democratic agencies will have an informed platform to formulate policies for the conduct of elections, and practice of political marketing.

4. It will serve as a valuable reference material to various scholars in the field of marketing, political science, sociology and management as well as postgraduate students undertaking

courses in the areas of 'communication strategies, political campaign management', and 'model building'.

1.7   Sources of Data

Primary and secondary data were used for this work. The primary data were gathered through the instruments of questionnaires and interviews. The secondary sources included information on the activities of political parties in terms of campaigns, conventions, formations, elections (including primary elections) and so on were obtained from the published documents of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), political parties, marketing and business journals, political science journals, periodicals, textbooks, dissertations, abstracts, magazines, Newspapers, etc.

1.8   Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study compared the marketing strategies of political parties and their effectiveness in Nigerian political environment using the dominant parties of 2003 general elections in Nigeria (i.e PDP, ANPP, AD, and APGA). Thirty political parties participated in the elections, out of which the selected four emerged as dominant parties.

Although Nigeria is made up of thirty six (36) states, the study focused on the six geopolitical zones of the country (i.e. South-South, South-East, South-West, North-East, North central, and North-West).

A state was selected from each of these six zones, as follows: South-South (Rivers State), South-East (Anambra State), South-West (Lagos State), North central (Niger State), North-West (Zamfara State), and North-East (Bauchi and Borno State). Two states were selected in North-East zone because of the near equal strength of the two dominant parties in that zone.

Nevertheless, the researcher encountered some challenges in the course of carrying out this work. These include paucity of financial resources, difficulty in accessing the required materials for the completion of this work, the time frame within which the work was expected to be completed, among others. In spite of all these, the level of enthusiasm necessary to accomplish the stated objectives and hypotheses was not diminished.

1.9 Outline of Chapters

The work is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is pivoted on introduction while chapter two borders on the review of some relevant literatures on political parties, political marketing, elections, theoretical and empirical frameworks. Chapter three envelops research methods, validity and reliability. Chapter four examines data presentation and analysis while chapter five deals with discussion, summary of the findings, conclusion, contribution to knowledge, recommendations, limitation and suggestions for further studies.

1.10 Operationalization of Research Construct into Variables

In every political marketing project, the various variables at play are the political parties, electorate (populace) and marketing strategies in use. Consequently, effectiveness of political party effort at polls depends largely on the configuration of these variables and alignment of political marketing orientation such that the equation of exchange can be written as:

$y = f(x)$

Where:

y = party dominance (dependent construct)

x = marketing strategies (independent construct)

The dependent construct (y) can further be disaggregated into the following variables:

$y_i, y_2, y_3, y_4, \ldots, y_n$

Where:

y_1 = Size of party membership

y_2 = Party and electorate perception

y_3 = Vote-share

y_4 = Competitive position

y_n = Unspecified variable

The independent construct (x) can be disaggregated into the following variables:

$x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4 \ldots x_n$

Where:

x_1 = Marketing mix strategies

x_2 = Political marketing strategies

x_3 = Competitive marketing strategies

x_4 = Market expansion or growth strategies

x_n = Unspecified variable

The Operationalization of the construct can be summarized in this model:

Factors for Party Dominance (Y)   **Marketing Strategies (X)**

y_1 = Size of party membership x_1 = Marketing Mix Strategies

y_2 = Party and Electorate Perception x_2 = Political Marketing Strategies

y_3 = Electoral vote-share x_3 = Competitive Marketing Strategies

y_4 = Competitive position x_4 = Market Growth Strategies

1.11   Definition of Terms

The following terms required special conceptual and theoretical definition in this study.

Marketing mix strategies: These are strategies based on the manipulation of one or more of the marketing variables (i.e. price, promotion, product, distribution, people, process, and physical environment) in response to the action of competitors or needs of the market. They are aptly called components of marketing strategy.

Political marketing strategies: These are political actions, game plan, and intrigues derived from some marketing philosophies or orientations (e.g. product- orientation, sales-orientation, market-orientation).

Competitive marketing strategies: These refer to unique competitive responses available to each of the four categories of competitors (i.e. Market Leader, Challenger, Follower and Nicher) in every market segment.

Market Expansion or Growth Strategies: These are strategies based on Igor Ansoff's growth matrix. This shows the strategic directions facing an organisation that desires market growth or expansion. The mechanism of the strategy is expressed in a matrix:

Communication: This is the means of transmitting a message or information from one person to another, usually from a source to a receiver through a medium with a feedback mechanism. (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999:18)

Election: This is an instance of choosing by vote one or more of the candidates for a   position. Elections are the means by which the great mass of citizens can participate directly in the political process. (Gibbens Reimer, 1999:37).

Electioneering: This refers to the activities of trying to influence people to vote for a particular candidate in an election especially by visiting their houses or making speeches (Bennett, 1992:23).

Electioneering Campaign: This is a series of planned activities with a particular political aim of influencing people to vote for a particular candidate in an election. (Franklin, 1995:33).

Political service: This term represents a set of techniques, concept and approaches whose objective is to increase the accuracy of our understanding of the political world (Ferguson & Brown 1991:137)

Political marketing: As used in this study, political marketing is the performance of marketing functions, and the use of marketing systems, methods or strategies for the attainment of political goals. Specifically, it is the use of marketing techniques in politics to influence the voting (buying) decision of the electorate (consumers) (Butler 1996:32).

Nascent democracy: Political process of representative government often associated with developing countries. (Diamond 2001:49)

Perception: Perception is the process by which an individual selects, organizes, and interprets information inputs to create a meaningful picture of the world. Perception depends not only on the physical stimuli, but also on the stimuli relations to the surrounding field and on condition within the individual. The key point here is that perception can vary widely among individuals exposed to the same reality. (Drucker 1990:127)

Marketing Strategy: This is the set of integrated decisions and actions (Barnes, 1989:42) by which a business expects to achieve its marketing objectives and meet the value requirements of its customers (Gronroos, 1994:5)

Dominant Political Party: A dominant political party is one which controls the reins of executive power of government which it acquires after an election in a democratic rule. (Henneberg, 1996:52).

Political Behavior: Those activities that are not required as part of one's formal role in the

Organization, but that influence, or attempt to influence the distribution of

Advantages and disadvantages within the organization (Robbins, 2001:18).

References

Achumba I.C.; Dixon, B.N. (2004) "Political Marketing-Marketing Unusual" in M*arketing Journal* Vol.1, No. October.

Alderson, W. (1950). 'Survival and Adjustment in Organized Behaviour Systems,' in R. Cox and W. Alderson, Theory in Marketing, Irwin, Homewood, IL: 65-88.

Ballantyne, D. (2000). 'The Strengths and Weaknesses of Internal Marketing,' in R.J. Varey and B.R. Lewis (eds) Internal Marketing. Directions for Management. London: Routledge.

Barnes, J.G. (1989). "The Role of Internal Marketing: If the Staff Won't Buy it, Why Should the Customer?" Irish Marketing Review Vol.4 (n0.2: 11-21.

Bennett, L. (1992). The Governing Crisis: Media, Money and Marketing in American Elections. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Berry, L.L, Parasuraman, A. (2000). Service Marketing starts from within, in R.J. Varey and B.R. Lewis (eds) Internal Marketing. Directions for Management. London: Routledge.

Berry, L.L, Shostack, G.L. and Upah, G.D. (1983). Proceedings of the American Marketing Association, 312, 77-81.

Blumler, J.G. and Kavanagh, D. (1999). "The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features." Political Communication (16): 209-230.

Butler, P., Collins, N. (1996). "Strategic Analysis in Political Markets." *European Journal of Marketing*. Vol. 30(10/11): 32-43.

Butler, P., Collins, N. (2001). "Payment on Delivery". *European Journal of Marketing*. Vol. 30(9/10): 1026-1037.

Carlzon, J. (1987). Moments of Truth. New York: Harper & Row.

Dalton, R.J., Wattenberg, M.P. (eds) (2000). Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diamond, L. (2001). Political Parties and Democracy. Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopskins University Press.

Dixon, D.F., Blois, K.J. (1983). Some Limitations of the 4Ps as a Paradigm for Marketing. Marketing Education Group Annual Conference, Cranfield Institute of Technology.

Drucker, P. (1990). Managing the Non-profit Organization. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Ferguson, J.M., Brown, S.W. (1991). "Relationship Marketing and Association Management." Journal of Professional Services Marketing Vol. 2 No.2: 137-147.

Fisk, G. (1967). Marketing Systems. New York: Harper & Row.

Franklin, B. (1995). Packaging Politics. London: Edward Arnold.

Gershman C. (2000) "Building Cooperation among Democracies", Issues of Democracy, May

Gibbens, J., Reimer, B. (1999). The Politics of Postmodernity. London: Sage.

Giddens, A. (1991). Modernity and Self-Identity. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gronroos, C. (1994). "Defining Marketing: A Market-oriented Approach." *European Journal of Marketing.* Vol. 23. No. 1: 52-60.

Gronroos, C. (1994). "From Marketing Mix to Relationship Marketing." Management Decision. Vol. 32: 4-20.

Gronroos, C. (2000). Service Management and Marketing. Chichester: Wiley.

Gummesson, E. (1987). "The New Marketing-Developing Long-term Interactive Relationships." Long Range Planning Vol. 20. No. 4: 10-20.

Henneberg, S. (1996) "Second Conference on Political Marketing" Journal of Marketing Management, Vol.12, pp23-31.

Ibodje S.W.and Dode, K(2007).Political Parties, Voting Pattern and National Integration, in Elections and The Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Edited by Attahiru Jega and Okechukwu Ibeanu, NPSA.

Nnadozie, U.(2007),History of Elections in Nigeria. in Elections and The Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Edited by Attahiru Jega and Okechukwu Ibeanu, NPSA.

Nzeribe (1992) Marketing dimensions of Politics in Marketing Politics: Advertising Strategies and Tactics, APCON Lagos.

Osuagwu, L. (2008) "Political Marketing: Conceptualization Dimensions and Research Agenda" Marketing Intelligence & Planning, (UK). Vol. 26 Issues 7, pp 793-810.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Political environment today is putting increased pressure on political marketers to think more strategically; and they are responding by spelling out their strategy in clearer terms in their plans. They are providing better rationales for favouring one strategy over another. The question then is: what is a marketing strategy?

A marketing strategy is a consistent, appropriate, and feasible set of principles through which a particular organization hopes to achieve its long-run customer and profit objectives in a particular competitive environment (Kotler 2002:43).

Craven and Piercy (2003:27) agreed with this definition but contrasted it with the components of strategic marketing which they listed as the analysis, strategy development, and implementation activities which require developing a vision about the market of interest to the organization, - Selecting target market strategies, Setting objectives, implementing, and managing the marketing programme for positioning strategies designed to meet the value requirements of the customers in each market segment. Marketing strategy seeks to deliver superior customer value by combining the customer influencing strategies of business into a co-ordinated set of market-driven actions.

For the avoidance of doubt, "marketing strategy is not synonymous with ethics". This point was made by Peter Drucker and clarified by Kotler (1986:14, 1995:36) in response to Baker (1984:19) and McCarthy (1985:35) who argued that a marketer who short-changes his customer could not be said to be applying the marketing strategy. Kotler argued that such a marketer is at best applying the 'hit and run' strategy, and may not subsequently operate in the same segment or market – because of the image problem already created particularly if the customers are ready to resent.

This issue has also been raised by Lees-Marshment (1996:53) who argued that a political party that secures the mandate of the electorate through electoral malpractices could not be

said to be applying the marketing strategy. But this stance was vehemently opposed by Baines (1996:43), Scammell (1996:100) Henneberg (2002:23-31), and Nzeribe (1998:65). They maintained that even in commercial marketing, if every strategy had been in line with the customers expectation and convenience as well as the ethical standard of society, consumerism would not have gained much prominence in our society. In fact, Scammell (1999:718-739) nailed this point by agreeing with Kotler (1995:464) that the Harassment strategy has been a potent marketing strategy in the hands of the market leader in curbing the excesses of the challenger. It stands to reason therefore that as long as Nigeria is practicing democracy; traces of marketing strategies by political parties are undeniable since a marketing strategy could be positive or negative depending on the objective of the strategist (Nzeribe, 1998:65).

Then comes the issue of dominance. The Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines dominance "as having control or authority". In line with this definition, Kotler (2003:54) refers to the firm with the largest share of the market in a particular market segment as the most dominant (i.e. market leader). In other words, a company's share of the market defines its level of dominance in the market. In this connection, Henneberg (2003:23-31) refers to dominant party as one that has control of the executive and influence which it enjoys after winning an election. He cautions that this dominance is not necessarily in absolute terms but could be contextual. It is in this context that PDP, ANPP, AD, and APGA have qualified to be called dominant political parties in this study.

2.1.1a The 2003 General Elections: An Overview

Since political independence in 1960, Nigeria has held six general elections with varying degrees of successes, failures, debates and controversies about them. These electoral exercises under references include the 1964, the 1979, the 1983, the 1999, and the 2003 elections. One defining feature of all these elections, as already noted, is the controversy they invariably generate. Even the much-acclaimed June 12, 1993 presidential election was not immune to controversies that have come to characterize elections in Nigeria. Unsurprisingly, some public-spirited individuals in this connection have exercised concerns. Why, wondered they, are Nigerian elections doomed to controversy?

With the possible exception of the 1959 general elections, which were acclaimed as very successful on the grounds, perhaps, that they were organized and conducted by the out-going British colonial administration, the other elections planned and executed by Nigerian administrative officials have been blighted by all kinds of "illegalities, irregularities and malpractices", to use the words of the Conference of Nigerian Political Parties (CNPP). The popular, albeit, plausible explanations usually given for this state of affairs is that the government that conducted and supervised those elections were, more or less interested parties. The success of the 1979 elections has been largely attributed to the fact that the military regime that conducted them was not a contestant in the elections. In the light of this, it is argued that elections conducted and supervised by civilian regimes in power have tended to be less peaceful, free nor fair. It is indeed on this basis that the general elections which were conducted and supervised in 1999 by the military regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar have been cast in the same mould as General Obasanjo's 1979 electoral exercise.

The 2003 General Elections took place under the current administration of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP), under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo. An Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was set up and empowered by the Federal Government to conduct and supervise the elections under the chairmanship of Abel Guobadia. In all, thirty political parties, an unprecedented number in Nigeria's political history, contested various seats in the elections, which were phased in three stages over a period of three weeks. The first stage, which took place on April 12, featured the National Assembly Elections.

Next were the Governorship and Presidential Elections which took place thus concluding the whole exercise. The results of the elections, as released by INEC, indicated that the ruling PDP not only retained the presidency, but also won more seats at the National Legislature and Governorship positions in more states than all the other parties combined.

Like any other democratic elections, the 2003 elections in Nigeria had their own fair share of pre-election problems. Incidentally, many of these problems had been envisaged by INEC, the state-commissioned electoral body. The registration of new political parties was one such problem. After much legal debate which was intrepidly championed by the founder of one of the new political parties. Gani Fawehinmi, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) INEC was compelled to register twenty-seven more political parties in addition to the already existing

three, namely, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the Alliance for Democracy (AD), the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP). Another problem that caused a great furor was the manner in which politicians and corporate entities donated to politicians and political parties (Ogbeide, 2003:161).

Amongst those implicated in accepting donations from corporate bodies and other private sources were President Obasanjo and the Vice President Atiku Abubakar. Both were alleged to have raked in over N5 billion and N1.3 billion, respectively. These donations, argued critics, were a contravention of the company and Allied Matters Act of 1990 and section 225 of the 1999 Constitution which prohibited companies from contributing funds to political parties and receiving funds from outside Nigeria (Ogbeide, 2003:78).

The wave of assassination which claimed the lives of prominent politicians in both the ruling and opposition parties was to cast a long shadow over the possibility of the elections being peaceful, free and fair. This spate of assassinations and other election-related murders eventually reached worrying proportions, thereby compelling the Federal Government to review the security situation in the country before it got out of control.

Naturally, the peculiarity of the Nigerian environment presented its own problems. Its vastness, topography, difficult terrain, cultural and linguistic diversities as well as political antecedents compared with the meagre resources (human and material) at the disposal of the INEC, made the task of managing the 2003 elections successfully to appear daunting.

Against this backdrop and in the light of these problems, INEC organized a retreat in Enugu in collaboration with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). According to the Commission's Chairman, INEC used the opportunity provided by the retreat to develop multi-strategic plans for an effective and efficient realization of its objectives. Elaborating further, he noted that;

> The outcome of that retreat greatly improved the commission's
> preparation and opened the door for several innovations in the 2003
> General Elections. The pivot of these innovations was the application
> of information and communication technology into election process.
> This culminated in the adoption of electronic voters register which
> addressed the problem of multiple registration associated with past

voters' registers. The introduction of this technology has the additional benefit of reducing election costs. Future adoption of technology will include the automation of the voting and counting process (Guobadia, 2003:37).

Furthermore, the presence of International and Local election monitors and observers was also a demonstration of the recognition of the foregoing problems. In total, about six six foreign observer teams monitored the elections. These, as indicated earlier, include the International Republican Institute (IRI), European Union (EU), the Commonwealth, African Union (AU), National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM) led by Mr. Max Van den Berg, deployed the largest number of observers with 118 in 321 states across Nigeria, except in Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Gombe, Kebbi and Taraba states (*Vanguard*, May 26, 2003:38).

The local monitoring teams comprised, among others, the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Justice Development Peace Committee (JDPC), National Crime Prevention Campaign (NCPC), Federal Organization of Nigeria (FON), Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Civil Society Organization (CSO) and Media Monitoring Groups. The efforts of these local monitoring groups complemented those of their foreign counterpants. For example, the Transition Monitoring Group, comprising 170 human rights and civil society organization, is reported to have sent 10,009 observers to monitor the three Elections (i.e. the National Assembly Elections, the Gubernatorial Presidential Elections and the State House of Assembly Elections (Olukotun, 2003:93). For its part, Freedom Organization of Nigeria (FON) deployed over 500 members to the field to observe the elections (Enewu, 2003:51). For its part, the Justice Development Peace Committee (JDPC) deployed about 23,000 people to the field.

The foregoing summarizes and at the same time highlights the challenges thrown up by the 2003 General Elections and the practical efforts made by various organizations, foreign and domestic, to meet those challenges, such as they were. Although the elections were proclaimed to be generally peaceful, their outcome elicited divergent views and reactions from both the local and foreign observers as well as the general public. Take the Commonwealth Observer Group, for example, while the Group granted that the election were

characterized by irregularities, electoral fraud and logistical problems, it was quick to emphasize 'the historic nature of these elections for Nigeria' (*Vanguard*, May 26, 2003:37). The therefore submitted that;

> Taken together, the National Assembly, Governorship and Presidential elections were the first time in twenty years that a civilian administration had organized a federal election. This accomplishment was a further important step in consolidation of democracy in the nation (*ibid*. 37).

The report stated, however that:

> Despite the achievement which these elections marked for Nigeria, much still remains to be done to strengthen the electoral process and culture of democracy in the country, INEC itself should be strengthened further, and be provided in good time with the additional financial support it needs. Its authority needs to be enhanced and its independence assured (*ibid*. 38).

The group also noted that some of the problems faced cannot be solved by INEC alone. Consequently, it observed that:

> It is also a question of determination and commitment to an open and transparent process by Nigerian politicians, as well as the people. The Government and the political parties must bring into account those who were responsible for any malpractice and combat effectively the culture that sustains them. They must also ensure that the concerns of those whose rights may have been denied by such, malpractice are addressed, both through the court processes and the running of fresh elections (*ibid*. 38).

The report of the European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) was more damning in its condemnation of the conduct of the elections and has, in consequences, caught some flak some quarters; Part of the report is cited *exteso*:

> The Presidential and a number of Gubernatorial Elections were marred by serious irregularities and fraud-in a certain number of

states, minimum standards for democratic elections were not met. EU EOM observers witnessed election fraud in certain states. Many instances of ballot box stuffing of results and other serious irregularities were observed in Cross River, Delta, Enugu, Kaduna, Imo and Rivers. The elections in these states lack credibility and appropriate measures must be taken by relevant authorities.

The report continued:

Similar irregularities were observed to a lesser extent in a number of State, including Anambra, Benue, Edo, Katsina and Nasarawa. These incidents undermined the integrity of the electoral process in these states. Irregularities should be thoroughly investigated and addressed by the appropriate authorities without delay (*Vanguard*, 26 May, 2003:38).

Meanwhile, the report also noted that in other parts of the states in the country, particularly in the southwestern parts, elections were said to be, in most respects, orderly. However, the report highlighted substantial flaws and weakness with regards to voter lists, ballots distribution and safeguards against multiple voting. The report also carpeted the media, federal and state-owned, for failing "to live up to their legal obligation to provide equal access and fair coverage of all political parties and demonstrated political bias in favour of the ruling parties at the federal and state levels" (*Vanguard*, 26 May, 2003:38). Although private broadcasters and print media, provided greater coverage of opposition parties, editorial policy was however influenced by commercial imperatives, leading, according to the report, to unbalanced treatment of candidates. Like the commonwealth Group, the EUEOM urged aggrieved politicians challenging the election results to take their concerns to the electoral tribunals.

Many Nigerians were no less dissatisfied with the conduct and outcome of the elections and protested at what they rightly considered, in the words of Wole Soyinka, as "the theft of their voices" (cited in Nwabueze, 2003:13; Musa, 2003:34; Akpan, 2003:16; Iroka. *This Day*, May 2, 2003; *Vanguard*, Monday, May 26, 2003). For their part *The Patriots*, a highly respected association of eminent Nigerians who have distinguished themselves in their individual

callings, "called for an interim government as a way out of the widespread protests against the results of the elections (Ogbeide, 2003:161).

Similarly, rivalry political parties also registered their outrage. In fact, twelve of them had, in the aftermath of the National Assembly elections of 12 April, unanimously decided not to participate in the subsequent elections, alleging fraud. Meanwhile, the Conference of Nigerian Political Parties (CNPP) in a publication entitled "The Stolen Mandate", noted that, "The 2003 elections were characterized by illegalities, irregularities and malpractices. Some of the most staring irregularities are premeditated vote allocation, result swapping, forceful hijacking and diversion of election result" (cited in Iroka, 2003:40). The CNPP further alleged that the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) had laid the foundation for rigging the elections during the preparatory stages by ensuring that President Olusegun Obasanjo delayed the release of funds, approved by the National Assembly, to the Independent National electoral Commission (INEC). A consequence of this, argued the CNPP, is that INEC was financially hamstrung to prepare adequately for the elections (Iroka, 2003:40).

As expected, the most vehement reaction to the election results came from two erstwhile Army Officers, Muhammadu Buhari and Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, presidential candidates of the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) and the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), respectively. While Buhari's post- election speeches were heavily laced with threats to the effect that he would make the country ungovernable unless the April and May 2003 polls were cancelled: Ojukwu, for his part, declared that only the return of the five South-eastern states to his party would guarantee peace in the country (*Thisday*, May 5, 2003:5). Indeed, the strident rhetoric of these two presidential candidates and the other aggrieved presidential aspirants reached worrying proportions as the political tension was mounting by the day.

It was against the background that Alhaji Umaru Sada Ndayako the Etsu Nupe, led a delegation of Northern leaders to President Olusegun Obasanjo with the express aim of finding a political solution to the worsening election crisis, the option for a possible political solution to the crisis. This included, among others, the dissolution of INEC and the reconstitution of another electoral body in its place and the cancellation of the election results wherever rigging was evident and the initiation of a new election (Thisday, June 18, 2003: 18).

The suggestion that the elections be cancelled greatly alarmed some sections of the Nigerian public. Obviously unnerved by the huge costs that would be involved in conducting fresh General elections; they prayed the aggrieved politicians to seek redress in the electoral tribunals if they could not accept their defeat in good faith. "Where in the world, whether developing or advanced", they asked "do we ever have perfect elections?" (Ajayi, 2003:11). The election observers, they argued, were to blame for much of the ensuing crisis. Having predicted violence during the elections and been watchfully disappointed, the foreign observers, said the critics were simply hell-bent on reporting what they had earlier predicted by hyping irregularities in the elections, based on their observation of just a few states in the country (Ajayi, 2003:11; Usman, 2003:61; Okocha, 2003:96; Ologbondiyan, 2003:47). In the words of one of the critics:

> The objective truth is that no set of foreigners, no matter their good
>
> intentions and no matter how altruistic, can claim to love Nigeria
>
> more than patriotic and progress loving Nigerians.

Nigerians have spoken through their votes. If a majority of Nigerians are happy with the process, conduct and outcome of the elections, so be it. It should be a case of the sympathizer out-weeping the bereaved if Nigerians are celebrating the renewal of their democracy through elections that were largely fair and peaceful and yet foreign observers are preoccupied with advertising the flaws in the exercise. (Ajayi, 2003:11).

It is apposite at this stage to consider the reactions of the major Western democracies. As stated before, election monitoring and observation constitute essential elements in the "political conditionality" which Nigerian-type countries are expected to implement in order to remain worthy of aid and economic assistance by Western governments and the various multilateral development agencies and donors. For them, multiparty election is a critical process in the democratization crusade in Africa. This, thought the West, is critical to addressing the issue of legitimacy from which has sprung many of the crises of governance in Africa. The idea, as Kieh, JR (1999:14) informs us, is that if the people of Africa are able to elect their political leaders through a regular and transparent process, then the regimes will be able to govern on the basis of the goodwill of the people.

Thus, as expected, and in spite of the controversies generated by the elections, as well as the scathing verdicts of foreign and local election observers, the West went ahead and generally

endorsed the elections. For example, Britain described the elections as a "landmark achievement in the advancement of Nigeria's democracy" (*Daily Champion*, May 1, 2003:1). Stated in the words of her foreign secretary, Jack Straw, "President Obasanjo now has a basis to pursuing their challenge to the election result".

For its part, the United States noted that, despite their many shortcomings, the elections clearly demonstrated the (Nigeria) public belief in the value of democracy (*Daily Champion*, May 16, 2003). Earlier, the European Union had endorsed President Obasanjo's' second term mandate, despite its monitoring team's report of alleged irregularities in the conduct of the elections. The E.U. statement reads in part:

> The European Union welcomes the fact that the presidential, parliamentary, and gubernatorial elections in Nigeria were conducted peacefully in most parts of the country and represented an important step towards democratic process in Nigeria, in context of transition from civilian to civilian administration (*Daily Champion*, May 16, 2003:2).

Against this context and in the light of the outrage which electoral fraud can cause in the West, is it fair to ask why the West was so eager to endorse the April 2003 elections in Nigeria, in spite of the groundswell of public outcry and damning foreign and local reports on the elections?

2.1.1b The Concept of Strategy and Dimensions

Marketing management literature is inundated with definitions of strategy. This diversity of definitions tends to create conflict in terms of the exact meaning and essence of strategy. In this connection, Hofer and Scllender (1978:128) clarify that the apparent controversy over the definitions of strategy hinges primarily on whether it is defined broadly or narrowly; that is, whether the definition should include both means and the ends or only the ends.

Bowman and Helfat (2001:1) have further advocated the need to recognize that an organization may have a single strategy or multiple strategies and that such strategy may exist at different levels in the organization. It stands to reason, therefore, that some definitions may focus entirely on the first level of strategy derived from the organizational mission. Thus, although strategy has become a business buzzword, it continues to be a subject of widely differing definitions and interpretations.

However, the word 'strategy' derives from the ancient Athenian expression of strategos. Strategos was a component word for 'stratos' which meant 'army' or more properly encamped army spread out over ground, and 'again' which meant 'to lead'. In the contemporary usage, the word derives its impetus from such military terms as 'price wars', border skirmishes', and 'clashes' in business parlance. It is fashionable to hear businesses talk of 'market base', 'market invasion' 'guerrilla attack, 'market intelligence', 'propaganda, 'market attack' and 'sales troops' among others. Businesses have found it easy to use military language to describe their competitive situations. So, it is in politics and by extension, political marketing. Hax (1993:143) has, however, maintained that providing an easy definition has not been easy because although some elements of strategy have universal validity and can be applied across political parties, some other elements are heavily dependent on the nature of the party, its constituencies, structures and cultures. To solve this definitional problem, he posited that the concept of strategy should be considered separately from the process of its formation and thereby assumes that strategy simply provides a sense of unity, direction, and purpose, as well as facilitating the necessary changes induced by a party's environment. It is against this backdrop that the following definitions are presented:

In its simplest sense, strategy is what a political party does to achieve its objectives. It is an integrated set of actions in the pursuit of competitive advantage (Day, 1984:15).

- Strategy is a purposive development and utilization of a party's capabilities to exploit existing and evolving opportunities in a politically competitive environment at an acceptable level of risk (Andrews, 1980:130).

- Strategy is a fundamental pattern of present and planned objectives, resource deployments and interactions of a party with electorate, competitors and other environmental factors (Walker, Boyd and Larrenche, 1996:153).

- A strategy is the pattern or plan that integrates a party's ideology, programmes and action sequence into a cohesive whole. A well formulated strategy helps to marshal and allocate a party's resources into a unique and viable posture based on its relative internal competencies and shortcomings, anticipate changes in the environment and contingent moves by intelligent opponents (Quinn, 1980:27).

- In the views of Thompson and Strickland (2001:143), a party's strategy consists of the combination of competitive moves and political approaches that politicians employ to please electorate, compete successfully and achieve political objectives. It therefore entails managerial choice along alternatives and signals political commitment to specific electorate, competitive approaches and ways of operating.

Despite the variety of the definitions presented, there are common threads of thought running across them. The definitions suggest that strategy enables a party to specify:

- What is to be accomplished?
- Where it will be accomplished, i.e., the vote market it will focus and
- How it will be accomplished, i.e., what resources will be allocated to each vote-market in order to meet political opportunities and gain competitive advantage
- Strategy also enables a party to deal with externally induced change and maintain ideological relevance.

It is a politically powerful tool for coping with all conditions of change (Coram, 2003:603)

Shedding further light on the essence of strategy, Coram asserted that if uncertainty could be eliminated completely, there would be no need for strategy. As long as uncertainty persists in the environment however, strategy is needed to provide the frame work within which information derived from the environment can be used to reduce uncertainty and establish some acceptable probabilistic limits of success for the alternative courses of action intended to attain political objectives. It is also canvassed that a genuine strategy is always needed when potential actions or responses of intelligent opponents or competitors can seriously affect a party's desired outcomes. Thus, according to Quinn (1980:121), the essence of strategy (whether military, diplomatic, political or business) is to build a posture that is so strong (but potentially flexible) in selective ways that the party can achieve its goals despite the unforeseeable ways that external forces may actually interact when the time comes.

Although strategy has been traditionally defined in only one way according to Mintzberg (1987:171), it has long been used implicitly in many different ways. It is however, the explicit recognition of the multiple definitions that can help people manoeuvre through its difficult field; it is from that perspective that he presented strategy in terms of five P's.

1. **Strategy as a plan:** it is a unified, comprehensive and integrated plan designed to ensure that the basic objectives of the organization are achieved (Glueck, 1980:35). Strategy as a plan also represents some sort of consciously intended course of action, a guideline (or set of guidelines) to deal with a situation.

2. **Strategy as a ploy:** it is a specific 'manoeuvre' intended to outwit an opponent or competitor, it is also a 'competitive move' including actions to pre-empt competitive response or ploys to outwit rivals in competitive or bargaining situation (Schelling, 1980:41-63).

3. **Strategy as a pattern**: it is a stream of actions that implies consistency in behaviour; whether or not intended. An overlap, therefore, exists between strategy as a plan and strategy as a pattern, which are labelled as deliberate strategies and emergent strategies respectively.

4. **Strategy as a position:** In this sense, strategy is a means of locating an organization in its environment; that is, the match between the internal and external contexts of the organization (Hofer and Schendel, 1978:128). It is also seen formally as the organization's product-market domain; that is the point in the environment where the organization concentrates in the deployment of resources in a manner that is most likely to defeat the opponent or competitors, or creating situations for economic rents and finding ways to sustain them (Rumelt, 1982:166).

5. **Strategy as a perspective:** this perspective examines strategy within the organization, specifically inside the heads of the collective strategists. It is the management's collective intuition about how the world works. Strategy represents the character of the organization, that is, the organization's distinct and integrated 'commitment to ways of acting and responding' that are built into it. In this sense, it reflects the 'personality' of the organization.

As a perspective, strategy is a concept, an abstraction that exists only in the minds of stakeholders. It is in essence, a perspective shared in the collective minds of individuals who are united by common thinking and/or their actions (Iyiegbuniwe, 2005:49). In a fresh look at what strategy is and how it may come about, Hax (1990:143) presented strategy in six dimensions:

1. Strategy as a coherent, unifying, and integrated pattern of decisions: strategy is a major force that provides a comprehensive and integrative approach for the part as a whole. It gives rise to the basic plan necessary to ensure that the basic objectives of the political party as an organization are achieved. In this sense, strategy is the conscious, explicit and proactive pattern of decisions a party makes.

2. Strategy as a means of establishing a party's purpose in terms of its long term objectives. This is the classical view of strategy as a way of explicitly shaping the long term goals and objectives of a party; of defining the major action programmers needed to achieve those objectives and deploying the necessary resources. It is clear from this view that resource allocation is the most critical step in political marketing. It also emphasizes that the alignment between political objectives and programmes on the one hand, and the allocation of the party's overall resources on the other is required to achieve political marketing effectiveness.

3. Strategy as a definition of a party's competitive domain: In this sense, the central concern of strategy is to define the activities a party is in or intends to be in. The emphasis here is on effective segmentation of the vote market which defines the party's domain. Segmentation is seen here as a crucial step in political marketing analysis, party positioning, resource allocation as well as, conflict and vote-share management. It also has an enormous impact on defining the organizational structure of the party.

4. Strategy as a response to external opportunities and threats, internal strengths and weaknesses and a means of achieving competitive advantage. This environmental perspective indicates that the central essence or thrust of strategy is to achieve a long term sustainable competitive advantage over a party's key competitors in every aspect of party politics that it partakes. It recognizes that:

- The ultimate objective is for a party to achieve a long term competitive advantage over its competitors in all aspects of the operation.

- Such competitive advantage is the result of a thorough understanding of the external and internal forces that strongly affect the party.

- Strategy allows the party to achieve a viable match between its political environment and internal capabilities. It enables the party to continuously and actively adapt the party to meet the demands of a changing political environment.

5. Strategy as a logical system for differentiating managerial tasks at strategic, tactical and operational levels. From this point of view, the various hierarchical levels in the party have quite different managerial responsibilities in terms of their contributions to defining the strategy of the party. At the highest, or the strategic level, the responsibilities are to define the party's ideology; validate proposals emerging from tactical and operational levels, identify and exploit the linkages between distinct but related party units, allocate resources with a sense of strategic priorities. At the tactical or operational level, the responsibilities are to develop the necessary competencies in logistics, communication, technology, membership drive, finance etc.

6. Strategy as a definition of economic and non economic contributions the party intends to make to its stakeholders: The notion of stakeholders include, financiers, electorate, supporters, employees, civil society, government and communities among others, have gained importance in the recent times. The extent to which a party takes care of its stakeholders has become a useful way of looking at a party's concerns.

2.1.2 Competitive Marketing Strategy

Kotler (2003:57) noted that marketing strategy depends on a firm's size and position in the market place. He imagined that a competitive market will produce a competitive structure that looks thus:

Market Leader	Market Challenger	Market Follower	Market Nicher
40%	30%	20%	10%

Figure 1.0:   Hypothetical market structure: Adapted from Kotler (2003:57).

By implication at least 40% of the vote market is in the hands of a market leader, the party with the largest vote share. Another 30% of the market is in the hands of a market challenger, a runner-up party that is actively trying to expand its share using highly aggressive tactics. Another 20% is in the hands of a market follower, another runner-up party that seeks to maintain its vote share and not rock the boat. The remaining 10% is in the hands of several small parties called market nichers which serve small market segments that they hope will not attract the interest of the larger organizations.

MARKET LEADER STRATEGIES

Almost every industry contains one firm that is acknowledged to be the market leader. The firm has the largest market share in the relevant product market. It usually leads the other firms in price changes, new-product introductions, distribution coverage, and promotional intensity. The leader may or may not be admired or respected, but other firms will acknowledge its dominance. The leader is an orientation point for competitors (i.e. a firm to either challenge imitates or avoids. (Kotler, et al, 1999:464, Kotler 2003:57)

The life of a dominant firm is not altogether easy. It must maintain constant vigilance. Other firms keep challenging its strengths or trying to take advantage of its weaknesses. The market leader might plunge into second place, if it is not up and doing.

A dominant firm's objective is to remain number one, and according to Kotler (2003:57) dominant firms cannot be expected to sit idly by as smaller firm nibble away at them. What the market leader can do therefore to discipline upstart firm is two fold: from a military perspective, they can try 'brinkmanship', massive retaliation', limited warfare; 'graduated response', 'diplomacy', 'diplomacy of violence', "threat system", and so on. From a business point of view, they can practice:

1. **Innovation strategy:** This means that the dominant firm refuses to be content with the way things are and leads the industry in new-product ideas, customer services, means of distribution, and cost-cutting discoveries'. By continuously creating new customer values, the dominant firm takes the best course possible to discourage competitors.

2. **Fortification strategy:** Here the dominant firm keeps its prices reasonable in relation to the perceived value of its offer and competitors' offers. It produces its brands in a variety of sizes and forms so as to cover the varying preferences of the market instead of letting competitors get a foothold. It creates additional brands to fortify its hold on shelf space and dealers' effort.

3. **Confrontation strategy:** As Kotler (1999:464) noted, the dominant firm faces extremely aggressive challenger whose actions demand a quick and direct response. The dominant firm can wage a promotional war, engaging in massive promotional expenditures which the aggressor cannot match. It may also engage in price war.

4. **Harassment strategy:** The dominant firm might go to major suppliers and threaten to reduce its purchases if the latter supply the upstart firm. Or it might put pressure on distributors not to carry the competitor's product. Or it might hire the better executives of an aggressive firm. The dominant firm can also refrain its competitors through legal devices. It might push legislation that would be more unfavourable to the competitors than to itself.

MARKET CHALLENGER STRATEGIES

Kotler (2003:57) noted that firms which occupy second, third, and fourth places in an industry can be called runner-up or trailing firms. They may be quite large in their own right although smaller than the leader. In political marketing, parties take the place of these firms, and they collectively form the opposition (Lees-Marshment, 1999:929; Baines, 2003:65).

Here in Nigeria, challenger position can be ascribed to ANPP, AD, and APGA; while PDP is the leader.

The runner-up firms or in our case the opposition parties can adopt one of two postures. They can decide to attack the leaders and others in a grab for further market (vote) share (i.e. market challenger). Or they can be content to play ball and not rock the boat (market followers).

Market challengers can attempt to gain market share in three ways:
- direct Attack Strategy (also called head-on strategy) Here the challenger tries to beat the market leader through sheer doggedness and fight
- Backdoor strategy (also called end-run or blindside) in which the challenger runs around the dominant firm rather than into it.
- Guppy strategy of attacking smaller competitors rather than the market leader.

Several other strategies are available to the market challenger who is seeking an advantage vis-à-vis competition. These are price-discount strategy, cheaper goods strategy, prestige goods strategy, product proliferation strategy, product innovation strategy, manufacturing-cost-reduction strategy, intensive advertising strategy. A challenger does not only depend on one strategy element but a combination of strategies to improve its position over time.

MARKET FOLLOWER STRATEGIES

Not all runner-up firms choose to challenge the market leader. Some settle in favour of following rather than attacking the leader. Kotler (1999:464) cautioned that a market

follower must be clear on how it is going to hold on current customers and win a fair of new ones. Each follower must work a set of target markets to which it can bring distinctive advantages – location, services, financing. It must be ready to enter new markets that are opening up.

Armstrong et al (1999:87) warned that followership is not the same as passivity or being a carbon copy of the leader. The follower has to define its own path to growth, but decides to do this in a way that does not create intense competitive retaliation.

MARKET NICHER STRATEGIES

Nearly every industry includes a number of minor firms that operate in some parts of the market and try to avoid clashing with the majors. These smaller firms attempt to find and occupy market niches that they can serve effectively through specialization and the majors are likely to overlook or ignore. These firms are variously called market nichers, market specialists, threshold firms, or foothold firms.

An ideal market niche according to Kotler (1999:464) will have the following characteristics:

    i. The niche is of sufficient size and purchasing power to be profitable

    ii.   The niche has growth potential

    iii.   The niche has been bypassed or neglected by major competitors

    iv.   The firm has superior competencies to serve the niche effectively

    v.   The firm can defend its position against an attacking major because of the goodwill it has built up.

Market nichers often become specialists in some end-use, vertical level, customer size, specific customer, geographic area, product or product line, product feature or service.

2.1.3 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 (1992:132) states that 'policy is a matter of either the desire for change or the desire to protect something against change. This also leads to conflict.

According to Nzimiro (1992:132), 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 (2002:78), 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.

2.1.4 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, (2007:149) 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 (1992:67), 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 (2003:71), 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 (2002:57) 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, (2007:149) 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 (1993:58), 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, 1993:58). 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 part 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.

2.1.5 Political Parties

According to Ibodje. and Dode, (2007:149) 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.

The functions of political parties in any democratic society have been summarized by Ibodje and Dode, (2007:149)

- **Political Education**

A political party is expected to be an intermediary between the people and the government. It educates the people on government policies and communicates to the government, people's views on government policies

- **Recruitment**

Political parties recruit candidates to the political offices. Political leaders like president, Minister, and chairman of Boards had to be in the first instance recruited by political parties.

- **Co- ordination of Parliamentary Business**

Political parties' co-ordinate parliamentary business and this is usually done on the floor of the parliament National Assembly. Parliamentary business is carried out on party lines. Thus the election of a speaker, majority minority leader, committee members and party whips are done by party organization.

A further attempt at underscoring the function of political parties was made by Palamountain (1986:65) while studying the dynamic interplay among economic and political actions that shape the emergence of political parties.

According to him, the fact that political parties channel, aggregate, and express political demands is indicative of the important role they play in the management of conflict in societies divided along cultural, linguistic, religious, regional, or other lines. However, the impact that parties have on the actual expression of conflict varies depending on the way in which such cleavages are expressed by the party system (Reilly, 2006:89).

Causes of this conflict are not unconnected with pressures of tribalism and ethnic mobilization, incompatible political alliance, a restriction of elected members to defect, defection of party members, multiple endorsements of candidates, organizing parties around personalities or narrow political interest like the zoning system in Nigeria, an attempt to reduce political fragmentation, etc (Reilly, 2006:89; Worlu, 2006:49)

Be that as it may, three theories of political party origins have been suggested by Oyediran (1991:76). These are:

- Institutional theories which focus on the inter- relationship between early parliaments and the emergence of political parties;

- Development theories which relate parties to the broader processes of modernization; and

➤ Historical situation theories that focus on historical crises or tasks which political systems have encountered at the moment in time when parties developed. The last of these comes closest to explaining or understanding the emergence or origin of the political parties in Nigeria.

2.2   Theoretical Framework

Marketing is broadly tenable in two areas-tangible and intangible goods. That aspect called intangible goods is referred to as services marketing (Kotler, 1995:464). Service marketing deals with the performance of business activities, which direct the flow of services of any kind, including politics, from service providers to the consumer (Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004:78).Thus, the theoretical underpinning of this study derives from the following theories:

2.2.1   Relationship Marketing Theory

The appearance and rapid growth of interest for relationship marketing were due to the many changes which have occurred in the international business environment from the beginning of the 1970's until the present period of time. These changes known also as key drivers in the development of the relationship marketing concept can be resumed as: the maturing of many markets, especially in the United States, European Union countries and other advanced economies, the decrease in population growth rate, a greater consumer power and sophistication in the decision buying process, the technological developments and the increased competition in many business areas. Therefore, a greater number of markets were saturated which means that consumers, faced with a surplus of products that were becoming more demanding and less easily persuaded by seller's promotional messages. This has affected brands positioning leading to a decline in market share and implicitly in the manufacturers' economic profitability, because consumers perceived little difference between competitors' goods and services. In this new business context, marketers realized that the methods, techniques and instruments of traditional marketing (named also classic or transactional marketing) were no longer adequate for helping companies to plan their activities and predict their future market position.

The starting point of relationship marketing is considered to be a new stage in the development of marketing theory, as it is shown in figure 1, According to Christopher et. al.

(1991:8-9) during the 20th century there had been a number of major developments that can be associated with differences in research emphasis. From the beginning the marketing science was dominated by the consumer's good area. During the development of business to business and service marketing, there have been identified many and significant differences between these economic sectors and consumers marketing, which generate the need to find new strategic and tactical methods for adapting to this specific environment. The main peculiarities were referring to the nature of the product offered, the customers' buying behavior and the type of business relationships established between the manufacturer or the

1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
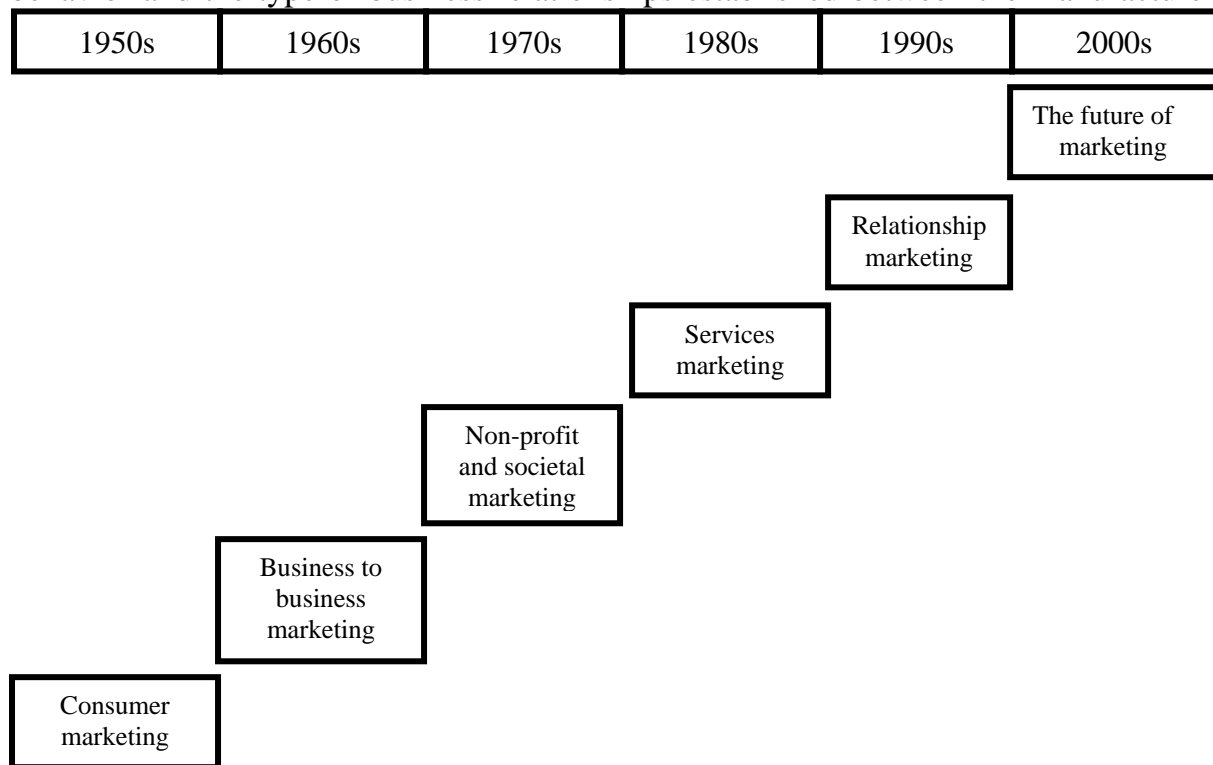
Figure 2:0   Developments in Marketing Theory

Source: Adapted from Christopher, M., Payne, A., Ballantyne, D. 1991:54.

In the initial development of business to business marketing (named in the first phase industrial marketing) the emphasis was on defining and classifying industrial goods, the mechanism of price setting and rational buying models where marketing played only a marginal role. However, this approach wasn't appropriate for revealing the complexity of how industrial markets operated; fact which resulted from the work of Industrial Marketing and Purchasing Group (IMP). The empirical research realized by these specialists had to get to the conclusion that many inter-firm transactions are conducted within enduring business relationships where mutual trust and adaptation are essential for both partners. In the same

time it appears that business to business marketing involved not just managing exchanges between organizations but much more complex human interactions. On the basis of IMP's research activity, it has developed the theory of network interaction marketing defined by Christopher as all activities undertaken by the firm to build, maintain and develop customer relations (in Egan, 2004:14).

The services marketing literature, was similar to the business sector, one of the first areas for the development of relationship marketing research. The spectacular growth of the services economy in many countries of the world (which accounts, in present, for 56.6 percent of worldwide gross national product and, at the same time, it absorbs a large part of the labour force shed by traditional industries) has favourably influenced the review of some marketing instruments in domains like: banks, assurance, tourism, and politics. These main differences that can be identified between goods and services are: the intangible elements that dominate value creation, the fact that service product cannot be invented, the variability in the operational inputs or outputs and the inseparability of services consumption from the contact personnel, which means that customers may be involved in the production process. Services characteristics and typology determine a specific way in which the marketing mix tools will be defined and thereby become a favorite domain for the applicability of relationship marketing theory. This is the reason why many researchers (Berry, 1983:201; Gronroos, 1991:5; Gummesson: 60, 1987) sustain the point of view that in services marketing, buyer-seller interaction must be considered as part of marketing's task.

The concept of relationship marketing was first mentioned by Berry (1983:77), in a conference paper on service marketing, as "attracting, maintaining, and enhancing customer relationships". While recognizing that customer acquisition was and would remain part of marketer's responsibilities, this viewpoint emphasized that a relationship view of marketing implied that retention and development were of equal or even greater importance to the organization in the long term, than customer acquisition. After a period of time, the same author (Berry, 1995:236) described relationship marketing as a "new-old concept" continuing that "the idea of a business earning the customers' favour and loyalty by satisfying their wants and needs was not unknown to the earliest of merchant". At the centre of the relationship marketing perspective, however, is the idea that customers have continuing value

over the period they stay in business with a specific organisation. The focus is, therefore, on the relationships rather than transactions. The duration of the exchange is a core element in distinguishing the two terms. A transactional exchange involves a single, short time exchange with a distinct beginning and ending. In contrast a relational exchange involves multiple linked exchanges extending over time and usually involves both economic and social bonds. Another definition of relationship marketing was proposed by Gronroos (1990:5), who affirms that: "The role of relationship marketing is to identify, establish, maintain and enhance relationships with customers and other stakeholders, at a profit, so that the objectives of all other parties involved are met; and that this is done by a mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises". Gummensson (1996: 6) defines relationship marketing as "marketing seen as interactions, relationships and networks". As most definitions imply, relationship marketing is first and foremost a process. Thus the relationship marketing approach is multifunctional and integrative because it "views marketing as an integrative activity involving functions across the organization, with emphasis on and facilitating, building and maintaining relationship overtime" (Coviello et. al., 1997:23). Relationship marketing has developed even more; at a micro level, the concept is concerned with the nature of the relationship between the firm and customers that emphasizes a long-term relationship that takes into account the customer's needs and value. At a macro level, the term describes the relationship within which the organization engages with all stakeholders, thus the strategic issue is to establish the mix or portfolio of the relationship that is essential for the firm (Stewart and Durkin, 1999 mentioned in Rao and Perry, 2002:599).

The development of relationship marketing theory and practice can be examined from service marketing perspective. A service is therefore defined as separately identifiable intangible activities which provide want- satisfaction when marketed to consumers and/or industrial users; and which are not necessarily tied to the sale of a product or another service. We include such services as medical, legal, entertainment, repair, insurance, and more importantly politics.

Achumba (1995:76) further differentiated between two basic types of services: The service product which offers the customers intangible benefits which in most instances cannot be stored for future use; and the "product service" which is vital to the functioning of the

tangible product and therefore an integral part of it. In other words, services are activities, not things.

Political marketing, which is the application of marketing techniques and processes to politics, is often treated as an aspect of services marketing (Bradshaw, 1995:57; Achumba & Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004:119). This is because it shares the same characteristics with service marketing. These characteristics are intangibility, inseparability, variability, perishability, and lack of ownership.

In addition to the foregoing, service marketing theory has provided some valuable insights for research of political marketing (Harrop, 1990:77; Scammel 1999:100). While thinking of politics and governance as a service, these researchers theorized the importance of image reputation in politics, not just as an effect of television, but as imperative of the market place (Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004:78).

One striking feature of the Relationship Marketing which is situated in the services industries is that production and consumption are part of the same process. The customers are seen as co-producers of the service offering and they interact with the service provider (and also with one another) in the production process. According to the Relationship marketing paradigm, the focus of marketing is on value creation rather than the value distribution emphasized by the MMM paradigm. That is, the facilitation and support of a value creating process, rather than simply distributing ready-made value to customers. Gronroos (2000:20) has argued that value for customers is not embedded in products. Products are only facilitators of value. Instead, value for customers is created through the relationship and interactions between the customers and service provider. Thus, from service marketing perspective, there is no gap between production and consumption that needs to be filled by a separate activity or function. Hence, marketing is an integral part of the entire process.

Furthermore, the fact that our customers are seen as co-producers necessitates the establishment of long-term relationships between the service provider and its customers-otherwise both process and outcome might be seriously jeopardized. This customer retention is of course central to relationship marketing and explains its growing popularity at the expense of the 'old' paradigm (Ferguson, 1991:137; Gronroos, 2000:20; Gummesson, 1999:6).

At the heart of any definition of marketing is the 'marketing concept', an approach that puts the customers at the production- consumption cycle (Baker 1991:65). This creates opportunities for the consumer to effectively transform the market such that it is now the consumer, not the producer who is the hunter. Increasingly, producers will have to find products for customers, not customers for pre-determined products. Kotler et al (2002:87) insist that organizations will have to focus increasingly on individual customer requirements, and develop strategies for keeping existing buyers (customer life time value) because the cost of attracting new consumers is much greater than the cost of building loyalty.

Kotler et al's new marketing paradigm, of 'customer relations management' comes close to an older, European tradition of marketing, from the Nordic school of services. According to Scammell (1999:100), its distinguishing feature is its emphasis on services. It claims that marketing orthodoxy, associated with North American business schools and theorists such as Kotler, referred primarily to packaged goods and durables. But developed economies are services dominated, with the service sector accounting for some two-thirds of GNP in the western world (Gummesson, 1990:63).

The sustainable success of services requires a form of marketing which differs from packaged schools in significant respects. First, services tend to be more reliant on promise and reputation. This is the only thing that the seller can offer in advance of sale unlike in the sale of goods where there is physical evidence before sale. Second, services are often long-lasting (e.g. banking mortgages, insurance, etc). At the onset, customers buy into potential years of provision from the service provider. Such services often depend for profit on long-term custom. This is the basis of 'relationship marketing', in which the retention of existing customers determines sustainable profits. Third, there is often no separation, as there is with packaged goods, between production, sales and delivery. Face-to-face contacts with customers are handled by employees who produce the service and they exert some influence on customer perception of the product in markets that are almost reliant on reputation.

In these circumstances, the 'marketing function' cannot be satisfied by a specialized marketing department alone, it extends to all employees whose activities affect customer perception. Employees therefore, form a vital audience- an 'internal market' in Gummesson's phrase- who must be persuaded by the company's mission and product

quality, since their performance crucially influences external customer perception and continued loyalty.

Services marketing theory has provided some valuable insights for researchers of political marketing. While thinking of politics and government as a service, Harrop (1990:277) and Scammell (1999:100) theorize the importance of image (reputation) in politics, not just as an effect of television, but as an imperative of the market place.

Reputation, based on record and leadership is the only thing of substance parties can offer to voters in support of their "promises" to govern (Scammell, 1999:100). Equally, the elevation of reputation to a key variable helps explain why voters may vote for one party while apparently preferring the policies of another; or indeed why it was that the conservatives crashed to defeat in 1997 despite presiding over an improving economy; or why AD failed, in south western Nigeria during 2003 general elections despite its acceptance by the Yoruba's. However, the significance of the ideas of internal marketing has been almost completely ignored, both in the practice and theory of political marketing. Besides, the idea of external market in the Nigerian political marketing environment leaves much to be desired.

In fact, in practice, Scammell (1999:44) observed that parties might have been following the polar opposite strategy to that recommended by "relationship marketing" by neglecting their memberships and core supporters. Members, activists, ordinary parliamentarians and general constituency activities have become relatively peripheral to media- focused, leader- centred strategies intended to promote the party's reputation among the weak- aligned target voters.

The result is greater distance between the organisation and its customers. It becomes more remote from the market and is discounting a vital resource of influence on customers' perception. In the long-term, unless the organisation finds other ways to stay close to its market, competitive strength may decline (Scammell, 1999:110). A similar point from a more orthodox political stand point is emphasised in Seyd, and Richardson's Studies (1992:19; 1994:44) of Labour and Conservatives' memberships. They argued that there are clear political and electoral gains associated with robust memberships and local organisations.

To operationalize this, we will have this model:

$$Ep = f(a, b, c)$$

Where;

Ep = Effective political marketing practices

a = Interactive marketing

b = Internal marketing

c = External marketing

The above model can also be used to depict the three types of marketing expected in a political party:
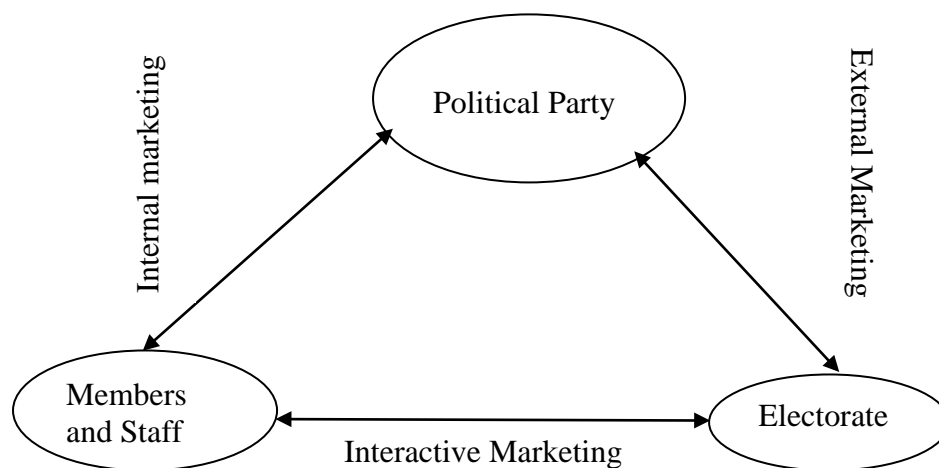
Figure 3:.0 Three types of marketing in political parties
Source: Adapted from Kotler et al (1999:87), Principles of Marketing (2nd Edition.)London, Prentice Hall,

INTERNAL MARKETING

The focus of internal marketing is for the party to train and effectively motivate its voter-contact employees and supporting members to work as a team to provide voters satisfaction. This group of persons exert direct influence on voters' perception of the product in the political market.

In Germany, political parties recognize the importance of internal market. While citing Sparrow (1996:984), Achumba and Dixon- Ogbechi (2004:78) revealed that German parties encourage local activisms and that party leadership place high premium on members' activities as outreach workers, representatives of the party in broader society and even in casual conversation. Effectively, they are part time workers of the party.

46

Neglect of internal market (party members and staff) will most likely result in less commitment to and diminution on the value or even prospect of face to face contact with the electorate.

INTERACTIVE MARKETING

This means that perceived service quality depends heavily on the quality of the buyer- seller interactions. For example, the voter judges the ability of a political candidate to perform after election not just on his rhetorical prowess nor on the persuasive dexterity of his campaign manager but also on his functional ability to show concern to the electorate and inspire their confidence. Thus, all politicians need to have a great mastery of interactive management skills.

EXTERNAL MARKETING

This describes the normal work of preparing, pricing (valuing), distributing and promoting the political product to the electorate. For the politician, the high point is the voting day and beyond. It is the ultimate delivery of the political product for adoption by the electorate. Once this happens, relationship marketing skills begin to count. The political entity must note that merely securing the mandate of the electorate does not end the transaction. There is need to aspire for customer loyalty which brings about relationship marketing.

2.2.2 Game Theory

Another theoretical underpinning of this work is the game theory. This means that political marketing borrows some of the techniques of the game theory.

Historically, the game theory was propounded in the 1920s by Emil Borel, and was further developed by John Von Neumann to explain the behavior of the economic man or the rational actor. John Von Neumann was also credited with further development of infinitesimal calculus which deals with change and its effect under certain conditions.

The game theory, as Jack Piano and Robert Riggs (1973:65) see it, deals "with rational decision strategies in situation of conflict and competition, when each participant or player seeks to maximize gains and minimize losses". The emphasis of the theory was the application of mathematical models to political studies, and it has its origin in those parlour games, like chess, chicken poker or bridge characterized by "element of conflict, decision

making and cooperation". These are games between two or more players, where the decision of each player "is contingent upon the decision of others" (Ajayi, 2006:93).

The central point here is the nature of inter-dependence of whatever decisions are made by the different players participating in the game. This is because it is not possible for any one player to make a choice without giving considerations to the choices made by the other players. Thus the task before each player is to ensure that decisions are based on expectations of what actions the other players would take at any given time. The import of this is that the game entails elements of consistency and rationality among actors because such actors have partial control over the strategic factors affecting their environment. According to Ajayi (2006:93), the use of games theory in political studies is based on the following assumptions:

1. That the game is usually well defined.
2. That the game has an explicit set of rules.
3. That the information available to the players is specified at every point.
4. That the scoring system is complete (Verma, 1975:5).

Central to the theory are two vital components, namely; the players and the strategies or tactics. The players, also known as the decision makers, could be individuals or institutions, are assumed to be rational with well defined objectives and are endowed with resources to checkmate competing forces. To guide the deployment of these resources are rules.

The game theory further argues that "each player has a scale of utilities according to which he prefers some outcomes, so long as he plays the game at all". The player also has a range of options among different moves he can make, and there are particular expectations of such moves. Even though their knowledge of outcome of their actions are uncertain, the theory further argues that if players must play well, they must know what they know and what they do not know, and they must know what they can and what they cannot do,(Duetsch, 1978:54). But the assumption of the theory that a player can strategize in a manner that takes care of all possible contingences has little application to real life situations.

The outcome of whatever strategy is adopted gives rise to the different forms of game theory we know. Examples include:

a. The zero – sum game.
b. The non zero – sum game.

c. The zero – sum n – persons game.

d. The non zero – sum n – person games.

In the zero – sum game we have only two players and the gains of one are always equal to the loss of the other. In (b) and (c), two or more persons are involved, and the players may share the division of the award, and the gain of one needs not be equal to the loss of the other. In (d) where there are three or more players, it is possible for two or more players to cooperate against the others by pooling resources and making collective decisions during the play. This is the idea behind the coalition and realignment in politics or 'ganging up' on the front runner in order to stop his chances of winning (Verma, 1975:5).

No matter its inadequacies, game theory has found relevance in analyzing major issues of national and international politics. It is used, for instance, as analytical tool of strategic studies to explain the phenomenon of wars, diplomacy and bargaining. It has also been found useful in explaining the dynamics of national politics, especially issues of electoral politics, voters behavior, political alliance and elite conspiracy .

2.2.3 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, 2001:14).

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.

2.2.4   Propaganda Theory

Propaganda, described as a hate word, is an interest-driven, rational, and strategic minded activity in the promotion of a view point. By its ingenious operational method of manipulative use of facts to influence the opinion and behaviour of a target audience, the term in usually associated with lie-telling. Ipso facto, propaganda arouses resentment, even hostility, and is generally treated as opprobrious. Such is the extent of abuse of the word that it is a common practice to dismiss even a healthy and valuable argument as propaganda simply to discredit the source. Yet propaganda features daily in our interactions and is accepted as a veritable instrument of political marketing with profound impact (Amakiri 2008:90). What then is propaganda? Because of its definitional connotation and characteristics, three definitions will suffice for our purpose. The first definition has it as "written or oral information which deliberately seeks to influence and/or manipulate the opinions and attitudes of a given target group" (Shultz and Godson, 1986:6).

In the second case, Couluombis and Wolfe (1988:10) see it as a form of warfare and define it as the selective use of information to induce in a target audience a desired perception of certain political phenomena.

In this connection, the definitional concern is mainly with political intrigues conducted as psychological warfare which entails all effort to shape the opinions and attitudes of target populations through both propaganda and systematic concerns of apparent destabilization.

In the third case, we define propaganda as the systematic effort to manipulate other people's beliefs, attitude, or actions by means of symbols (words, gestures, banners, movements, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyles, designs on coins and postage stamps, e.t.c.

Deliberateness and relatively heavy emphasis on manipulation distinguish propaganda from casual conversation or the free and easy exchange of ideas. The propagandist has a specified goal or set of goals. To achieve these he deliberately selects facts, arguments and displays of symbols and presents them in ways he thinks will have the most effect.

To maximize effect, he may omit pertinent facts or distort them, and he may try to divert the attention of the reactors (the people whom he is trying to sway) from everything but his own propaganda.

Comparatively, deliberate selectivity and manipulation also distinguish propaganda from education. The educator tries to present various sides of an issue. Education aims to induce the reactor to collect and evaluate evidence for himself and assists him in learning the techniques for doing so. But 'education' for one person may be 'propaganda' for another.

RELATED CONCEPTS OF THE TERM PROPAGANDA

The term propaganda is often considered a dirty one tending to connote such things as the discredited atrocity stories and deceptively stated political aims or the broken campaign promises of a thousand politicians.

Also, it is reminiscent of countless instances of false and misleading advertising.

Informed students of political science are familiar with the coinage, AGITPROP which is a compound word for agitation and propaganda. The two terms were first used by the Marxist Georgy Plekhanov and later elaborated upon by Lenin in a pamphlet: What is to be done? (1902:70), in which he defined "propaganda" as the reasoned use of historical and scientific arguments to indoctrinate the educated and unenlightened (the attentive and informed publics, in the language of today's social sciences); he defined " agitation" as the use of slogans, parables, and half-truths to exploit the grievances of the uneducated and the unreasonable. Since he regarded both strategies as absolutely essential to political victory, he

twinned them in the term AGITPROP. To Marxist scholars, the use of propaganda in Leinin's sense is commendable and honest.

CONCEPT OF PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED

Related to the general sense of propaganda is this concept of 'Propaganda of the deed.' This denotes taking non-symbolic action (such as economic or coercive action), not for its direct effects but for its possible propagandistic effects. Examples of the propaganda of the deed would include staging an atomic 'test' or the public torture of a criminal for its presumable deterrent of effect on others, or giving foreign 'economic aid' primarily to influence the recipient's opinions or action and without much intention of building upon the recipient's, economy.

OVERT AND COVERT PROPAGANDA

In overt propaganda, the propagandist and perhaps his backers are made known to the reactors (receiver or audience); while in covert propaganda the source is secret and disguised. Covert propaganda might include such things as unsigned political advertisements, clandestine radio stations using false names, and statement by editors, politicians, or others who have been secretly bribed by governments, political backers, or business firms. Sophisticated diplomatic negotiation, legal argument, collective bargaining, commercial advertising, and political campaigns are of course quite likely to include considerable amounts of both overt and covert propaganda, accompanied by propaganda of the deed.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Sometimes abbreviated psychevar; this is another term related to propaganda. It is the prewar or wartime use of propaganda directed primarily at confusing or demoralizing enemy population or troops, putting them off guard in the face of impending attacks, or inducing to surrender.

BRAINWASHING

This is another related concept of propaganda which usually means intensive political indoctrination. It involves long compulsory reading assignments, e.t.c. sometimes in conjunction with efforts to reduce the reactor's resistance by exhausting him either physically through torture, overwork, or denial of sleep, or psychologically through solitary

confinement, threats, emotionally disturbing confrontations with interrogators or defected comrades, humiliation in front of fellow citizens and the like.

ADVERTISING

Advertising another related word has mainly commercial connotations; through it need not be restricted to it. Political candidates, party programmes, and positions on political issues may be 'packaged' and 'marketed' by advertising firms. The words promotion and public relations have wider, vaguer connotations and are often used to avoid the implications of 'advertising' or 'propaganda'. 'Publicity' and publicisim' or 'advertorial' often imply merely making a subject known to a public, without educational, propagandistic, or commercial intent. Signs, symbols, and media are used in contemporary propaganda**.**

COUNTER-PROPAGANDA

Counter-propaganda, as the name implies, is the strategy of mitigating or blunting the impact of propaganda. What counters-insurgency is in unconventional warfare is what counter-propaganda is in information warfare. Employing the same techniques and tactics as propaganda, counter-propaganda operates as a defensive mechanism in its effort at damage control. And the fact that it is a counter-move places it at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the propaganda being challenged in terms of cost. (Amakiri 2008:77).

The objective of counter-propaganda is to dispel ideas and impressions already imbibed, and implant its own in order to prevent the target from behaviour injurious to the interest of the counters propagandist. This explains why counter-propaganda makes great use of brainwashing and disinformation to re-orientate the target audience away from the opposing view point, bearing in mind that the propaganda messages at one stage become part of the consciousness of the target audience.

It is imperative to note that propaganda themes such as freedom, prosperity, self-esteem are the natural yearnings of all people, irrespective of race, creed or culture. Any information that holds out the promise of realization of those values is eagerly sought for. Consequently, a propaganda developed around them stands a good chance of positively impacting on the target audience. That chance is further enhanced by the deliberate, selective and manipulative use of the information which usually takes the form of brainwashing (Amakiri, 2008:78)

What is more! Propaganda thrives in an environment of competing ideas and interests. Inevitably, propaganda is a battle for the mind, a campaign to win converts. Changing of attitude and behaviour is the strategic goal. Deception and indoctrination, forgeries, disinformation and misinformation are its tactics.

In conclusion, Amakiri (2008:78) argues that propaganda operates within a power paradigm which in effect makes it an expensive game that only the powerful can play effectively, a fact corroborated by Karl Marx and Engels in their assertion that "the class which has the means of mental production, at its disposal consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the mental production are on the whole subject to it". Strictly speaking, propaganda is a battle of arts and a war of nerves; it holds but discernible advantage to the source but doubtful benefit to the target.

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

For propaganda to be operationally effective, it requires special techniques which serve as aid to planning of a campaign, and also as explanatory tool to the content of the propaganda.

These are:

a) Name Calling

This technique distinguishes foe from a friend by the use of appellations. Whereas a friend is given a good name to enlist public approval and support for him, the enemy is tagged with a bad name in order to discredit him. Not that the person deserves the label, but the interest of the propagandist demands the labeling. When Orji Uzor Kalu left PDP, he began to call it "People Destroying People" to dissuade voter from continuously supporting the party.

(b) Glittering generalities

Glittering generality employs blandishments and derision to hoodwink the target audience. It uses derogatory or approving terms to smear or praise. For example, terms such as 'democracy' and 'military rule' in the Nigerian political lexicon are intended to demonstrate approval or disapproval; the former is descriptive of the people's participation in governance and the latter referring to the unconstitutionality of the military brand.

(c) Transfer

This technique associates an idea or notion with a person or group to evoke disapproval or support. It is a scare-mongsing tactic aimed at driving a wedge between the audience and a

competitor to the propagandist. To call a candidate a pagan is to brand him an atheist in order to scare the religionist from voting for him.

(d) **Plain folks**

In plain folks technique, the propagandist seeks to identify himself with the target by the use of the language or symbols of the target. The propagandist tries in his message to be seen to share the same view point or fate with the target audience so as to elicit the sympathy of the target. "He is one of us" the target says; and this gives the propagandist's message more credibility.

Plain folks are thus a rabble-rousing technique that relies on emotions and sensationalism. It can be described as identification by pretence. Some politicians speak the language of local people during campaigns to elicit the solidarity and support of the people.

(e) **Testimonial**

The use of testimonial in propaganda is to arouse the self pride of the target, and it works on the principle of importance by association. The technique appeals to one's self esteem in a subtle and sentimental manner. It mentions to the target some opinion leaders or dignitaries that have identified with our cause. This facilitates the targets desire to join the cause for fear of being labeled a nonentity.

(f) **Selection**

In this case, the propagandist uses facts that best serve his purposes and ignores those that might be injurious or repugnant to his cause. He engages in half-truths and manipulation of the facts to ill-equip the target in making a rational choice on the basis of the full facts. Selection in this context does not amount to lie-telling but withholding some of the facts from the target.

(g) **Band wagon**

The bandwagon technique functions on a similar basis as the testimonial. It works on fear and group participation in its appeal to emotion and sentiments; fear of being "the odd man out" and group identification by being part of the crowd. The slogan in the bandwagon technique is "join the masses, don't be left out or else you lose". PDP has been associated with the slogan: "Vote for the winning party".

(h) **Frustration Scapegoat**

This is a well known technique used by leaders to explain policy failures at home and create internal cohesion. The enemy outside is always said to be responsible for the problems of the party, the idea being to mobilize the members against the real or imaginary enemy; thereby diverting attention from the problems. When AD had internal leadership crisis in 2005, PDP and Obasanjo were said to be responsible. This is a case of transferred aggression.

2.2.5 Marketing Mix Management Theory

There are essentially two competing paradigms in marketing that situate political marketing practice. These are Marketing Mix Management (MMM) paradigm and Relationship Marketing (RM) paradigm. The MMM paradigm is considered by many experts to be the theory of marketing that has dominated marketing thought, research and practices since it was introduced around 1960 (McCarthy, 1960:98). The theory rests on the notion of four Ps i.e. product, place, price and promotion; and largely obscured earlier models such as the organic functionalist (Alderson, 1950:65), systems-oriented (Fisk, 1967:67) and parameter theory approaches (Rasmussen, 1955:4). Some definition of marketing are based on the MMM thinking (e,g. American Marketing Association, 2002:15; Stanton, 2003:34; Baker, 1999:87 etc.). These definitions typically see marketing as the appropriation of techniques to get goods across to a market. Marketing is thus, by this approach, managing a set of activities in order to persuade the customer to buy a product. This function is often made the exclusive preserve of certain professionals who are located in a separate department of the firm. Marketing in this paradigm is a profession.

As Johanson (2000:383) noted, MMM theory is often labeled transaction marketing because its main focus is on facilitating singular purchases, not the maintenance of existing customers' relationships. The marketer tries to win customers over and over again, irrespective of whether they have made purchases before or not. Most importantly this concept is found on manufactured goods type of logic. MMM paradigm, though originally developed in response to the (then) growing market of fast-moving-consumer goods in the 1950s North America, now informs most of the contemporary political marketing literature. The elements of the MMM paradigm constitutes the cornerstone of the marketing theory (Jobbes, 2001:97). The so-called '4ps', i.e. the marketing instruments of product, price,

place, and promotion, as well as the 'marketing concept constitutes the cornerstones of marketing theory (Jobbes, 2001:97; Kotler, 2003:44). But Milton, Booms and Bitner, 1982) have extended the 4ps to 7ps and argue that the additional 3ps of people, process and physical evidence apply mostly to the marketing of services, and since political marketing is situated in service marketing, it becomes imperative to discuss the 7ps as the instruments of political marketing.

In other words, 4ps were introduced by McCarthy (1960:98) in its current form, i.e. for tangible products and transactional exchanges while the 7ups relate to intangible products. Henneberg (2003:23) advised that the development of methodological foundation of political marketing theory should be based on these instruments and at the same time integrate and adopt new conceptual development as in marketing theory to the existing body of knowledge in political marketing. Henneberg (2002:33) classified these instruments as 'generic' functions, which serve as requirements for successful political marketing management. They affect exchange relationships of political actors (e.g. political party, electorate, etc) in the complex network of political relationships.

Many of the seminal contributions of the fifteen years are devoted to a discussion of the 4ps of political marketing (Farrell and Lahortmann, 1987:296; Reid, 1988:34; Niffenegger, 1989:45; Wortmann, 1989:56; Harrop, 1990:77; O'Shanghnessy, 1990:98; Newman, 1994:85; Scammell, 1995:23; Egan, 1999:495; Scammell, 1999:718; Lees-Marshment, 2001:98; O'Cass, 2001:1003; Henneberg, 2002:33; Wring, 2002a:23; Lloyd, 2003:71.)

Besides being relevant to operational aspects of the use of marketing instruments, such discussions also touch upon the essence of what political marketing is. For example, discussions of the notion of 'product' in a political exchange clearly relate to more fundamental questions about the 'political market' and the underlying interactions and value exchanges. In the following discussion, each of the instruments is examined in the context of political marketing practice.

THE POLITICAL 'PRODUCT'

The product concept as a political marketing instrument and pivotal element of a theory of political marketing is yet to be defined in a generally accepted way (Henneberg, 2002:34).

Nonetheless, a product is anything that can be offered to a market for attention, acquisition, use or consumption that might satisfy a want or need. It includes physical objects, services, persons, places, organizations and ideas (Kotler et al, 1999:464).

A political product thus, refers to ideas (political policies, messages, ideologies, and programmes), services persons and organizations (i.e. governance, candidate, party, etc) meant for the attention and acceptance of the electorate. Henneberg (2003:23) argues that a political product) or offering) is the main condition for an exchange (or exchange related interactions) i.e. something that is valued by a recipient (e.g. a voter or citizen) and 'produced' by a supplier (e.g. a political party or candidate). While contributing to the 'domain' discussion of marketing, Kotler (1972:46) described the offering that a political candidate exchanges with voters as 'honest government'. In a further development, the product concept in political marketing is related to the (brand) image of candidates (Kavanagh, 1995:54; Kotler, 1999:465; Smith, 2001:1058; Lloyd, 2003:71). In planning its marketing offering, the political marketer needs to think through five levels of the political product as indicated in figure 2.6 below. Each level adds more customer value and the five constitute a customer value hierarchy (Kotler, 2002:65; Worlu, 2005:98).
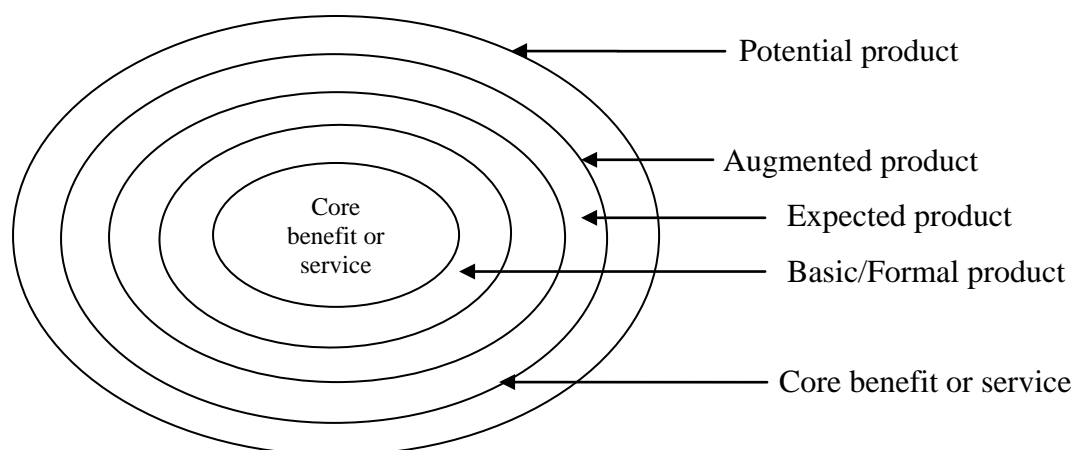
Figure 3.1: Five key concepts of political product: Source: Adapted from Kotler (1999:87)

CORE BENEFIT OR SERVICE: This is the most fundamental level of product. It is the fundamental service or benefit that the customer is really buying. For the political product the customer (voter) is actually buying honest government by casting his votes (Kotler, 1972:46)

BASIC/FORMAL PRODUCT: This is the second level of the product where the marketer builds an actual or basic product around the core product. This may have as many as five characteristics: sound education, character, experience, intelligence, and attractive personality, etc. these candidate characteristics are the 'cues' that voters assess when considering their voting decision (Sniderman et al, 1991:86; Popkin, 1990:17)

Contrasting with this, Butler and Collins (1991:32) a well as other (Reid, 1988:34; Wring, 2002a:171) stress the multi component nature of the political product candidate and the party itself as well as the underlying ideology. Each of these elements of a political product is interrelated and can therefore be offered (and managed) separately, a fact that pollsters not relatively (Worcester, 1996:59). Butler and Collins (1999:55) also stress the alterable characteristics of the political offer: it can be changed in the post-purchase (i.e. delivery) situation. This is also the position of Lees-Marshment (2001:98) who also posits a more behaviorally-oriented understanding of the political product; it comprises the activities of all relevant actors in a party.

Brennana (2003:17) links different elements of the political product to underlying benefits and value systems and shows the dynamic interaction of these with voters of different loyalty and/or voting experience. However, Palmer (2002:345) argues that the political offering has no practical value par se for any contrasting this, Dermody and Scullion (2002:9) link the "consumption" experience of political policies as a crucial value-creating element to the product concept, i.e. replace and 'exchange' paradigm with one of "signification and representation". Based on these stances, the main political 'product' can be perceived as a 'service promise'. The service characteristics of the political offering have been noted by several authors (O'Shanghnessy and Holbrook, 1988:109; Harrop, 1990:91; Newman, 1994:45; Scammell, 1999:718; Lloyd, 2003:72). It comprises certain personal attributes (i.e. the characteristics of the candidate as representing the service delivery personnel), certain political issues (i.e. political intentions), and on ideological frame work (i.e. a non-specific umbrella of beliefs and attributes that guide specific behaviour). Parties need to bring all these service elements together into a cohesive 'political service brand' to manage the expectations of voters which constitute the next level of the political product.

EXPECTED PRODUCT: This third level of the political product refers to set a of attributes and conditions voters normally expect when they cast their votes for a candidate or party. These may be equity in the distribution of amenities to different constituencies while in government, equity in appointments to public offices, maintenance of public utilities and payment of emoluments to civil servants, etc.

These expectations of the voters constitute the main elements of the provisions of an offering and can be seen as the process between elements of 'leading or 'following' voter preferences (Henneberg, 2005:57), as well as balancing the inflexible (e.g. ideology), the flexible (i.e. political agenda) and the semi-flexible elements (i.e. certain characteristics of candidates). As such, the expected product does not provide much more than a promise (to be delivered in the future under uncertain circumstances through the distribution function). However, this promise has characteristics of 'public goods', i.e. it is promised to and will be 'consumed' by everyone (not just target segments) (Wortmann, 1989:44). A dynamic element is added to this view by nothing that the offer/ promise is, firstly, 'undetermined' (i.e. if a party is not elected, delivering will not be forthcoming) and secondly, disjunct (i.e. delivery is disconnected, in time, from the service promise, as well as changeable with regard to the original service promise) (Newman, 1994:45).

AUGMENTED PRODUCT: At the fourth level, the political product planner must build an augmented product around the core, basic, and expected products by offering additional consumer (voter) services and benefits. These services and benefits exceed voters' expectation at times. This is why Newman (1994:46) believes that the augmented level of a political product is changeable with regards to the original service promise.

POTENTIAL PRODUCT: At this fifth level stands the potential product, which encompasses all the possible augmentations and transformations the offering might undergo in the future. In this case, political marketers/parties or candidates) search for new ways to satisfy electorate, at times beyond what is contained in their manifestoes to make another tenure possible.

PROMOTING THE POLITICAL PRODUCT

Almost all forms of promotions in political marketing are done through communication or political campaigning. Communication serves the function of informing the primary exchange partners of the offer and its availability. It is often seen as the essence of political marketing (Harrop, 1990:91; O'Shaughnessy, 1990:98; O'Cass, 2001:1003, Harris, 2001b:1136; Palmer, 2002:345). While communication is at the heart of many campaigns, the fallacy of this restricted view of political marketing is arguable (Scammell, 1994:24; Henneberg, 2005:56).

For political parties, promotion of political product means providing content, political images and cues but also aiding the interpretation and sense making of a complex political world (Kotler and Kotler, 1990) often the communication function involves simplification of political messages: succinct political stances at its worth (Wortmann, 1989:45; Harris, 2001b:1136).

The promotion of a political product interacts with the campaign delivery aspect of distribution instrument. The latter provides the medium while the former defines the content (derive from the product instrument). The communication instrument presents a dialogue with the exchange partners, i.e. a multi-dimensional flow of information and shared agenda-setting. While this is often not fulfilled within the set of existing political marketing instruments the advent of more interactive enabled media might bring this participatory aspect of the communication instrument to the fore.

Another aspect of promotion in political marketing pertains to 'news-management function'. This aspect of communication is targeted as secondary exchange partners, i.e. intermediaries of which the media are of foremost importance. Wring (2002:24) calls this 'free' communication activities which are concerned with managing publicity that is not directly controlled by the political organization (Wortmann, 1989:45), i.e. public relations activities and what is commonly called "spin" (Harris, 2001b). Information interpretation and agenda-setting aspects are crucial requirements of managing "the news". As much political discourse with the electorate is mediated through (independent) third parties, as great importance can be attributed to it, e.g. Yar'adua is rumored to be sick. You can debunk this before the press.

News-management includes utilizing distribution channels with inherently high credibility levels. However, the communication itself cannot be 'managed' in the sense of controlling it, it can only be influenced. The exchange partners of the news-management function are mostly journalists and other opinion leaders (Frank, 1994:98).

Strictly speaking, promoting the political product involves techniques derived from mass marketing, public relations, games theory and statistical psychology (Blumenthal, 1980:54). Despite these techniques, Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi argued that it is clear that money is a key determinant of the impact of the promotion of a political product. Nonetheless, good organization, innovative use of new technologies, skillful volunteer and resource management and accurate reading of the political terrain can cause upsets.

In the main, political products are promoted via all channels consumed by the target audience. These channels have been enumerated by Sarwate (1990:18) as follows:

ADVERTISING: Which is defined as any paid form of non-personal presentation of and promotion of ideas, goods or services by an identified sponsor (Sarwate, 1990:18)? The elements are:

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

PUBLICITY

This is non-personal stimulation of demand for a product, service, organisation or a person for planning significant news about it in a published medium or obtaining favourable presentation of it upon radio, television or magazine that is not paid for by the sponsor. Publicity elements in political marketing according to Sarwate (1990:20) are:

- Press kits
- Write ups

- ➢ Reporting in print and audio-visual media
- ➢ Charitable donations
- ➢ Public relations
- ➢ News letter
- ➢ Lobbying

PERSONAL SELLING

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

- ➢ Door-to-door visits
- ➢ Group meetings
- ➢ Public rallies
- ➢ Telephone calls
- ➢ Fund raising dinners

SALES PROMOTION

This is seller-oriented activity.

However, Sarwate (op.cit) classifies any form of promotion that is not advertising as sales promotion and gave the elements as follows:

- ➢ Exhibitions
- ➢ Entertainment programmes
- ➢ Audio cassettes
- ➢ Video cassettes
- ➢ Leaflets and stickers
- ➢ Presents (calendars, diaries, vests, face caps, give-aways, etc)
- ➢ Currency

Sarwate (1990:19) further maintained that the selection of the elements of the promotions by political marketing communication is dependent on the following criteria:

- ➢ The party and the candidate
- ➢ The voters to be reached, concluding its distribution and location
- ➢ The communication medium available

- ➢ Effectiveness of each tool
- ➢ Objectives in communication
- ➢ The political compensation
- ➢ The Budget

CHANNELS OF DISTRIBUTION FOR THE POLITICAL PRODUCT

Distribution instruments as part of political marketing have sometimes been ranked with the rank-and file members of a party, the political grassroots that provide local engineering support, like canvassing (Harris, 2001b:1136; Wring, 2002a:173).

The 'distribution' of the candidate (as the product surrogate) through speaking events, rallies, etc has been likewise, mentioned (Henneberg, 2002:31). The distribution function is concerned with the conditions regarding the availability of exchange offer (the political 'product; as described above) to the exchange partner. The instrument has two aspects namely: the campaign delivery and the offering delivery.

The campaign delivery aspect provides the primary exchange partner, the electorate with access to all relevant elements of the political 'product'. This includes for example, the dissemination of information regarding crucial political policies on important agenda points, 'placing' the candidates in the right 'channels' (e.g. TV ads or canvassing, party conferences, or chat shows) making sure that the distribution medium fits the ideological umbrella, etc. the complexity of this instrument is expected to increase with the arrival of new media (e.g. e-campaigning, web TV).

The offering delivery aspect of the distribution instrument refers to the 'fulfilment' of political promises (Harrop, 1990:77; Palmer, 2002:346). This instrument comes into play when a political party or candidate has the political and legal means to fulfil their promises, i.e. when they are in a governing position.

Wortmann (1989:45) stresses the ambiguous character of this service delivery due to its inherent characteristics of a 'public good'. As services are 'co-created', i.e. are enacting and inscribing policies together in a participatory fashion, coordination and monitoring of this offering delivery is crucial for the success of this instrument.

The issue is further complicated as the actual delivery of the political product; i.e. how policies are enacted in the social reality, constitutes part of the 'product' expectations by the voters. Many important variables regarding the delivery function that influence the success of the implementations of services are therefore outside the party's government's powers.

PRICING THE POLITICAL PRODUCT

Pricing as well as costs constitute somewhat of a conundrum to political marketing theorists (Wortmann, 1989:45) and remain the most elusive political instrument. It is of the pivotal importance in economics exchanges where the price of an offering usually constitutes the main sacrifice that a customer has to make in order to realize the value of an offering (Henneberg, 2003:23). Some suggest that there exist no equivalent to an economic price in political exchange (Farrell and Wortmann, 1989:296).

Wring (2002a:173), using a conceit developed by Niffenegger (1989:46) perceives price as a psychological construct, i.e. to refer to voters "feeling of national, economic and psychological hope or insecurity". Reid (1988) and Egan (1999) provide similar considerations, how this understanding is linked to the political offering remains somewhat rebellious. In political marketing, 'price' tends to be redefined as an element of 'costs' of 'sacrifices' (Henneberg, 2003:24). Inhibitions (e.g. caused by opportunity cost considerations) can prevent voters' decision process as well as the electoral act itself. Furthermore, it can also mean enhancing the benefits from political involvement and the voting process as a symbolic act as well as from the participatory elements of enacting policies. Understood in these terms, campaign management can try to reduce the necessary (the monetary and non-monetary) efforts for voters to process political information, form opinions, evaluate alternatives, and participate in politics in the wider sense.

THE PEOPLE

The 'people' dimension' of political marketing instruments can be viewed from two perspectives, viz:
  - Parallel-campaign team
  - Internal-cohesion team

PARALLEL-CAMPAIGN TEAM: this refers to parallel-campaign organisations such as single issue groups that perceive an overlap of their agenda with that of the party (e.g. Nlc,

Ngo's, Afenifere etc.). Co-ordinated and suggested use of managerial activities in this area allows for a more efficient deployment of campaign resources.

Furthermore, the use of parallel campaigns and the endorsement by other organisations can increase the perceived trustworthiness of the political product and the political sphere must be seen as a generic function because of the possible network effects of working together with other relevant actors in the political market (Henneberg, 2003:24).

INTERNAL COHESION TEAM: Apart from outside-oriented exchange processes, the internal structure and cohesion of a political party needs to be managed as well. This perspective is concerned with the relationship with party members and party activists as well as all the 'touch point' agents of the party (e.g. front-benchers, spokespeople).

This 'internal marketing' perspective serves as critical role in securing internal stability and therefore the credibility of the party regarding its outside image (unified stance) which has implications for their assessment by the voters. However, a two 'monolithic' appearance of the party would give the impression of an 'undemocratic' decision-making process within and not enough influence by grass roots members. As such, 'one can exercise power over others only by satisfying their needs and expectations.

THE PROCESS

Owing to the service character of a political offer, political marketers can choose among different processes to deliver their 'product'. This process could be slow, inconsistent, disorganized or chaotic. Conversely, it could be prompt, efficient or uniform. Service delivery in marketing can be driven by any of these processes. As such, the political marketing mix needs to be understood as being driven by functional requirements as well as the processes.

In other words, only a strategic understanding of the interplay of functions and processes allows a resolution of the instrumental political marketing mix (in the sense of determining instruments' use, time, intensity, etc.) (Lees-Marshment, 2001:87).

PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Physical evidence in political marketing is synonymous with branding. This is because it requires the political markets to develop a picture of its intended voter value proposition.

Apart from the brand image created by the marketer, reputation of the political marketers and or the product is physical evidence that the candidate and the party will deliver as promised. Parties use this instrument by conversing for the membership of opinion leaders and reputation personalities whose membership of the party raises the credibility of the party.

2.2.6 RESOURCE BASED THEORY

In recent years, a model of how firms compete, which is unique to the field of strategic management, has begun to emerge, and this is known as the Resource – Based view. It is regarded by some as having the potential of a paradigm for the field of political marketing. Others wonder whether this emergent model provides much additional insight to our traditional understandings. Admittedly, resource based work is consistent with and rooted squarely in the policy research tradition. The notion that firms are fundamentally heterogeneous, in terms of their resources and internal capabilities has   long been at the heart of the field of strategic marketing.

The strategic approach to strategy formulation for example, begins with an appraisal of organizational competencies and resources(Andrews, 1971:234). Those which are distinctive or superior relative to those of rivals, may become the basis for competitive advantage if they are matched appropriately to environmental opportunities (Andrews, 1971:234: Thompson and Strickland, 2001:10).

Those ideas may be thought of as the basic principles upon which resource-based research continues to build. While the model is still in the developmental stage, it has deepened our understanding regarding such topics as how resources are applied and combined, what makes competitive advantage sustainable, the nature of rents, and the origins of heterogeneity. The work of Penrose (1959) is considered a very influential force. Other notable contributions include Lipman and Rumelt (1982:418), Teece (1986:187; 1997:509) Nelson and Whiter (1982:176) Rumelt (1982:566, 1987:157), Wernerfelt (1984:4), Barne (1986:318, 1991:287) Derickx and Cool (1991:101), Costanies and Helfat (1991:141), Corner (1991:347). This research stream is an impressive one. And while many agree that there is a need for greater rigor and richness of detail, the work that has been done provides a strong foundation and an inspiration for work to come.

The principle contribution of the resource based view of the firm to date has been as a theory of competitive advantage. Its basic logic is a relatively simple one. It starts with the assumption that the desired outcome of managerial effort in the firm is a sustainable competitive advantage (SCA). Achieving SCA allows firms to earn economic rents, or above average returns. In turn, this focuses attention on how firms achieve and sustain advantages. The resource based view contends that the answer to this question lies in the possession of certain key resources, i.e, resources that have characteristics such as value, barriers to duplication and appropriability.

The SCA can be obtained if the firm effectively deploys these resources in its product markets. Therefore, RBV emphasizes strategic choice, charging the firm's management with the important tasks of identifying developing and deploying key resources to maximize returns.

Two important dimensions of the resource based view have to do with the role of managers in the development and deployment of resources (Amit and Schoemaker 1993:140) Barney 1986:131; Barney and Zagac 1994:83) and the relationship between resources and the scope of the firms. (Chatterjee and Wernerfelt 1991:234). While stressing the importance of this theory, Penrose (1959:137) argues that firms' expansion is influenced by its own previously acquired or inherited resources and those it must obtain from the market in order to carry out its production and expansion programmes.

THE RESOURCE- BASED VIEW AND COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE

The pursuit of sustainable competitive advantage is an idea that is at the heart of much of the strategic marketing literature (e.g. Corne, 1986:347; Porter ,1985:97; William ,1992:43). Gaining a competitive advantage through the provision of greater value to electorate can be expected to lead to superior performance measured in conventional terms such as vote-based performance (e.g. vote share, voter acceptance) and post-election performance (e.g. dividends of democracy, stakeholders' empowerment, service delivery Hunt and Morgan, 1995:13). The implication of research by Buzzell and Gale (1957:18), Jacobsen (1988:68) indicates that vote- share and control of state power are both outcomes of the efforts by political parties to secure cost and differentiation advantages. Extant marketing literature

emphasizes a link between the delivery of value to citizen-consumers and levels of their satisfaction leading to potential gain in vote-share and control of state resources (Kotler 1994:65) where the advantage is sustained, superior performance can be expected to persist in a manner analogous to the notions super-normal project or rent in economics.

The economic literature holds that, given strong competitive pressures, high rationality will prevail and economic rents will dissipate (Schoemaker 1990:1178). However, two exceptions are identified, namely monopoly rents and Ricardian rents (Peteraf 1993:179). Just as monopoly rents accrue to the deliberate restrictions of output by firms facing downwards sloping demand curves in industries characterized by barriers to entry, whether legal or otherwise; monopoly votes accrue to the deliberate restrictions of election erring efforts by political parties facing low voter turnout in a political system characterized by declining civic engagement, and political apathy among the citizenry. As Kay (1993:17) puts it, it is possible for parties to generate persistently increasing membership without having a competitive advantage other than the absence of credible opposition (or competitors). Going by the idea of Ricardian rents, votes also accrue in circumstances where electioneering resources are limited or quasi-limited in supply. If electioneering resources were not limited, increased efforts by new parties would heat up the polity and make competition in the political landscape so stiff that marginal parties will be compelled to leave the political marketplace. It is the persistence of these superior returns (in terms of votes) accruing to electioneering resources that is the central concern of the resource-based view of the party.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ADVANTAGE- GENERATING RESOURCES

The list of resources in any political party is likely to be a long one. One of the principal insights of the resource - based view is that not all resources are of equal importance or possess the potential to be a source of sustainable competitive advantage. More attention has focused therefore on the characteristics of advantage – creating resources. Barney (1991:5) proposes that advantage-creating resources must meet four conditions, namely value rareness, inimitability and non- sustainability. Grant (1991:17) argues that levels of durability, transparency, transferability and replicability are important determinants while Collis and Montgomery (1995:8) suggest that they must meet five tests: inimitability, durability, appropriability, sustainability and competitive superiority. Amit and Schoemaker

(1993:140) go even further, producing a list of eight criteria including complementarity, scarcity, low tradability, inimitability, limited substitutability, appropriability, durability and overlap with strategic industry factors. In the interests of pesimony, these various conditions and characteristics are considered under the leadings of value, barriers to duplication and appropriability.

VALUE

Value to electorate or citizens is an essential elements of competitive advantage. Therefore, for a resource to be a potential source of competitive advantage, it must be valuable and enable the creation of value. According to Barney (1991:5), it must permit the political party to conceive of or implement strategies that implore its efficiency and effectiveness by meeting the needs of electorate. This implies that though resources may meet other conditions, if they do not enable the creation of value, they are not a potential source of advantage. It also indicates that a complementarity between the resource-based view and environmental models of competitive advantage (Barney 1991:5; Collis and Montgomery 1995:8). Given political marketing's concern with electorate, a potential avenue of research might involve an examination of which resources provides the most value to electorate. For example, the question of whether market orientation itself is an advantage – generating resource has recently been the subject of some consideration (Hunt and Morgan 1995:15).

BARRIERS TO DUPLICATION:

The inability of competitors to duplicate resource endowments is a central elements of the resource-based view. However, the discussion of barriers to duplication has been complicated by the inconsistent and at times conflicting use of terminology in the literature. Several overlapping classification schema have been proposed including asset stock accumulation (Dierickx and Cool 1989:1504), capability gaps (Coyne 1986:8), capability differentials (Hall 1992:135; 1993:607), ex-post limits to com-petition (Peteraf 1993:179), isolating mechanisms (Rumelt 1984:566; 1987:157) uncertain inimitability (Lippman and Rumelt 1982:418) and causal ambiguity (Reed and DeFillippi 1990:88; See Table 1). Perhaps a useful starting point in explaining barriers to duplication is Grant's (1991:18) idea of transparency. The most basic problem a competitor might have is an information problem whereby the competitor is unable to identify what are the reasons behind a given firm's

success. This is essential the concept of causal ambiguity (Reed and DeFillippi 1990:88) or uncertain imitability (Lippman and Rumelt 1982:418) where there is ambiguity concerning the connections between actions and results. Lippman and Rumelt (1982:418) suggest that un-certainty regarding which factors are responsible for superior performance explains efficiency differences between both incumbents and potential new entrants despite free entry. This uncertain imitability gives rise to rents which may even accrue to atomistic price takers, thus not arising from market power or restricted entry. Reed and DeFillippi (1990:418) also note that the ambiguity may be so great that not even managers within the firm understand the relationship between actions and outcomes.

In seeking to explain the causes of such ambiguity, Reed and DeFillippi (1990:419) shed light on the characteristics of re-sources which may prevent their imitation by competitors. They suggest three characteristics of resources that can simultaneously be sources of ambiguity and advantage, namely, tacitness, complexity and specificity. Tacitness is a characteristic of skill-based activities (Polanyi 1967:76) and refers to an inability to identify or codify a pattern of activities. Skilled activities are based on learning by doing that is accumulated through experience and refined by practice (Reed and DeFillippi 1990:419). It is implicit in the notions of information impactedness and producer learning (Rumelt 1987:137), and time compression diseconomies (Dierickx and Cool 1989:1504). Complexity results from the interconnectedness of asset stocks (Dierickx and Cool 1989:1504), the social relationships within the firm (Barney 1991) and from co-specialised assets (Teece 1986:187), that is assets which must be used in connection with one another. It resides in the large numbers of technologies, organisation routines and individual or team-based experiences that go to make up an organisation (Reed and DeFillippi 1990:418). It suggests that few individuals, if any, have sufficient breadth and depth of knowledge to grasp the overall per-formance package (Nelson and Winter 1982). This information is then immobile even though employees may be recruited by competitors. Specificity is the idea that transactions within the firm and with its external constituents are idiosyncratic to individual firms (Williamson 1975:67; 1985:103). Such transactions have a time dimension (Dierickx and Cool 1989:1506) and this path dependence of an individual firm's activities is exceedingly difficult to identify and replicate (Barney 1991:99; Collis and Montgomery 1995:8; Dierickx and Cool 1989:1506).

Even where resources are clearly identified and understood their imitation may be prevented through the legal system of property rights (Coyne 1986:9; Hall 1992:53, 1993:607). Resources such as patents, trademarks and copyrights may be protected through intellectual property laws and competitive advantages may accrue from other regulatory activities such as the granting of operating licenses (Coyne 1986:9). In addition, transparent resources may not be imitated due to the presence of economic deterrents (Collis and Montgomery 1995:8; Rumelt 1984:566, 1987:157). For example, imitation may be deterred by a pre-emptive sizable investment which, though it could be, is not replicated by a competitor due to the likelihood of the follower not receiving an adequate return on investment.

In short, resources are likely to be inimitable or imperfectly imitable where their relationship with advantage is poorly understood and/or they possess the characteristics of tacitness, complexity, specificity, regulatory protection and economic deterrence. However, it must also be impossible for a competitor to hire away a value-creating resource.

In other words, the resource must also be immobile or imperfectly mobile. Much of the literature focuses on identifying the kinds of resources that are likely to be less mobile. Grant (1991:18) proposes that some resources may be geographically immobile due to the costs of relocation. However, more significant barriers to mobility exist where the resources are firm-specific, where property rights are not well defined, where transaction costs are high and/or where the resources are co-specialised (Peteraf 1993:179). These are also the kinds of traits closely associated with inimitability. Consequently, the resource-based view of the firm places a premium on resources which are accumulated within the firm (Dierickx and Cool 1989; Peteraf 1993:1509; Teece, Pisano and Shuen 1997:509) as many of these resources, subject to path dependencies possess barriers to both imitability and mobility.

TABLE 2.0:   Alternative Classifications of Barriers to Resource Duplication

AUTHOR	Barriers to Resource Duplication
Lippman and Rumelt (1982)	Uncertain Inimitability
Reed and DeFillippi (1990)	Complexity, Tacitness and Specificity
Rumelt (1984; 1987)*	Communication Good Effects, Economies of Scale, Information Impactedness, Producer Learning, Reputation, Response Lags
Coyne (1986)	Business System Gaps, Managerial Gaps, Position Gaps, Regu-latory Gaps
Hall (1992; 1993)	Cultural Differentials, Functional Differentials, Positional Dif-ferentials, Regulatory Differentials
Dierickx and Cool (1989)	Asset Erosion, Asset Mass Efficiencies, Causal Ambiguity, In-terconnectedness of Asset Stocks, Time Compression Dis-economies

*Note that some of Rumelt's isolating mechanisms have been omitted because they are external to the firm. Advertising and channel crowding are industry conditions. Buyer evaluation costs and buyer switching costs are industry features.

Finally, once value is derived from a resource, the key question becomes who appropriates it. Value is invariably subject to a host of potential claimants such as customers, suppliers, employees, shareholders and the government (Collis and Montgomery 1995:8; Kay 1993:17). Appropriation of value becomes a particular problem where property rights are not clearly defined. While the firm may be effective in appropriating value from its physical and financial assets, it may be less so in the case of intangible assets such as brand names and copyright (Grant 1991:18). Of particular interest in recent years has been the appropriation of value by the firm's human resources. Shortages and employee mobility have resulted in escalating salaries in, for example, the information technology, financial services and sports sectors where employee bargaining power enables individuals to appropriate a major portion of value-added. Companies must therefore guard against the dissipation of value added and appropriability is the ability to turn value added into profit (Kay 1993:19).

Types of Advantage Creating Resources

A further problem of nomenclature hampering the development of the resource-based view has been the variety of labels used to describe the firm's resource set. For example, the term competencies appears frequently in the literature sometimes preceded by the adjectives, core and distinctive, sometimes not, sometimes used interchangeably with the term capabilities which, in turn, is used interchangeably with the term skills which is frequently preceded by the adjective, core. To overcome this ambiguity, the label resources are best adopted as a general, all-embracing one. Resources, in turn, comprise three distinct sub-groups, namely tangible assets, intangible assets and capabilities as shown in Table 2 which also notes points of commonality with the existing, diverse range of classification schemes used in the literature.

TABLE 2.1   A Classification of the Firm's Resource Pool

	A Classification of the Firm's Resource Pool		
Author	Tangible Assets	Intangible	Capabilities
Wernerfelt (1989)	Fixed Assets	Blueprints	Cultures
Hall (1992)		Intangible Assets	Intangible Capabilities
Hall (1993)		Assets	Competencies
Prahalad and Hamel (1990)		Core Competencies	Core Competencies
Itami (1987)			Invisible Assests
Amit and Schoemaker (1993)			Intermediate Goods
Selznick (1957); Hitt and Ireland (1985); Hofer and Schendel (1978)			Distinctive Competencies
Irvin and Michaels			Core Skills

Tangible assets refer to the fixed and current assets of the organisation that have a fixed long run capacity (Wernerfelt 1989:6). Examples include plant, equipment, land, other capital goods and stocks, debtors and bank deposits. Tangible as-sets have the properties of ownership and their value is relatively easy to measure (Hall 1989:55). The book value of

these assets is assessed through conventional accounting mechanisms and is usually reflected in the balance sheet valuation of companies. The other defining characteristic of tangible assets is that they are transparent (Grant 1991:18) and relatively weak at resisting duplication efforts by competitors. For example, though plant or land may be geographically immobile, they are relatively imitable and substitutable.

Intangible assets include intellectual property such as trademarks and patents as well as brand and company reputation, company networks and databases (Hall 1992:55; Williams 1992:74). The presence of intangible assets account for the significant differences that are observed between the balance sheet valuation and stock market valuation of publicly quoted companies (Grant 1991:18; Rumelt 1987:157) such as in the pharmaceutical sector where patents are critical. Intangible assets have relatively unlimited capacity and firms can exploit their value by using them in-house, renting them (e.g., a license) or selling them (e.g., selling a brand) (Wernerfelt 1989:6). They are relatively resistant to duplication efforts by competitors. Intellectual property is afforded regulatory protection (Hall 1992:55) while databases, networks and reputation are examples of asset stocks (Dierickx and Cool 1989:1504) and the inherent complexity and specificity of their accumulation hinders imitability and substitutability in the short run.

Capabilities have proved more difficult to delineate and are often described as invisible assets (Itami 1987:143) or intermediate goods (Amit and Schoemaker 1993:140). Essentially capabilities encompass the skills of individuals or groups as well as the organisational routines and interactions through which all the firm's resources are coordinated (Grant 1991). Typical of the latter, for example, are teamwork, organisational culture and trust between management and workers. Capabilities do not have clearly defined property rights as they are seldom the subject of a transaction (Hall 1989) resulting in a difficulty in their valuation. They have limited capacity in the short run due to learning and change difficulties but have relatively unlimited capacity in the long runs (Wernerfelt 1989:6). Individual skills may be highly tacit making them inimitable and non-substitutable though as noted earlier they may be hired away by competitors. Where capabilities are interaction-based, they are even more difficult to duplicate due to causal ambiguity and the RBV literature has tended to favour capabilities as the most likely source of sustainable competitive advantage (Collis 1994:8).

The Role of Strategic Choices by Management

It was noted earlier that a sustainable competitive advantage arising from resource heterogeneity can be expected to lead to superior performance levels or rent. However, to ensure that the level of such returns is not overstated it is also necessary to take account of the cost of resource deployment. Rumelt (1987:157) has argued that the classical concept of rent applies in a static world and proposes an alternative, entrepreneurial rent (or Schumpeterian rent, Mahoney and Pandian 1992:363), which he defines as the ex post value or payment stream of a venture minus the ex ante cost of the resources combined to form the venture. Rents of greater than zero are likely to be the result of ex ante uncertainty (Rumelt 1987:158). The ex ante cost of resources [labeled ex ante limits to competition by Peteraf (1993:179) is developed at length in Barney (1986:1231). He analyses the cost of resource deployment or strategy by introducing the concept of the strategic factor market, that is, a market where the resources necessary to implement a strategy are acquired. If this market is perfectly competitive, then the cost of acquiring strategic resources will approximately equal the economic value of those resources once they are used to implement product-market strategies (Barney 1986:1231).

However, he adds that strategic factor markets are likely to be imperfect because managers tend to have differing expectations about the future value of a strategy reflecting the un-certainty of the competitive environments facing them. Above normal returns can then be earned by firms who have superior insight into the likely value of a strategy and consequently pay less than the full economic value necessary to implement it. This can be due to more accurate expectations, good fortune or both (Barney 1986:1231).

This highlights the moderating role played by managers in the process by which resources lead to sustainable competitive advantages. Resources, in and of themselves, do not confer a sustainable competitive advantage. As Kay (1993:27) puts it, a resource only becomes a competitive advantage when it is applied to an industry or brought to a market. Consequently, Williams (1992:74) describes the managerial role as specifically one of converting resources into something of value to customers. This involves identifying, developing, protecting and deploying the firm's resource base (Amit and Schoemaker 1993:140). Though the characteristics of advantage-creating resources are becoming better understood, their identification may still be difficult due to causal ambiguity (Reed and

DeFillippi 1990:149). Once identified, they must be developed and protected. Dierickx and Cool (1989:1504) consider resources as stocks, which cannot be adjusted instantaneously but rather are accumulated through consistent investment. Where investment patterns lack consistency, the stock depreciates. Some models of the resource-based view propose a re-investment of the firm's profits as an essential element of developing the resource base (Bharadwaj, Varadarajan and Fahy 1993:83; Day and Wensley 1988:1). Resources must also be protected such as the guarding of trade secrets and the use of the legal framework where intellectual property rights have been violated. Finally, the key managerial task is the effective deployment of resources in the marketplace. Resources should seek to meet industry success factors (Amit and Schoemaker 1993:140) or try to create new ones generating a Schumpeterian-type revolution in the industry (Lado, Boyd and Wright 1992:77). Developing a match between the firm's resources and the success factors in the industry is a demanding task and the success of the match is a function of the accuracy of managerial expectations about the value of the strategy (Barney 1986:1231).

The complexity of the overall management role is such that good quality, top management, in itself, is a potential source of sustainable competitive advantage (Castanias and Helfat 1991).

In summary, the essential elements of the resource-based view of the firm are the firm's key resources and the role of management in converting these resources into positions of sustainable competitive advantage leading to superior performance in the marketplace. A basic resource-based model of sustainable competitive advantage which demonstrates these linkages and builds on the work of Bharadwaj, Varadarajan and Fahy (1993):83, Day and Wensley (1988:1) and Hunt and Morgan (1996:107) is presented in Figure 2. It highlights that not all resources are of equal importance in terms of achieving a SCA and that management play a critical role in the process of its attainment.

2.2.7 ROLE THEORY

Everyone has a role to play in his society. This role will be determined by such factors as age, sex, occupation, ethnic, or national group and social class. The role of an individual in any political system will differ according to the above variables (Osuagwu, 2008:793).

Role theory is concerned with the study of individuals and his roles. A role is a set of expected behaviour patterns attributed to someone occupying a given position in a social unit (Robbins, 2001:277). Any individual, in any situation, occupies a role in relation to other people. His performance in that role will depend on two sets of influences: the forces in himself (i.e. his personality, attributes, skills); and the forces in the situation (Bloom, 1973:107).

To a degree, these two sets of influences are interactive. A personality is influenced by the situations to which it is exposed. The situation in turn depends to a degree on the personalities involved. Much argument is in psychology centres around the effect that the situation or the environment can have a behaviour or personality (Bowra, 1962:76).

One of the concepts of role theory is role set. Here, the particular individual with whom one is concerned is the analysis of any situation is usually given the name of focal person. He has the focal role and can be regarded as sitting in the middle of a group of people, with all whom he interacts in some way in that situation. This group of people is called his role set. (Hunt, 1994:107:; Gummesson, 1991:6). For example, a man's role set in his family situation might be as shown in figure 9 below:
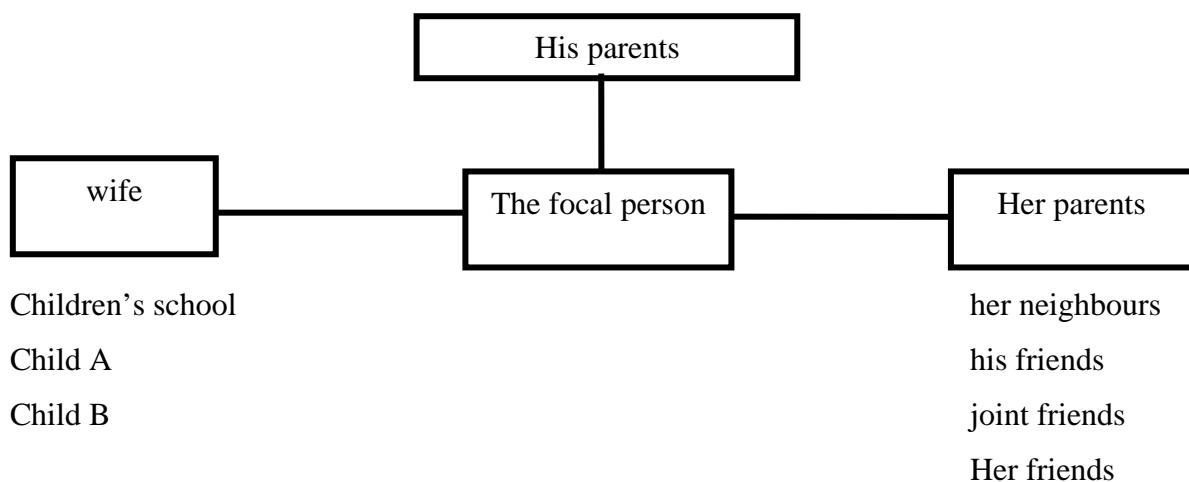
Figure 3:2 A TYPICAL ROLE SET.

Source: Adapted from Koontz H. et al (1990:166) Management (Mc GrawHill).

The role set should include all those with whom the individual has more than trivial interactions. There are usually more people involved in any role set than one initially expects,

which is one reason why it is often a salutary experience to draw one's own role set in a given situation (Johnie, 1989:35).

ROLE EXPECTATIONS:

These are defined as how others believe the person should act in a given situation. How the person behaves is determined to a large extent by the role defined in the context in which you are acting (Newman and Sheth, 1985:34).

In the political arena, it can be helpful to look at the topic of role expectations through the perspective of the PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT. This is an unwritten agreement that exists between parties and their members, or political candidates and their supporters. This psychological contract sets out mutual expectations – what parties and candidates expects from supporters and vice versa. In effect, this contract defines the behavioural expectations that go with every role (Morgan, Katsikeas, and Appia-Adu, 1998:353).

Parties and candidates who have won elections are expected to treat members and supporters fairly by appointing them into positions of responsibility, or generally providing then with democratic dividends. They are to give feedback to the electorate on the intentions and policy directions of the government. Party members and supporters are expected to respond by demonstrating a good attitude, following directions, and showing loyalty to the party hierarchies and leadership (Maarek, 1995:89).

ROLE DEFINITION:

The definition of any individual's role in any situation will be a combination of the role expectations that the members of the role set have of the focal role. These expectations are often legally defined. The role definitions of presidents, governors, legislators, and local government chairmen are clearly defined both in legal and in cultural terms (Hunt, 1995:1).

Citizens often find it hard to escape from the role that democratic traditions have defined for them. It is important for individuals to make clear what their particular roles are at a given time. The means of doing this are called rather obviously, role signs. The simplest of role sign is a uniform. Place is rather another role sign (Johnie, 1988:135). People have the ability to shift roles rapidly when they recognize that the situation and its demands clearly require major changes. This brings to the fore the concept of role identity which refers to certain

attitudes and behaviours consistent with a role. For instance, Adams Oshiohmole of Edo State was the president of Nigerian Labour Congress, and later became a governor. While still a union president, he was prounion; and when he became the governor of Edo State, he became progovernment.

ROLE PERCEPTION:

This refers to one's view of how one is supposed to act in a given situation. Based on an interpretation of how we believe, we are supposed to behave, we engage in certain types of behaviour. According to Robbins (2001:277), we get these perceptions from stimuli all around us – friends, books, movies, television.

ROLE AMBIGUITY:

This results when there is some uncertainty in the minds, either of the focal person or of the members of his role set, as to precisely what his role is at any given time (Johnie, 1989:35). One of the crucial expectations that shape the role definition is that of the individual, the focal person, himself. If his role differs from that of the others in his role set, there will be a degree of role ambiguity (Koontz et al, 1990:166). The four frequently cited instances of role ambiguity in a work situation are:

> Uncertainty about how one is evaluated uncertainty about scope for advancement uncertainty about others' expectations of one's performance (Koontz et al, 1990:166; Johnie, 1989:35; Ahuauzu, 1985:73; Robbins, 2001:277).

ROLE INCOMPATIBILITY:

This results when the expectations of the members of the role set are well-known but are incompatible as features of the same role. For instance, an individual's superior may make it clear that he wants a tight structured rule-oriented form of leadership, while his subordinates want a loose, relaxed, friendly style. The expectations of a man's line superior and his staff superior are another frequent source of role incompatibility (Johnie, 1988:35, Gummesson, 1991:10).

Role incompatibility is common among public office holders in Nigeria where relatives and friends may expect them to loot public treasury as well as display nepotism and favouritism; where as a such officers are expected to live above board by the larger society.

ROLE CONFLICT:

This results when an individual is confronted by divergent role expectations. Most times, we find ourselves in situations where we have to choose between family and career role expectations (Boone and Kurtz, 1998:251). The career female politician, for instance, often finds that she is expected to fulfil at one and the same time the expectations attached to being a woman and the expectations attached to a male stereotype of successful politician.

It is useful to separate role conflict (conflicting roles) from role incompatibility (conflicting role expectations) but the end result is the same – role stress (Johnie, 1989:35).

ROLE OVERLOAD:

This is a form of role of conflict. Most people can handle some measure of role conflict. There comes a time, however, when the number of roles that one person has to handle becomes just too much. He then experiences role overload (Dixon-Ogbechi & Bolajoko, 2003:119). This is not the same as work overload. Work overload can often mean that there is just too much to do in one role. It has its own problems – often times weariness resulting in stress – but is of a different order from role overload which is concerned with variety as well as quantity (Johnie, 1989:35; Ahuauzu, 1985:73; Hunt, 1995:1)

ROLE STRESS:

All varieties of role problems (such as role ambiguity, incompatibility, conflict, overload, and under load) lead to role stress. Stress can be functional or dysfunctional depending on the direction. Most people, for instance, need some form of stress to bring out their best performance, but if the stress is of the wrong form, or too much, it becomes damaging. One of the major tasks of management in organizations is to control the level of stress (Johnie, 1988:35; Robbins, 2001:277).

2.2.8 PERCEPTION THEORY

Perception occupies a significant position in political marketing practice. Scholars in both marketing and management have tried to explain its relevance in various forms and with diverse definitions. Achumba (2006:42) defines it as the process of selecting, organizing and interpreting stimulus received from the five physical senses of vision, hearing, touch, smell and taste. Perception begins when one is confronted with a stimulus or a situation. Walters

(1978:178) defines it as the process by which an individual becomes aware of the environment and interprets it so that it fits into his or her frame of reference. This definition underscores the fact that perception involves both an objective component (information brought by the five physical senses) and a subjective aspect (interpretation in light of a person's experience). Osuagwu (2002:793) sees it as the process by which incoming stimuli receives by consumers' senses are interpreted and transformed into meaningful picture. Robbins (2001:277) on his part defines it as a process by which individuals organize and interpret their sensory impressions in order to give meaning to their environment.

Perception is important in political marketing simply because electoral behavior is based on their perception of what reality is, not on reality itself. The world as it is perceived is the world that is behaviorally important.

While shedding light on the perceptional process, Zimbardo and Rich (1975:72) in Achumba (2006:42) argued that the perceptional system acts like a computer, taking in multiple sources of information, selecting, integrating, abstracting, comparing, testing, sorting, outputting and then repeating all these again and again. Each perceptual act is a construction or creation of reality based on all of the relevant past and current information available to the organization. For from being a direct experience of "things as they are" perception is thus a modified process of organized conclusion drawing about the real world of time, space, objects and events, based on much more than simply the stimulus input".

FACTORS INFLUENCING PERCEPTION

Cases abound where individuals look at the same thing, yet perceive it differently. A number of factors account for this. These factors can reside in the perceiver, object or target being perceived, in the context of the situation in which the perception is made.

THE PERCEIVER

For an individual to relate to his environment two factors are necessary. They are sensation and perception. Sensation denotes the effect associated with the stimulation of a sense organ while perception refers to the interpretation of sensation. A person perceives according to his needs, cultural background, past experience and motives. In other words, each Peerson's

background, needs, motives and experiences in life alter his interpretation of identical sensory data (Foster, 1982:17).

Achumba (1996:42) observed that several characteristics of the voter as a perceiver are important for understanding the effect of perception on voter behavior. Some of these factors are:

(a). Thresholds of awareness

(b) Importance of question

(c) source of political market stimulus.

Others are defense mechanisms such as projections, stereotyping, displacement and selective perception.

The value and meaning of the market stimulus depends on the context in which it is perceived. All of our senses have some limit to responsiveness to stimulation. Such limit have been identified as thresholds (Achumba, 2007:43). These thresholds exist in the literature. These are lower, upper, and difference thresholds. Robbs (2007:279) refers to lower threshold as subliminal perception of stimuli about which a person has no awareness. The term subliminal means literally "below the threshold. In psychological usage, the term is the level at which a person is aware of stimulus such as light or sound.

THE TARGET

Characteristics of the target that is being observed can affect what is perceived. Loud people are more likely to be noticed in a group than are quiet ones. So too, are extremely attractive or unattractive individuals. Motion, size, sounds, and other attributes of a target shape the way we see it (Robbins, 2000:277).

THE SITUATION

The context in which we see objects or events are important. Elements in the surrounding environment influence our perceptions. In other words, the situation affects our perception. The time at which an object or event is seen can influence attention as can location, light, heat, or any number of situational factors (Robbins, 2000:277).

Figure 7.0 above summarizes the factors influencing perception.

```
                                          ┌─────────────────────────┐
                                          │ Factors in the Perceiver│
                                          │     • Attitudes         │
                                          │     • Motives           │
                                          │     • Interest          │
                                          │     • Experiences       │
                                          │     • Background        │
                                          │     • Proximity         │
                                          └───────────┬─────────────┘
  ┌─────────────────────────┐                         │
  │ Factors in the situation│                         ▼
  │     • Time              │            ┌─────────────────────────┐
  │     • Work setting      │────────────│ Factors in the Target   │
  │     • Social setting    │            │     • Novelty           │
  │                         │            │     • Motion            │
  └─────────────────────────┘            │     • Sounds            │
                                          │     • Size              │
                                          │     • Background        │
                                          │     • Proximity         │
                                          └─────────────────────────┘
```
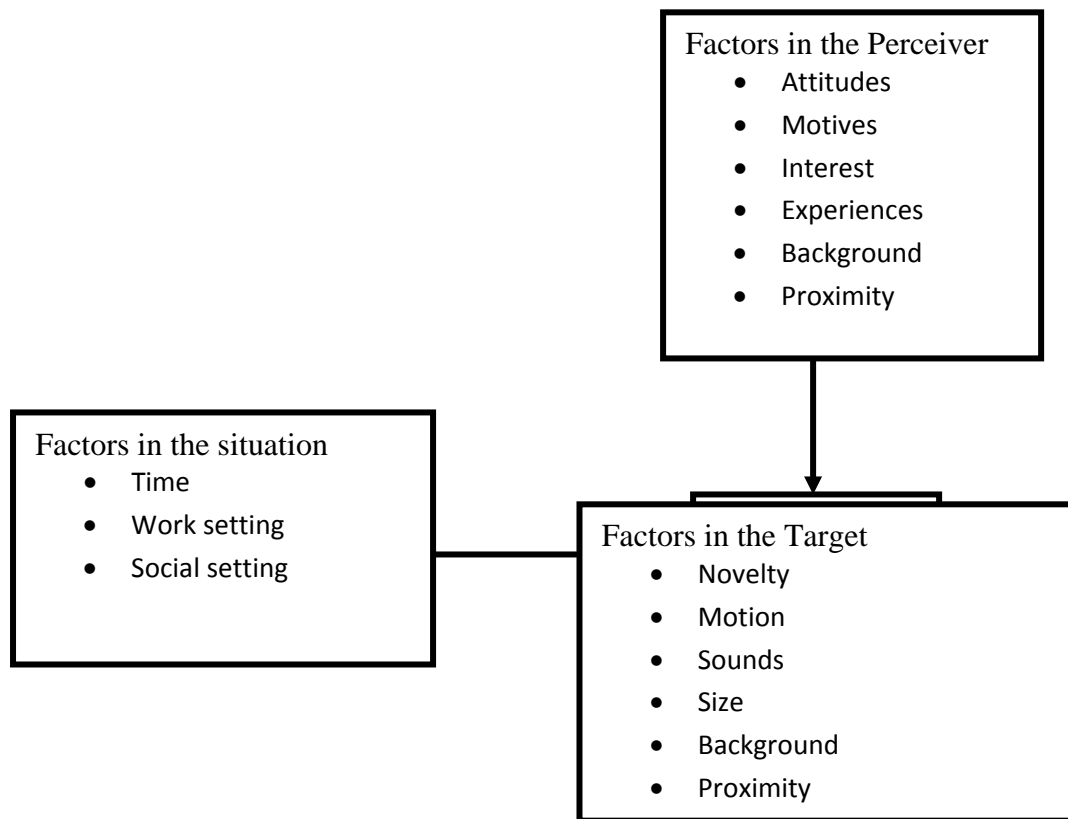
Source: Adapted from Robbins, S.P. (2001:277), Organizational Behavior

Figure 4.0 Factors that Influence Perception

ATTRIBUTION THEORY

The most relevant application of perception concepts to political marketing has to do with a person's perception which is concerned about making judgments about others. Our perception of people differs from our perception of inanimate objects such as desks, machines, or buildings because we make inferences about the actions of people but we do not make this about inanimate objects. In other words, when we observe people, we attempt to develop explanations of why they behave in certain ways. Our perception and judgments of a person's actions will be significantly influenced by the assumptions we make about that person's internal state (Barret, 1987:65).

Attribution theory has been proposed to develop explanations of the ways n which we judge people differently, depending on what meaning we attribute to a given behavior (Kelly, 1972:3). Basically, the theory suggests that when we observe an individual's behavior, we

attempt to determine whether it was internally or externally caused. That determination, however, depends largely on three factors:

1. Distinctiveness
2. Consensus
3. Consistency (Blankson:235 and Appiah-Adu, 1998:179)

Internally caused behaviors are those that are believed to be under the personal control of the individual. Externally caused behavior is seen as resulting from outside causes, that is, the person is seen as having been forced into the behavior by the situation. If a party member comes late to a party caucus meeting, you might attribute his lateness to yesterday's party rally which lasted up to the early hours of the morning and then over sleeping. This would be an internal attribution. But if you attribute his arriving late to a major automobile accident that tied up traffic on the road that this party member uses, then you would be making an external attribution (Blankson and Omar, 2002:123).

Distinctiveness refers to whether an individual displays different behaviors in different situations. One would want to know whether the behavior is unusual if it is the observer that is likely to give the behavior an external attribution. If this action is not unusual, it will probably be judged as internal (Iyiegbuniwe, 2005:172).

If everyone who is faced with a similar situation responds in the same way, one can say the behavior shows consensus. Our late party member behavior would meet this criterion of all members who took the same route to the meeting were also late. From an attribution perspective, if consensus is high, you would be expected to give an external attribution to the member's tardiness, whereas if other members who took the same route made it to the meeting on time, your conclusion as to causation would be internal.

Finally, an observer looks for consistency in a person's actions. Does the person respond the same way over time? The more consistent the behavior, the more the observer is inclined to attribute it to internal causes (Barret, 1987:65).
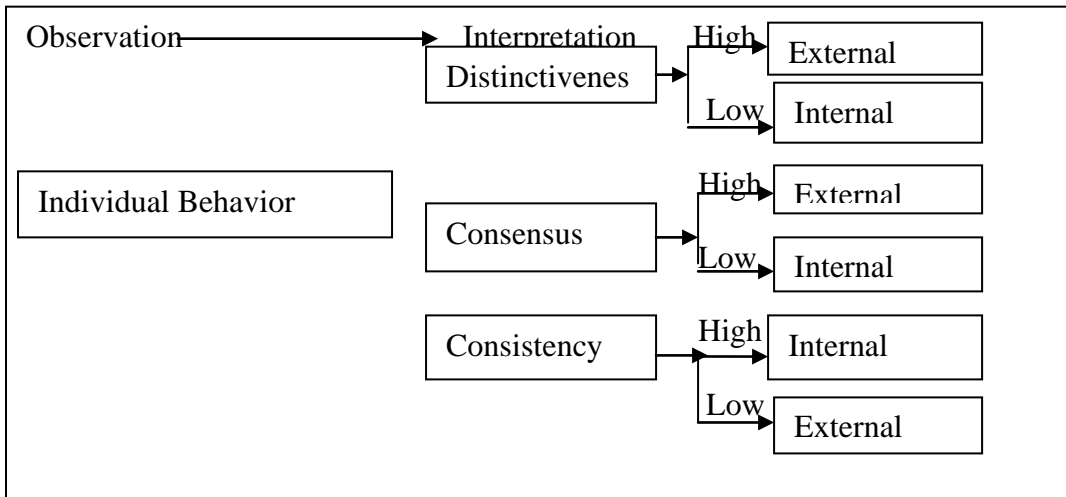
Figure 5:0 Attribution Theory

Source: Adapted from Robbins (2001:279). Organizational Behavior

Figure 2:4 above summarizes the key elements in attribution theory.

One of the more interesting findings from attribution theory is that there are errors or biases that distort attributions. For instance, there is substantial evidence that when we make judgments about the behavior of other people, we have a tendency to underestimate the influence of external factors and overestimate the influence of internal or personal factors (Ross, 1977:39). This is called fundamental attribution error and can explain why a political candidate is prone to attribute the poor performance of his campaign manager to laziness rather than to the intimidating profile of an opponent. There is also a tendency for individuals to attribute their own successes to internal factors such as ability or effort while putting the blame for failure on external factors such as luck. This is called the self servicing bias and suggests that feedback provided to party members in performance appraisal will be predictably distorted by recipients depending on whether it is positive or negative (Achumba, 2000:42).

SELF PERCEPTION THEORY

Self perception theory as postulated by Ben (1972:87) is concerned with how people explain their behavior. The theory argues that people do not always know why they do what they do. When this occurs they infer the causes of their behavior by analyzing their behavior in the context in which it occurs (Robbins, 2001:277). The theory assumes that people often gain

self-knowledge simply by observing their own behavior, and drawing logical conclusions about why they behaved as they did. In particular,

Individuals come to know their own attitudes, emotions, and other internal states partially by inferring them from observations of their own overt behavior and/or circumstances in which the behavior occurs. Thus, to the extent that internal cues are weak, ambiguous, or uninterpretable, the individual is functionally, in the same position as an outside observer – an observer who must necessarily rely on those same external cues to infer the individual's inner state (Ben, 1972:87).

Self-perception processes are akin to introspection, but there is an important difference with introspection, we directly examine our attitudes, feelings and motives, with self-perception, we indirectly infer our attitudes, feelings and motives by analyzing our behavior. Another way of saying this is that only introspection involves directly consulting our internal states; the self-perception process is an indirect one that does not require direct access to our internal state.

CAUSAL ATTRIBUTION

The explanations people give for their actions are the key elements in self-perception theory. Formerly, those explanations are known as causal attributions. Causal attributions are answers to why questions (Weiner, 1985:9). Once we observe a behavior display from a person, we tend to attribute that behavior to a cause. This is what is called causal attribution. People also make attributions for their behavior. The attributions people make foe events in their lives constitute an important source of self-knowledge. People can gain self-knowledge by making attributions for other people's behavior (Robbins, 2001:278).

2.2.9 EFFICIENCY THEORY

Efficiency theory has been instrumental in establishing what constitutes performance in an organization (Drucker, 1978:10). Johnie (1988) points out that 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 perspective, Drucker points out that effectiveness is essentially doing (i.e. accomplishing) the right things.

Efficiency, on the other hand, according to Drucker, 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 (1994:14) indicates that productivity is the goal of a political party, and he calls productivity a performance measure which includes effectiveness and efficiency. Robbins (2001:277) 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 to the 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, 1995:91).

2.3   Empirical Framework

2.3.1 The Current State of Political Marketing

It has been argued that the application of marketing tools and instruments in politics is nothing new (Perloff, 1999:19; Baines and Egan 2001:251). This may be controvertible, but what certainly has changed in the last 25 years is not just the magnitude of political marketing management but the belief those that political actors (i.e. political parties, politicians, governments, single-issue groups, lobbying organisations, etc) do not only act out but also 'think' in marketing terms. (Harris et al, 1999:1138; Nimmo, 1999:73; Harris, 2001a:1136). They believed that they do marketing management, and they try to integrate their use of marketing instruments in a coherent marketing strategy (Newman, 1994a:69; Dermody and Scullion, 2001:9).

The changes in the 'mind sets' of political actors have been tracked in several studies. (Jamieson, 1992:73; Scammell, 1994:23, 1995:100; Lees-Marshment, 2001:692; Wring, 2001:172; Wring, 2002b:35) and have been considered a 'revolution' (Lees-Marshment,

2001:692) or even a "new age in politics" (Newman, 1999:43). "Mind sets' of political actors" refers to the attitudinal and perceptual disposition of participants in democratic process. These participants will include political parties, candidates for elections, electorates, party functionaries and supporters.

In addition, political marketing application have moved from solely a communication tool to an integrated way of managing politics, be it policy development, permanent campaigning (Nimmo, 1999:73), or even governing (to the extent that government has become 'symbolic' in certain circumstances) (O'Shaughnessy, 2003:109).

Six main developments of applied uses of political marketing can be generated for most democratic political systems in the last two decades, and these are:

> An increased sophistication of communication and 'spin' (Kavanagh, 1995:81; Kaid, 1999:423; Sherman, 1999:53; Harris, 2001b:53; Lees-Marshment, 2001:692; Palmer, 2003:345);

> Strategies for product and image management (Scammell, 1995:111; Baines et al, 2002:251; White and de Chernatony, 2002:45);

> News management i.e. the use of 'free' media (Franklin, 1994:163; Schnur, 1999:143; Franklin and Richardson, 2002:117);

> More coherent and planned political marketing strategy development (Newman, 1994a:41; Butler and Collins, 1999:55; Kotler 1999:464; Lees-Marshment, 2001:172; Henneberg, 2002:27; Wring, 2002a:173);

> Intensified and integrated use of political market research (Huber and Hermann, 1999:305; Mitchell and Daves, 1999:177; Smith and Hirst, 2001:1058; Sparrow and Tunner, 2001:984; Sherman and Schiffman, 2002:53);

> Emphasis on political marketing organisation and professionalization (Panebianco, 1988:176; Lees-Marshment, 2001).

However, most political actors are far from having an integrated and sophisticated understanding of marketing applications for their political exchange situations. Political marketing management in politics has caused some 'leading' parties and candidates to adopt

a simplistic and populistic "follower"-mentality, contributing to the disenchantment of the electorate and a resulting cynicism regarding politics in general (Henneberg, 2005:17).

Research on political marketing showing serious, intensive, coordinated research activities on marketing applications in politics constitutes a fairly recent addition to the area of social and non-profit marketing. The field of political marketing started to form about twenty years ago with several seminal contributions (Manser, 1983:18; Newman and Sheth, 1985:23; Farrel and Wortman, 1987:296; Reid, 1998:34; Harrop, 1990:77; O'Shaughnessy, 1990:109; Smith and Saunders, 1990:295) that introduced topical foci and in-depth analyses of marketing instruments; out of which none proffered a 'general' theory. However, research on political marketing quickly gained momentum, driven mainly by the dynamic development of marketing applications by political parties and candidates.

To provide a new understanding of some basic phenomena and the reactions of political actors, research on political marketing has become an established sub-discipline of marketing, especially in France, U.K, Germany, Australia, as well as the USA (Perloff, 1999:19). The need to describe and understand these phenomena instigated numerous publications in standard marketing and political journals (e.g. special issues on political marketing in the European Journal of Marketing, the Journal of Marketing Management, of the Journal of Public Affairs) as well as books and monographs (Newman, 1994a:43; Kavanagh, 1995:81; Scammel 1995:43; Newman, 1995b:41; Lees-Marshment, 2001:172; O'Shaughnessy and Hanneberg, 2002b:98) and also the establishment of dedicated conferences for a discourse on political marketing.

For example, since 1995 there has been an international conference on political marketing held annually, besides, a dedicated journal of political marketing was founded (Newman, 2002:87) and a Handbook of political marketing published (Newman, 1999a:43).

2.3.2 Political Marketing Planning

McDonald (1989:18) describes the purpose of marketing planning as 'the identification and creation of competitive advantage'. But political marketing planning (in the specific context of an election campaign) attempt to identify how to increase a party or candidate's share of the vote and what needs to be done in order to realize this vote-share increase. To this end,

Palmer (1994:345) states that there are five key functions in the strategic marketing planning process comprising:

- Market position analysis
- Objective setting
- Strategic alternative evaluation
- Strategic implementation
- Monitoring and control

From a political marketing planning perspective, Palmer's five key functions can be classified as follows:

1. **The Analysis of the Current Market Position of the Organization** – This requires a determination of how voters perceive the individual candidates standing in each constituency and what their voting position is.

2. **Setting Objectives for the Organisation and Marketing Effort** – It is important to determine which areas (e.g. constituencies, voter group) require more resources to be allocated to them.

3. **Identifying and Evaluating Strategic Alternatives** – Which segment of the electorate should parties communicate with, using what message? Public opinion polling can be used to guide and develop message receipt, and measure and asses segmented group's stability, accessibility and substance.

4. **Implementation of the Chosen Strategy** – The political strategist needs to allocate the necessary resources to the targeting process. In political campaign, one major problem occurring is one on uncertainty regarding the flow of donations that will be received by the party after the 1992 British General Election).

5. **Monitoring and Controlling** – Since the marketing planning process attempts to match organisational resources with market opportunities and threats, which considering the organization's strengths and weaknesses, the process of monitoring the external environment and evaluating a particular strategy's impact upon that environment is paramount.

A MARKETING PLANNIG FRAMEWORK FOR POLITICAL PARTIES.

A marketing planning framework needs to take into account the realities of the environment and allow for a rapid change (e.g. partisan allegiance, changes in public opinion). The framework should incorporate the detail of the various political phenomena (e.g. tactical voting, traditional voting, personal voting, the importance of by-elections, defections, deselection and immigration/emigration patterns) in order to reflect the reality of the campaigning process.

Planning Mode Stage 1: Information Gathering and Constituency Identification

In this stage constituent that are most likely to change their allegiance are identified since such constituencies are particularly important to all various parties and resources can be targeted more effectively at these constituencies saving political parties both money and time. The issues in this stage are discussed below.

HISTORICAL DATA

Knowing the party's vote-share and major source of competition at the previous election is important when targeting constituencies and in the party determination of how the candidate and the party should attempt to persuade the electorate that their message is more appropriate than that of the rival party.
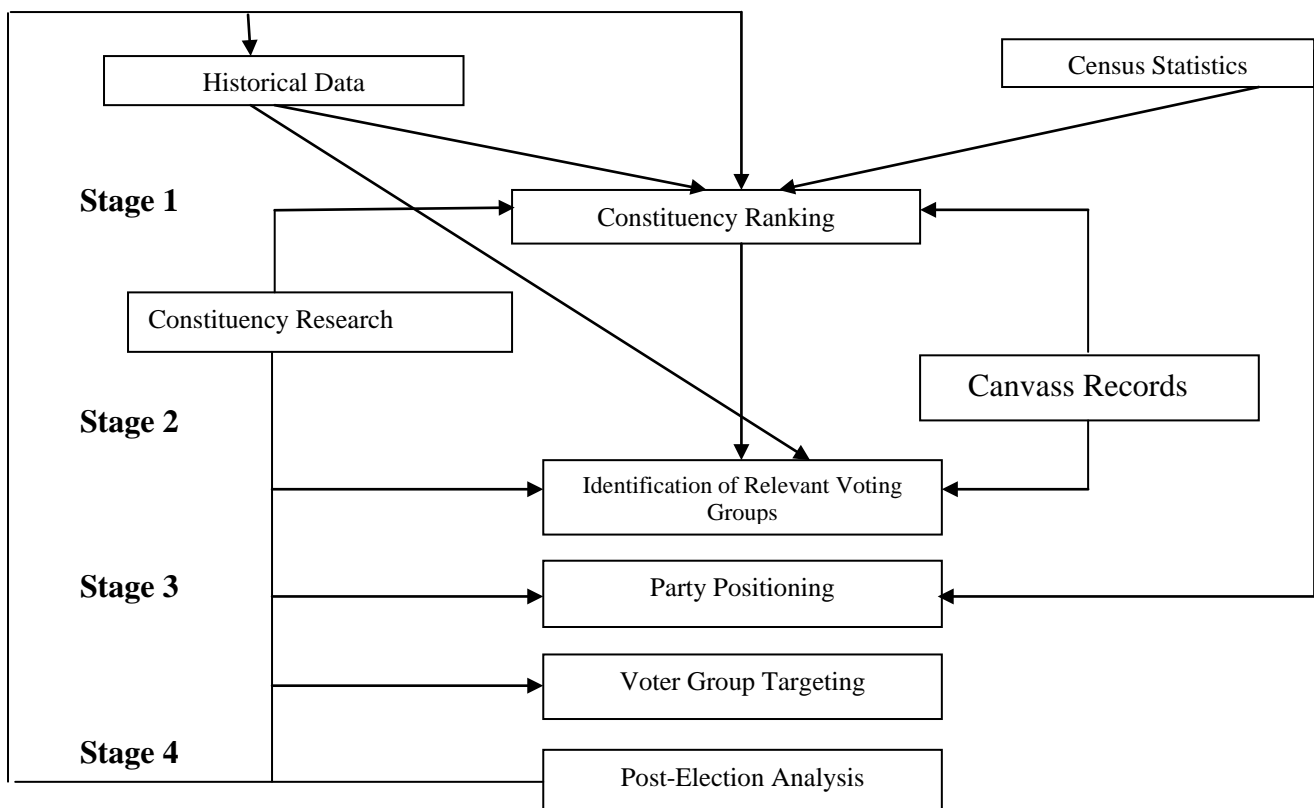
Figure 6:0 Political Marketing Planning Model

Source: Adapted from Baines (1996:98)

CENSUS STATISTICS

The political strategist needs to monitor the demographic structure of the constituency on an ongoing basis so that changes in the constituency's demographic and partisan profile can be identified in order to locate key voters and take appropriate action when it comes to targeting specific voter groups. Thus, census data statistics are important in determining the location of the relevant voting groups since socio-economic (and other relevant targeting) data may have been mapped in the census.

CONSTITUENCY RANKING

In the UK system, a simple majority of seats needs to be gained for a party to form government. Often, these seats can be closely contested and the main opposition party needs to attempt to gain as many as possible from the incumbent party in order to form a majority. Each party should determine the swing needed to gain a seat. Using constituency research and canvass records, the tactical traditional and personal voting adjustments can then be

made to the size of the electorate (excluding non-voters) to give a 'perceived audience' for each party for each constituency. If the perceived audience is less than the required swing for a particular constituency, then the constituency should not receive as many resources since it is unlikely to change.

The concept of ranking political jurisdictions on the basis of the number of 'persuadable voter" has been suggested by a number of authors (Bradshaw, 1995:67: Shea, 1996:97). The combination of constituency research, census statistics, canvass records, and historical data allows the political strategist to determine the principal competion and who the relevant voting groups that need to be targeted. Shea (1996:97) has maintained that demographic research; survey data and prior electoral data merge to form a powerful targeting weapon. Such data should also give an indication of the level of tactical and personal voting. In addition, research should also indicate the proportion of traditional voters which becomes important in the constituency ranking exercise.

CONSTITUENCY RESEARCH

Constituency research is vital for a full understanding of the current position of the major parties within a constituency since historical voting data does not give any idea of recent changes in the partisan nature of the seat. Constituency research should focus on:

➢ The current level of support
➢ Which voters support particular parties (indicating the major competitions)
➢ Which voters have changed their support for a particular since the previous general elections
➢ The electorates opinion and emotions regarding particulars issues and policies
➢ The level of tactical and traditional voting
➢ Whether or not the personal is significant

Constituency research feeds into every aspect of the political planning process. The national party ought to conduct surveys in the target constituencies, i.e. those that are ranked highest in the ranking exercise, in order to provide a current overview of the political situation. This research should determine voters partisan allegiance in the different constituencies, thus providing an indication of which party is in closet contention while also attempting to

determine which messages will 'connect' most with the floating voters within a particular constituency.

CANVASS RECORDS

It is still important to canvass the electorate since the secondary research only gives a broad picture of what is happening and canvassing helps to target individual voters on election day in the get-out-the-vote (or "knocking up") effort. Canvassing should still be undertaken in order to determine the supporters of the particular parties, e.g. floating voters, so that the local constituency organizations can tailor specific messages to the relevant sections of the electorate and solicit funds.

PLANNING MODEL STAGE 2: Competition and voting Group Determination

This stage concerns determining the main competition, and segmenting the various voter groups incorporating all the recent data, from canvassing and constituency research.

DETERMINING THE COMPETITION

The political strategist needs to determine which party provides the biggest threat within each individual seat so that he can then provide an appropriate policy platform to counteract the opposing parties. Generally, the determination of the competition with a seat is best provided by a combination of previous general election voting data and local election results. This information should allow the strategist to determine which wards within a particular constituency are more likely to vote for a particular party. This is an important process since certain wards within marginal constituencies may contain more or fewer marginal voters. Thus, the process of competition determining is, to some extent, a by-product of the constituency ranking and research exercises.

Except in marginal constituencies, constituencies where there have been exceptional circumstances (e.g. scandal, deselection, etc,) and constituencies whose boundaries have been changed.

VOTER SEGMENTATION

In order for the parties to change or keep a seat's allegiance, they need to approach those voters who are most likely to change their vote to the main opposition party (except where a third and even fourth party is in very close contention with the incumbent). Thus, in a liberal

democrat seat where labour are the main opposition, communications might not just be aimed at the potential Labour Liberal Democrat Switchers but also at conservative tactical voters as well as consolidating support from previous Liberal Democrat supporters. According to Baines (1996:95) relevant segmentation bases are housing type and partisan allegiance. However, consistency research might indicate more useful segmentation bases. Those segments, which are most important, in either securing a seat or changing a seat's allegiance, would then be targeted using the appropriate media.

PLANNING MODEL STAGE 3: Party Positioning and Voter Group Targeting

In order to increase their own support, potential strategists typically use policies, issues and reasoned argument, as well as style of presentation, to attempt to win the battle for the minds of the voters.

Positioning is the process of 'connecting' with voters, i.e. the process of developing a campaign theme that consists of convergent policy stances on issues.

Bradshaw (1995:107) defines theme as "the rationale for your candidate's election and your opponent's defeat. It is the single and central idea that the campaign communicates to voters to sum up the candidate's connection with the voters and their concerns, and the contrast between your candidates and the opponents".

Party positioning is a crucial aspect of the political marketing process because the strategist uses it to set out the policies, which the party applies to persuade voters to vote for them. It is also important to note that parties need to select a theme (e.g. policy on Africa) and aspects of that theme (e.g. specific policies relating to further integration, agriculture etc.), which connect with voters. Selection of this theme becomes paramount because parties cannot later attempt to use a theme which is not consistent with their original policies and statements since this may well be picked up by the opposition parties' media spokespeople in a process known as rapid rebuttal which may, subsequently, be picked up by the media or directed at the media by opposition party spin-doctors.

As Baines et al (1999:1099) observed, specified policies should be directed at voters in terms of low concerned with the party policy the electorate is the extent to which the policy fits the political entity's ethos.

VOTER GROUP TARGETING

Once the agenda for the constituency has been developed and the political strategists have determined the target contacts, the constituency organization should generally deliver its message through door-to-door canvassing, telephone canvassing, direct mail and local meetings. Different constituencies usually adapt a mix of different methods, for example, in a rural constituency, a certain amount of telephone canvassing might occur in order to save time expense.

PLANNING MODEL STAGE 4: Post-Election Analysis

The essence of good marketing planning is to learn from previous successes and failures, and to build these into future planning strategy. This stage attempts to determine what lessons can be learned from previous strategies.

POST-ELECTION ANAYLSIS

Post-Election analysis aims to determine whether or not the correct voter segments were targeted successfully. This requires further research into why the electorate voted the way that they did.

In addition, the constituency results may be used to increase the accuracy of the constituency ranking exercise in future election campaigns. The post-election research data may also be used to refine further the segmentation bases that were used in the previous election campaign, in order that the next Nigerian General Election Campaign can incorporate any lessons learned.

2.3.3   Branding in Political Marketing

The political marketer creates a brand for his product just like successful business do. This strategy has been proven to be effective.

Broone and Kurtz (1998:231) opine that a brand is name, term, sign, symbol, design, or some combination that identifies the products of one firm and differentiates them from competitors' offerings. These is further supported by Jackson Jr. (2004:32) who views a brand as the identifying image and message that product or service from another. Branding marketing is becoming more and more important in political marketing due to information

crunch/clutter as people are becoming more independent in deciding whom to believe and what matters.

Furthermore, a candidate who sees himself or herself as a brand can cut through the communication clutter and achieve the message discipline essential to a successful campaign. When developing a brand, the political marketer has to ensure that the candidate communicates something that voters can understand and identify with. Apart from this, political marketer has to understand the principles of branding and the absolute necessity of message discipline.

This is important because developing a brand is part of a campaign strategy is both science and art. For instance, most political conservatives centre on the scientific, or objective, part of this strategy; because the citizenry craves for something out of the ordinary, creating a brand distinction is especially important for challengers and minority party candidates.

Branding is about communicating a message that is rooted in emotion. Every successful brand has some kind of emotional appeal. Emotion is the human element that gets our attention, and the candidate has to be mindful of this since he is requiring too much by asking people to vote for him (Jackson, Jr. 2004:40). This unique emotional component is the foundation of the candidate's brand. Developing a good brand message involves a lot of soul searching. Well before the campaign gets under way, a candidate should take inventory of his assets. This asset should include every positive thing he has ever done that may seem compelling, every good thing anyone has ever said about him, every unique experience in his life-anything that sets him apart from the rest of the world. What is his story? What make him and most of all, vote for him?

Everyone is unique! The candidate's task is to prove his uniqueness and indeed stand out before the electorate will vote for him. To do this effectively, the candidate must think about the words. Words matter and they must be carefully chosen to appeal to the electorate (Jackson Jr, 2004:40). The effect of wrongly chosen words can be outrageous.

2.3.4 Political Marketing Functions and the Political Market(S)

Functions as antecedents of the use of political marketing instruments ought to cover all necessary exchange relationships and their management by political actors (or 'power broker' in Newman's terminology) in a variety of different 'submarkets', based on value

exchanges (Miller and Lewis, 1991:52; Newman, 1994:34; Kotler, 1997:38; Dean and Croft, 2001:47).

Taking the political party again as the focal point and the relationship with the electorate as the focal relationship, one can distinguish three sub markets of electoral parties (electorate, donors, government).
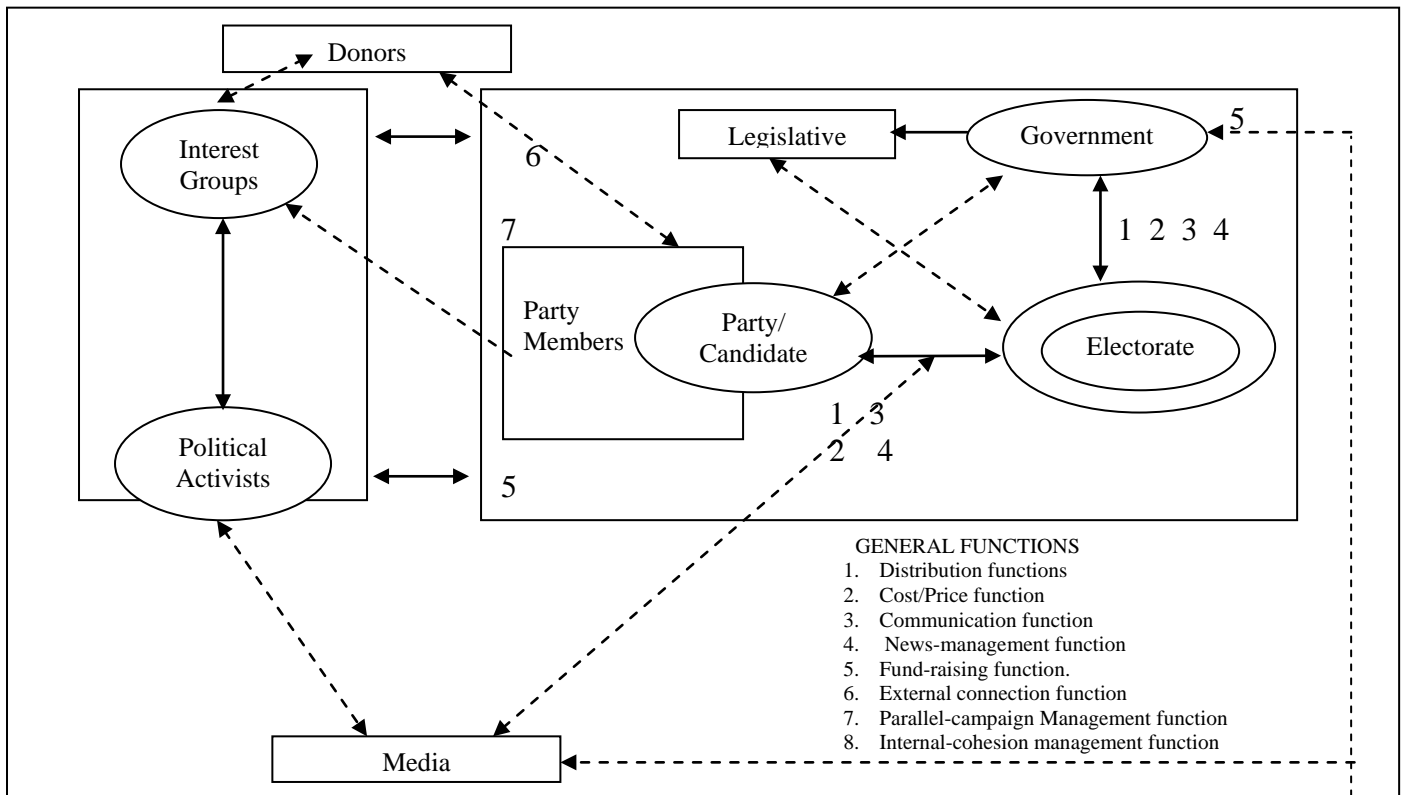
Figure 7.0: The Political 'System-Market' (Adapted from Henneberg, 2002:17)

The electoral market is characterized by the main exchange relationship between parties (and their candidates) and the electorate. However, parties also 'connect' with government and citizen. This is due to the ambivalent role of parties and candidates as successful campaigning transforms them into a part of government (i.e. executive and legislative) without losing their attachment to a political party.
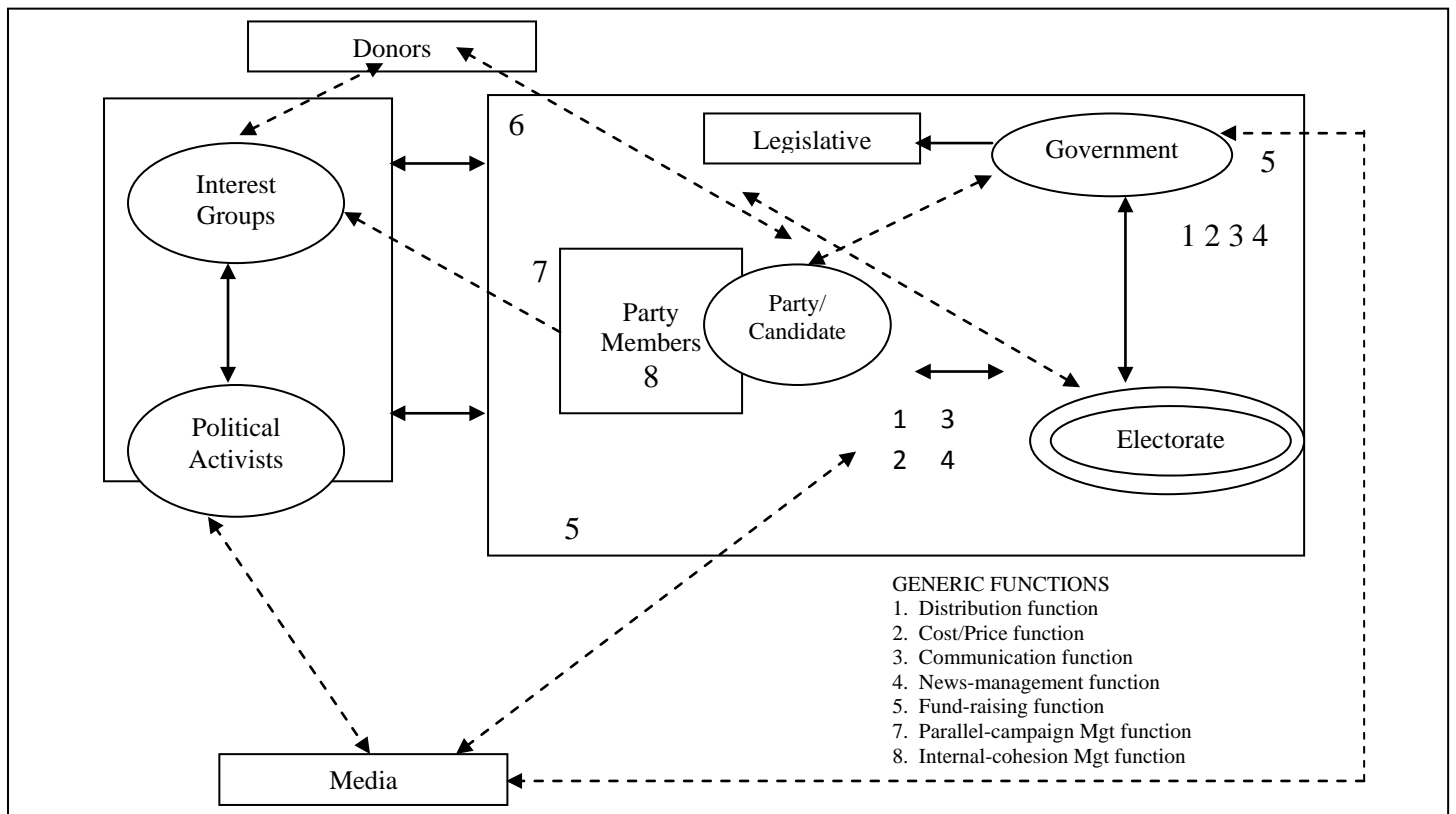
Figure 8.0: Generic functions of Political marketing management in the political market (adapted from Henneberg, 2002:17)

IMPLICATIONS

The fundamental analysis of political marketing management provides an alternative perspective to the managerial typology of marketing instruments. An analysis of political marketing requirements shows eight generic functions that are concerned with exchange relationships with several stakeholders, operating in several sub markets. Such a functional analysis provides political marketing theory with a perspective instrument to conceptualize political marketing management. A functional view directly relates political marketing with an assessment of management performance, i.e. the question of important marketing outcomes. Such an assessment precedes a more instrumental view that is concerned with the quality of the fulfilment of these outcomes via the deployment of appropriate marketing activities (Henneberg, 2003:13).

As such, a functional analysis of political management demonstrates a particular and destructive perspective to the field and therefore satisfies Cornelisson's (2002:193) requirements for analogous use of marketing concepts in politics. It is in line with the demands to explore and apply the conceptual and theoretical depth and breadth of political

100

marketing (Lees-Marshment, 2003:87) and provides a fresh way of categorizing political marketing phenomena.

2.4   Conclusion and Gap in the Literature

The literature has clearly indicated what determines a citizen's vote, but not why so many voters are choosing not to vote at all. This is the main challenge of contemporary democracies.

Again, literature has not shown any integrated approach to the study of marketing strategies in politics (i.e. pre, during and post) election strategies which are in tandem with the pre, commercialization and post commercialization strategies of marketing process.

Recent studies of the Nigerian political marketing system concentrated on political marketing communication which is just an aspect of the gamut of marketing strategies involved (Denver, 1989:87; Smith et al, 1997:295; Iornem, 1995:90; Oriavwote, 1999:54, Ibodje & Dode, 2007:93; 2003:18; Achumba and Dixon-Ogbechi, 2004:87).

This lack of integrated study may have given rise to:

- ❖ Halfhearted application of marketing strategies in politics
- ❖ Misconceptions about the role of marketing strategies in politics.
- ❖ Slow growth of political marketing in Nigeria.

References

Achumba, I. C.; Dixon-Ogbechi, B. N. (2004 "Political Marketing –Marketing Unusual" in Marketing Journal, Vol. 1 No 1 October.

Achumba, I. C. (2000) Strategic Marketing Management, Charlotte U.S.A.Mac-… and Capital Publishers Inc.

Achumba, Iheanyi C. (1995), Sales Management Concepts and Strategies, Rock Hill, USA: Al-marks Educational Research Inc.

Ajayi, F.(2003), "Foreign Observers and Nigeria's Elections", Daily Champion, May 19.

Ajayi, M.O. (2006) Reflections on Democratic Succession in Nigeria, Covenant University, *Journal of Business & Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, N01 December 2006

Ajayi, M.O. (2007) The Soccer Pitch and the Political Arena in Nigeria; Covenant University Public Lecture Series.

Akpan, (2003), "Truth as Casualty in 2003 Election" Daily Champion, July 8.

Amakiri, A.A. (2008) Propaganda in International Politics Ibadan, Spectrum Books Ltd,.

Alderson, W. (1950) 'Survival and Adjustment in Organized Behaviour Systems,' in R. Cox and W. Alderson, Theory in Marketing., Irwin, Homewood, IL:

American Marketing Association (1960), Committee on Definitions, Marketing Definitions: A Glossary of Marketing Terms, Chicago, USA.

Andrew, (1980) The Concept of Corporate Strategy. Rev.ed. Homeword III; Richard Irwin.

Appiah-Adu, K. (1997). Market Orientation and Performance: Do the findings established in large firms hold in the Small Business Sectors? *Journal of Euro-Marketing.* Vol. 6 Issue3. Pp. 1–26.

Appiah-Adu, K., & Ranchhod, A. (1998). Market Orientation and Performance in the Biotechnology: *Technology Analysis and Strategic Management.* Vol. 19, Issue 2. Pp. 197-211.

Aristotle (1991), The Art of Rhetoric, London: Penguin.

Baker, M.J. (1999) Marketing: *An Introductory Text*. London The Macmillan Press Ltd,.

Baines (1996) Coordinating Political Campaigns: A marketing Planning Perspective, *Journal of Political Marketing.* Vol.4 No 2.

Baines, Paul R. Barbara R. Lewis, David A. Yorke (2003), "coordinating al Campaigns: A Marketing Planning Perspective".

Barney, Jay B. (1986) "Strategic factor markets: Expectations, luck and business strategy."
        Management Science 32 (October): 1231-1241.

Barney, Jay B. (1991) "Firm resources and sustained competitive advantage." *Journal of
        Management:* 17 (March): 99-120.

Barney, Jay B. and Edward J. Zajac. (1994) "Competitive organisational behaviour: Toward
an organizationally-based theory of competitive advantage." *Strategic Management Journal*,
        15 (Winter): 5-9.

Barrett, H. (1987), The Sohphists, Novato: Chandler & Sharp.

Bartels, R. (1988) *The History of Marketing Thought*, 3rd edition. Columbus, OH: Publishing
        Horizons.

Berry, L.L., Shostack, G.L. & Upah, G.D. (1983) Proceedings of the American Marketing
        Association, 312, 77-81.

Berry, L.L. (1995). "Relationship marketing of services: Growing Interest, Emerging
        Perspectives" *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, Vol. 23, No.4, pp.236.

Bharadwaj, Sundar, P. Varadarajan and John Fahy. (1993) "Sustainable competitive
        advantage in services industries: A conceptual model and research propositions.*"
        Journal of Marketing*, 57 (October): 83-99.

Blankson, C., & Appiah-Adu, K. (1998). Business Strategy, Organizational Culture and
        Market Orientation/ *Thunderbird International Business Review,* Vol. 40(3) 235-256.

Blankson, C., & Omar, O. E. (2002). Marketing Practices of African and Caribbean Small
        Businesses in London, U.K. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal.*
        Vol. 5, No. 2. Pp. 123-134.

Bloom, M. (1973), Public Relations and Presidential Campaigns, New York: Thomas
        Y.Crowell Company.

Blumenthal, S. (1980), *The Permanent Campaign*, Boston, and M.A: Beacon Press.

Bowman, E.H.C. & Helfat (2001): "Does corporate strategy matter?" *Strategic Management
        Journal.* Vol.22 (1-23).

Bowra, C.M. (1962), *Primitive Song*, London: Weidenfield & Nicholson

Bradshaw, J. (1995), "Who Will Vote for You and Why: Designing Strategy and Theme".In:
        Thurber, J. A. & Nelson, C. (1999), *Campaigns and Elections*: American Style.(Ed.)
         Boulder, USA: West view Press, Co.

Brennan, R. (2003) "Does Political Marketing Need the Concept of Customer Value?" Paper presented at the Political Marketing Conference 2003, Sept., London.

Boone, L. E.; L. Kurtz (1998), Contemporary Marketing: Wired, 9 ed., Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace & Company, p251

Bulter, P. and Collins, N. (1994) "Political Marketing: Structure and Process", European *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 30. No. 10/11, pp. 19-34.

Bulter, P. and Collins, N. (1996), "Strategic Analysis in Political Markets", European Journal of Marketing, Vol. 30 No. 10/11, pp. 32- 44.

Bulter, P. and Collins, N. (1999) "A Conceptual Framework for Political Marketing", in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handwork of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 55-72.

Bulter, David and Ranney, Austin (eds) (1992), Electioneering – *A Comparative Study of Continuity and Change*, Oxford Clarendon.

Bulter, D. and Kavanagh, D. (1997) *The British General Election* of 1997, Basingstoke: Macmillian.

Buzzel, Roberomart D. and Bradley T. Gale. (1957) The PIMS Principles: *Linking Strategy to Performance. New York: The Free Press.*

Castanais, Richard P. and Constance E. Helfat. (1991) "Managerial resources and rents." *Journal of Management*, 17 (March): 155-171.

Chamberlin, Edward H. (1933) *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chatterjee, Sayan and Birger Wernerfelt. (1991) "The link between resources and type of diversification: Theory and evidence." *Strategic Management Journal*. 12 (January): 33-48.

Christopher, M., Payne, A., & Ballantyne, D. (1991) "Relationship Marketing", Butterworth-Heinemann, London, pp.8-9.

Cornelisson, J.P. (2002) "Metaphorical Reasoning and Knowledge Generation: The Case of Political Marketing", *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 1. No. 2. PP. 193-208.

Coram, A (2003) "The Rise and Fall of Support for Political Parties: a dynamic analysis: Electoral studies. 22, 603-16

Coviello, N.E., Brodie, R.J., Munro, J. (1997) "Understanding contemporary marketing: development of a classification scheme", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 9, No. 4. Pp.23.

Craven & Percy (2003) Strategic Marketing (8th Edn) Boston, M.A. Irvin, McGraw-Hill.

Day, George S. (1984) "Marketing's contribution to the strategy dialogue." *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*. 10 (May): 323-329.

Day, George S. and Robin Wensley. (1988) Assessing advantage: A framework for diagnosing competitive superiority." *Journal of Marketing*. 52 (April): 1-20.

Dermody & Scullion (2001) "Delusions of Grandeur Marketing Contribution to Meaningful Western Political Consumption". *European Journal of Marketing*. Vol. 35, No. 9-10.

Dean, D. & Croft, R. (2001) "Friends and Relations: Long-term Approaches to Political Campaigning", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 35, no. 2. Pp. 1197-1216.

Dierickx, Ingemar and Karel Cool (1989) "Asset stock accumulation and sustainability of competitive advantage." *Management Science*. 35 (December): 1504-1511.

Dixon-Ogbechi, Bolajoko N. (2003), Fundamentals of Business Policy and Strategy, Lagos: Philglad Nig. Ltd.

Duetsch K. (1978) The Analysis of International Relations, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

Egan, J. (1999), "Political Marketing Lessons from the Mainstream," Proceeding of the Academic Marketing Conference, July, University of Sterling Scotland.

Egan, J. (1991) "Political Marketing: Lessons from the Mainstream", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 15, pp. 495-503.

Egan, J. (2004), "Relationship marketing. Exploring relational strategies in marketing," Second Edition, England Prentice Hall.

Enewu, I.(2003); Freedom Organization Faults Elections Observers Reports, Thisday, April 30.

Eya, N(2003): Electoral Processes, Electoral Malpractices,and Electoral Violence, Enugu; Sages Publications Nigeria Ltd

Farrell, D.M & Wortmann, M. (1987) "Party Strategies in the Electoral Marketing: Political Marketing in West Germany, Britain and Ireland", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 15, pp. 296-318.s

Ferguson, J.M., Brown, S.W. (1991) "Relationship Marketing and Association Management." *Journal of Professional Services Marketing* Vol. 2 No. 2: 137-147.

Fisk, G. (1967) <u>Marketing Systems</u>. New York, Harper & Row.

Franklin, B. (1995) Packaging Politics. London, Edward Arnold.

Franklin, B. & Richardson, J.E. (2002) "Priming the Parish Pump: Political Marketing and News Management in Local Communications Networks", *Journal of Political Marketing,* Vol. 1. No. 1, pp. 117-147

Gronroos, C. (1990). "Marketing Redefined", Management Decision, Vol.28, No.8,pp.5.

Gronross, C. (1994) "<u>From Marketing Mix to Relationship Marketing</u>." Management Decision Vol. 32: 4-20.

Gronroos, C. (2000) <u>Service Management and Marketing</u>. Chichester, Wiley.

Gummesson E. (1987) "The New Marketing-Developing Long-term Interactive Relationships." Long Range Planning Vol. 20. No. 4: 10-20.

Gummesson, E. (1991) Marketing Revisited: The Crucial Role of the Part-time Marketers', *European Journal of Marketing,* Vol. 25, No 2, pp.60-67

Gummesson, E. (1996) "Making Relationship Marketing Operational", *International Journal of Service Industry Management*, Vol. 5. No.5. pp.5-6.

Gummesson, E. (1997) "The New Marketing- Developing Long-term interactive Relationship Long-Range Planning Vol. 20 No. 4, 10-20.

Gwinn, R and P. Nortan(1992): The New Encyclopedia Britanica, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, Richard (1989) "The management of intellectual assets: A new corporate perspective." *Journal of General Management*. 15 (autumn): 53-68.

Hall, Richard (1992) "The strategic analysis of intangible resources." *Strategic Management Journal*. 13 (February): 135-144.

Hall, Richard (1993) "A framework linking intangible resources and capabilities to sustainable competitive advantage." *Strategic Management Journal*. 14 (November): 607-618.

Henneberg (2002) 'Generic Functions of Political Marketing Management, University of Bath, School of Management, working Paper Series.

Henneberg (2003) "Second Conference on Political Marketing" ' *Journal of Marketing Management.* Vol.12, pp 23-31.

Henneberg, S.C.(2005) "Leading or Following? A Theoretical Analysis of Political Marketing Postures*", Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 5. Forthcoming.

Harris, P. (2001a) "Machiavelli, Political Marketing and Reinventing Government," *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 35, No. 9/10, pp. 1136-1154.

Harris, P. (2001b) "To Spin or Not Spin, That is the Question: The Emergence of Modern Political Marketing", *The Marketing Review*, Vol. 2, pp. 35-53.

Harris, L. C. (2002). Market Orientation: Exploring a Market-Oriented Approach. *Journal Market- focused Management.* Vol. 5, 539-270

Harris Phil and Matthew Ward (2000), "Red Ken in the Sunset: Political Marketing and the Livingstone London Mayoral Election Campaign", Centre for Corporate and Public Affairs, Manchester Metropolitan University Business School.

Harrop, M (1990) 'Political Marketing', Parliamentary Affairs, 43, pp277-91.

Hax, (1993) "Organisation Designs: The Case of Matching Strategy and Structure" *Journal of Business Strategy* Vol. 4 No2.

Hitt, Micheal A. and R. Duane Ireland (1985) "Corporate distinctive competence, strategy, industry and performance." Strategic Management Journal. 6 (July-September): 273-293.

Hofer, Charles W. and Dan Schendel (1978) *Strategy Formulation:* Analytical Concepts. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co.

Holbrook, T.M. (1996*) Do Campaigns Matter*?, Sage, Thousand.

Huber, F. & Herrmann, A. (1999) "A Valued-Oriented Model of Candidate Appraisal," in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp.305-320.

Hunt, Shelby D. and Robert M. Morgan (1995) "The comparative advantage theory of competition." *Journal of Marketing*. 59 (April): 1-15.

Hunt, Shelby D. and Robert M. Morgan (1996) "The resource-advantage theory of competition: Dynamics, path dependencies, and evolutionary dimensions." *Journal of Marketing*. 60 (October): 107-114.

Ibodje S.W. and Dode, R. (2007) <u>Political Parties, Voting Pattern and National Integration</u> : Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Edited by Attahiru Jaga and Okechukwu Ibeanu, NPSA.

Iroka, N,(2003),"Revisiting the General Election and the People's Reactions,"Daily Champion, June,30.

Irvin, Robert A. and Edward G. Michaels (1989) "Core skills: Doing the right things right." *The McKinsey Quarterly*. (Summer): 4-19.

Itami, H. (2001) *Mobilising Invisible Assets*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Iwebunor, O. (2003) The West and the Politics of Monitoring the 2003 Election: In *Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria*, (Ed), 265-290

Iyiegbuniwe, P. C. (2005). "The Impact of Managerial Perception of Environmental Characteristics on Marketing Strategies, and Performance of Quoted Firms in Nigeria". A Ph.D dissertation, University of Lagos.

Jackson, Jr. T. E. (2004), "Brand Marketing in today's Clustered Political Marketplace", www.findaricles.com/cf_dis/m2519/4_24/100543191/p1/article.jhtml.

Jacobsen, Robert (1988) 'Distinguishing among the competing theories of the market share effect.' *Journal of Marketing*. 52 (October): 68-80.

Jacobsen, Robert and David A. Aaker (1985) 'Is market share all it's cracked up to be?' *Journal of Marketing*. 48 (Fall): 11-22.

Jaworski, B. J., & Kohli, A. K. (1993). Market Orientation: Antecedents and Consequences. *Journal of Marketing.* 57 (July), 53-70.

Johansen, H. (forthcoming) 'Political Marketing: More than Persuasive Techniques – An Organizational Perspective'.

Johanson, Jan and Finn Wiedersheim-Paul (1975) 'The internationalization of the firm: Four Swedish cases.' *Journal of Management Studies*. 12 (October): 305-322.

Johanson, Jan and Jan-Erik Vahlne (1977) 'The internationalization process of the firm – a model of knowledge development and increasing foreign market commitments.' *Journal of International Business Studies*. 8 (Spring): 23-32.

Johanson, J. K. (2000), Global Marketing Foreign Entry, local Marketing & Global Management, Boston: McGraw-Hill Companies Inc.

Johnson, D. W. (2001). No Place for amateurs. New York: Routledge.

Kaid, L.L. (1999) "Political Advertising," in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 423-438.

Kavanagh, D. (1995), Election Campaigning: the New Marketing of Politics, Oxford: Blackwell.

Kavanagh, D. (2003), "Party Democracy and Political Marketing: No Place for amateurs?" www.kas.de/upload/dokumente/einbahnstrasse/kavanagh_._party   -democracy_and_politics_marketing df.

Kay, John (1993) "The structure of strategy." *Business Strategy Review*. 4: 17-37.

Kieh, G.Jr(1999), "Democratization in Africa; A Balance Sheet"in John Makun Mbaku(ed.) Preparing Africa

Kotler, P. FOR (1972) "A Generic Concept of Marketing." *Journal of Marketing 36*: 46-54 (April)

Kotler, P. (1979) "Strategies for Introducing Marketing into Nonprofit Organisations." *Journal of Marketing 43* (January): 37-44.

Kotler, P. (1991) *Strategies Marketing for Non-profit Organisations*. 4th Ed, Prentice-Hall.

Kotler, Philip (1994) *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, Implementation, and Control*. Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kotler, P. (1995), *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, Implementation, And Control*,8 ed., New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

Kotler, P., Amstrong G., Senders J., Wong, N. (1999), Principles of Marketing, London. Prentice Hall

Lado, Augustine A., Nancy G. Boyd and Peter Wright (1992) "A competency-based model of sustainable competitive advantage: Toward a conceptual integration." *Journal of Management.* 18 (March): 77-91.

Lees-Marshment, J. (1996) "The Marriage of Politics and Marketing", *Political studies*, Vol. 49. Pp. 692-713.

Lees-Marshment, J. (1999) "Marketing the British Conservatives 1997-2001" *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 17, pp. 929-941.

Lees-Marshment, J. (2001), Political Marketing and British Political Parties, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Lippman, S.A. and Richard P. Rumelt (1982) "Uncertain imitability: An analysis of interfirm differences in efficiency under competition." *Bell Journal of Economics.* 13 (Autumn): 418-438.

Mahoney, Joseph T. and J. Rajendran Pandian (1992) "The resource-based view within the conversation of strategic management." *Strategic Management Journal*. 13 (June): 363-380.

Maarek, P. (1992), Political Marketing and Communication, London: John Libby

Maarek, P. (1995), Political Marketing and Communication, London: John Libby

Mauser, G. A. (1983), Political Marketing: An Approach to Campaign Strategy, New York: Praeger.

McCarthy, J, (1960) "Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach Ontario Irwin-Dorsey Ltd.

McDonald, M. H. B, (1989), "ten Barriers to Marketing Planning", Journal of Marketing Management, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp.1-18.20

Mintzberg, H. (1987) "Five Ps of Strategy", *California Management Review*.

Mitchell, P. & Dave, R. (1999) "Media Polls, Candidates, and Campaigns," in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp.177-195.

Morgan, R. E., & Katsikeas, C. S., Appiah-Adu, K. (1998). Market Orientation and Organizational Learning Capabilities. *Journal of Marketing Management.* Vol. 14, Pp. 353-   381.

Musa, B(2003), I'm a Witness to Rigging" Daily Champion, May18.

Newman, B. I. (1994). The Marketing of the President: Political Marketing as Campaign Strategy. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Newman, B; J. Sheth (1985), 'A Model of Primary Voter Behaviour in Newman, B. and J. Sheth, Political Marketing, eds., Chicago: American Marketing Association.

Niffenegger, P.B. (1989) "Strategies for Success from the Political Marketers", Journal of Consumer Marketing, Vol. 6. No. 1, pp.45-51.

Nimmo D. (1999)"The Permanent Campaign Marketing as a Governing Tool in Newman, 13.1 (Ed), Handbook of Political Marketing. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

Nwabueze, B.(1993), Election Rigging and Democracy in Nigeria", Daily Champion, May 20

Nzeribe, (1998) <u>Marketing Dimensions of Politics in Marketing Politics</u>: Advertising Strategies & Tactics Lagos APCON.

Nzimiro (1992) <u>Marketing and Politics</u>, APCON Publications, Vol.4

O'Cass (2001) "Political Marketing: An Investigation of the Political Marketing Concept and Political Marketing Orientation in Australian Politics", *European Journal of Marketing.* Vol.35, No. 9/10. pp. 1003-1025.

Ogbeide. M,(2003), "A Survey of Democratic Elections in Nigeria since 1979" in S.O.Arifalo and Gboyega Ajayi (eds) Essays in Contemporary Nigerian History, Lagos: First Academy Press

Ohiwerei (2002) Branding in Politics, APCON Publications, Vol. 4.

Okocha, C(2003),"Polls: EU"s Report out to Destabilise Nigeria-INEC" Thisday, April 30.

Ologbodiyan, K.(2003),"EU Election Report: ANPP Senators Stage Walk out over Debate",Thisday, June 27.

Olukotun, A.(2003), "Observers, the Media and the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria" in Remi Anifowose and Tunde Babawale(eds),2003 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria.

Onyeka, N(2002): Reducing Malpractices in our Electoral Processes; Presentations at Civic Education Workshops in Anambra State organized bythe Civil Rights Concern and TMG, United Nations Electoral Assistance Division, Enugu;CRC Publishers.

O'Shaughnessy, N.J. & Holbrook, M.B. (1988) "What U.S. Businesses can Learn from Political Marketing", *The Journal of Applied Business Research,* Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 98-109.

O'Shaughnessy, N. J, (1990), *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing,* Houndmills: McMillan.

Osuagwu, L.C. (2008) Political Marketing: Conceptualization, Dimension & Research Agenda; *Journal Marketing Intelligence and Planning* (UK), Vol. 26 Issue 7. Pp.793-801.

Palamountain, J.C. (1985) '<u>The Politics of Distribution</u>', Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.

Palmer, A. (1994), *Principles of Services Marketing*, London: McGraw-Hill.

Palmer, J. (2002) "Smoke and Mirrors: Is that the Way it is? Themes in Political Marketing," *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 24, pp.345-363.

Panebianco, A. (1988) *Political Parties' Organisation and Power*, Cambridge University Press.

Peter Drucker (1990) Managing the Non-profit Organisation. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Perloff, R.M. (1999) "Elite, Popular, and Merchandised Politics," in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 19-40.

Penrose, Edith (1959) *The Theory of Growth of the Firm*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Peteraf, Margaret A. (1993) "The cornerstones of competitive advantage: A resource-based view." *Strategic Management Journal*. 14 (March): 179-191.

Prahalad, C.K. and Gary Hamel (1990) "The core competence of the corporation." *Harvard Business Review*. 68 (May-June): 79-91.

Quinn J.B. (1980) Strategies for Change. Logical Incrementalism: Richard D. Irwin Inc.

Rao, S. & Perry, C., (2002) "Thinking about relationship marketing: where are we now?" *The Journal of Business and Industrial Marketing,* Vol. 17, No. 7, pp.599.

Reed, Richard and Robert J. DeFillippi (1990) "Casual ambiguity, barriers to imitation and sustainable competitive advantage." *Academy of Management Review*. 15 (January): 88-102.

Reich, Robert B. (1991) *The Work of Nations*. New York: Vintage Books.

Reid (1988) 'Marketing the Political products', European Journal of Marketing. Vol. 22. No.9. pp. 34-47.

Reilly, B. (2006) Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone Societies: Taylor and Francis Democratization, Vol. 13, No.5

Ries, A. and Jack Trout (1982) *Positioning: The Battle for your Mind*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.

Robins, James and Margarethe F. Wiersema (2001) 'A resource-based approach to the multi-business firm: Empirical analysis of portfolio interrelationships and corporate financial performance.' *Strategic Management Journal*. 16 (May): 277-299.

Robinson, Joan (1933) *The Economics of Imperfect Competition*. London: MacMillan Press.

Rosenbaum, M. (1997), *From Soapbox to Sundbite:* Party Political Campaigning in Britain since 1945, London: McMillan.

Rumelt, Richard P. (1984) "Towards a strategic theory of the firm." *In Competitive Strategic Management*. Ed. Richard B. Lamb. Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Rumelt, Richard P. (1987) "Theory, strategy and entrepreneurship." *In the Competitive Challenge*. Ed. David J. Teece. New York: Harper & Row.

Rumelt, Richard P., Dan Schendel and David J. Teece (1991) 'Strategic management and economics. *Strategic Management Journal.* 12 (Winter Special Issue): 5-29.

Sarwate, (1990)

Scammel, M. (1994) "The Phenomenon of Political Marketing: The Thatcher Contribution." *Contemporary Record* 8(1): 23-43 (Summer).

Scammel, M. (1996) "Political marketing and party development in Britain: A 'secret' history European Journal of Marketing 30 (10/11): 100-111.

Scammell, M. (1999) 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science', *Political Studies,* XLVII, 718-739.

Scammell, M. (2004), "Citizen Consumers: Towards a New Marketing of Politics?" Mailo: media@lse London School of Economics.

Schendel, Dan (1985) "Strategic management and strategic marketing: what's strategic about either one." *In Strategic Marketing and Management*. Eds. Howard Thomas and David Gardner. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 41-63.

Schoemaker, Paul J. (1990) "Strategy, complexity and economic rent." Management Science. 36 (October): 1178-1192.

Schoemaker, Paul J. (1992) 'How to link strategic vision to core capabilities.' *Sloan Management* Review. 34 (Fall): 67-81.

Schneider, S. and De Meyer, A. (1991) "Interpreting and responding to strategic issues." *Strategic Management Journal*. 12 (July): 307-320.

Schnur, D. (1999) "Greater than the Sum of its Parts," in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 143-158.

Selznick, Philip (1957) *Leadership in Administration*. New York: Harper & Row.

Shea, D.M. (1996) Campaign Craft: The Strategies, Tactics and Art of Political Campaign Management, USA. Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT.

Sherman, E. (1999)"Direct Marketing: How does it Work for Political Campaigns?," in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 365-388.

Sherman, E. & Schiffman, L.G (2002) "Political Marketing Research in the 2000 U.S. Election," *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 1, No. 2/3, pp. 53-68.

Shan, Weijan and William Hamilton (1991) 'Country-specific advantage and international cooperation.' *Strategic Management Journal.* 12 (September): 419-432.

Slater, S. F., & Narver, J. C. (1999). Research Notes and Communications: Market Orientation is more the being Customer-led. *Strategic Management Journal.* Vol. 20. (12) Pp. 1165.

Slater, S. F., & Narver, J. C. (2000). Intelligence Generation and Superior Customer Value. *Academic of Marketing Science Journal.* Vol. 28. (1) Pp. 12.-128.

Smith M.J. (1994) "Neil Kinnock and Modernization of the Labor Party", Contemporary Record, Vol. 8 No. 3, pp. 555-556.

Smith G. & Hirst, A. (2001) "Strategic Political Segmentation," *European Journal of Marketing,* Vol. 35, No.9/10, pp. 1058-1073.

Smith G. & Saunders, J. (1990) "The Application of Marketing of British Politics", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 5 No. 3, Spring, pp. 295-306.

Sparrow, S. E. (1996), *Parties and their Members. Organizing for Victory in Britain and Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sparrow, S.E. & Tunner, J. (2001) The Permanent Campaign: The Integration of Market Research Techniques in Developing Strategies in a More Uncertain Political Climate," *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 35, No. 9/10, pp. 984-1002.

Spero, R. (1980), *The Dumping of the American Voter,* New York: Lippincott & Crowell.

Stalk, George, Philip Evans and Lawrence E. Schulman (1992) "Competing on capabilities: The new rules of corporate strategy." *Harvard Business Review*. 70 (March-April): 57-69.

Stanton, W.J. (2003) Fundamentals of Marketing (10th ed.) McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Teece, David J. (1986) 'Firm boundaries, technological innovation and strategic management.' *In the Economics of Strategic Planning*. Ed. L.G. Thomas. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 187-199.

Teece, David J., Gary Pisano and Amy Shuen (1997) "Dynamic capabilities and strategic management." *Strategic Management Journal*. 18 (August): 509-533.

Thompson, H. S. (1973), *Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail,* New York: Popular Library.

Thompson & Strickland (2001) The Concept of Corporate Strategy: Rev.ed. Homeword III Richard D. Irwin Chapter 1.

University of New Orleans, Department of Marketing, Colleges of Business Administration (2003), "Welcome to an Exciting Career! Services marketing", *http://www.uno.edu/~coba/mktg/gr/index.html*.

Usman, Y(2003), "Presidential Elections: Factors to Ponder", Daily Champion, May 5.

Walker, O. Boyd, H. and Lawrence, J. (1996) Marketing Strategy: Planning and Implementation, Boston Irwin McGraw Hill.

Wernerfelt, Birger (1984) "A resource-based view of the firm." *Strategic Management Journal*. 5 (April-June): 171-180.

Wernerfelt, Birger (1989) "From critical resources to corporate strategy." *Journal of General Management*. 14 (Spring): 4-12.

Wernerfelt, Birger (1995) 'The resource-based view of the firm: Ten years after.' *Strategic Management Journal*. 16 (March): 171-174.

White, J. and de Chernatony, L. (2002) "New Labour: A Study of the Creation, Development and Demise of a Political Brand," *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 1, No. 2/3, pp. 45-52.

Worlu, R. E. (2005). "Exploring Marketing Mix Elements in Nigerian Politics". A Ph.D Seminar delivered in Covenant University.

Wortman, M. (1989) *Political Marketing: A Modern Party Strategy*, PhD Dissertation, European University Institute, Florence.

Wring, D. (1996), "Political Marketing and Party Development in Britain – a 'Secret History'", *European Journal of Marketing,* Vol 30, No 10/1, pp.100-111.

Wring, D. (1997), "Reconciling Marketing with Political Science: Theories of Political Marketing", *Proceedings from the Academic of Marketing Conference, Manchester,* Metropolitan University, Manchester.

Wring, D. (2002a) "Conceptualising Political Marketing: A Framework for Election-Campaigning analysis," in N.J.O'Shaughnessy and S.C. Henneberg (Eds.), *The Idea of Political Marketing*, Praeger, Westport, pp. 171-185.

Wring, D. (2002b) "Images of Labour: The Progression and Politics of Party Campaigning in Britain", *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 1, No. 1. Pp. 23-37.

Daily Champion, Thursday, May 1,2003.

Thisday, May 2, 2003

Thisday, May 5, 2003

Thisday, June 18, 2003.

Vanguard, Monday, May 26, 2003.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0   Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used in this study which include the research design, population, sampling technique and procedure, sources of data, data collection techniques, research instruments, validity and reliability of research instruments and method of data analysis.

3.1   Research Methods

This study adopted the two of the most commonly used research methods(i.e. the survey, and ex-post facto methods) The nature of this study is such that a combination of the two approaches is expedient because of their capacity in collecting large and standardized data. This standardized data provide information that answers the research questions. This was preceded by a pilot study on a sample of politicians and voters to obtain preliminary information on the subject matter of the study.

The respondents for this work are officials and electorates of the four dominant parties purposively selected from the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. The zones and the states involved are: South-South (Rivers State), South-West (Lagos) South-East (Anambra State), North-West (Zamfara), North-Central (Niger State), and North-East (Bauchi and Bornu State). Cross-sectional type of research design was also employed because of the involvement of different parties and states in this study.

3.2   Research Design

The research design adopted for this study was majorly the survey method. This is a research procedure for collecting a large amount of raw data using question-and-answer formats (Hair et al, 2000:13). The survey research methods tend to be the mainstay of marketing research in general and are associated with and suitable for descriptive and causal research situations (Asika, 1991:71).

The choice of survey for this study was informed by its applicability for collecting standardized data that allows a researcher to create information for precisely answering the how, who, what, where and when questions concerning political market factors and

conditions. Besides, the data structures created from survey methods can increase the researcher's ability to make generalized inferences about the defined target population as a whole. The data generated in a survey can also be analyzed in many different ways according to the diversity of the variables.

Furthermore, the use of survey offered the researcher the advantage of collecting data that are amenable to advanced statistical techniques such as the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) used in this study. Secondly, it was possible to tap into factors or concepts that are not directly observable such as perception of the role of marketing strategies. The ease of administration of the research instruments also made the survey most attractive for this research.

3.3: Population of Study

Although the number of political parties in Nigeria has now risen to 54 (and may still increase), the study focused on the 30 political parties that participated in the 2003 general elections as confirmed by the Independent National Electoral Commission (Okerechime, 2007:105). The table below shows the parties.

Table 3.1:   Political Parties in 2003

S/N	ACRONYM	FULL NAME
1.	AD	Alliance for Democracy
2.	ANPP	All Nigerian People's Party
3.	APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
4.	APLP	All Peoples Libration Party
5.	ARP	African Renaissance Party
6.	BNPP	Better Nigerian Progressive Party
7.	CPN	Community Party of Nigeria
8.	DA	The Democratic Alternative
9.	GPN	The Green Party of Nigeria
10.	JP	Justice Party
11.	LDPN	Liberal Democratic Party of Nigeria
12.	MFJ	Movement for Democracy and Justice
13.	MMN	Masses Movement of Nigeria
14.	NAC	National Action Council
15.	NAP	Nigeria Advance Party
16.	NCP	National Conscience Party
17.	ND	New Democrats
18.	NDP	National Democratic Party
19.	NMMN	National Mass Movement of Nigeria
20.	NNPP	New Nigerian peoples Party
21.	NPC	Nigerian Peoples Party
22.	NRP	National Reformation Party
23.	PAC	Progressive Action Congress
24.	PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
25.	PMP	Peoples Mandate Party
26.	PRP	Peoples Redemption Party
27.	PSD	Party of Social democracy
28.	PSP	Peoples Salvation Party
29.	UDP	United Democratic Party
30.	UNPP	United Nigeria Peoples Party

Source: INEC, 2003

The choice of 2003 general elections as the basis of this study was informed by the facts that|: (i) It was the first civilian election since Nigerian independence to survive Military intervention and circumvention. In other words, 2003 was the year a civilian administration conducted elections without the outcome leading to a military takeover. Those of 1964 and1983 were trailed by crises that eventually led to the collapse of those two republics in January 1966 and December 1983 respectively (Iloh and Mike, 2009:98) (ii). It was the first election to be heavily monitored by both local and international observers with a verdict of success (Olukotun, 2003:265). (iii) It was the first time Nigeria's political space was enlarged to accommodate as many as 30 political parties. (iv)It was the first time Nigerians witnessed the application of information and communication technology into election processes, and this culminated in the adoption of electronic voters register which addressed the problem of multiple registration associated with past voters' register (Guobadia, 2003:13).

Of all the parties listed on table 3.1 above, the study was restricted to four political parties, namely Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). These parties were selected on the basis of their dominance as table 3.4 indicated. Our choice of a dominant party was guided by the stance of Hennerberg (2003:31) and Johansen (2005:67) who posited that a dominant political party is one that controls the reins of executive arm of government.

In view of the population of the two scholars, a dominant party in any state of the Nigerian federation referred to one in control of the gubernatorial seat of that state. By extrapolation, the party in control of the presidential seat of the country also qualified to be called dominant political party.

Table 3.2a: Comparative Dominance of the Parties in States and Zones

GEOPOLITICAL ZONE	STATE	PARTY IN CONTROL OF THE EXECUTIVE
South - South	Akwa-Ibom	PDP
	Bayelsa	PDP
	Cross Rivers	PDP
	Delta	PDP
	Edo	PDP
	Rivers	PDP
South - East	Abia	PDP
	Anambra	APGA
	Ebonyi	PDP
	Enugu	PDP
	Imo	PDP
South - West	Ekiti	PDP
	Lagos	AD
	Ogun	PDP
	Ondo	PDP
	Osun	PDP
	Oyo	PDP
North - East	Adamawa	PDP
	Bauchi	PDP
	Borno	ANPP
	Gombe	PDP
	Taraba	PDP
	Yobe	ANPP
North - Central	Kaduna	PDP
	Kwara	PDP
	Nasarawa	PDP
	Kogi	PDP
	Niger	PDP
	Plateau	PDP
	Benue	PDP
North - West	Sokoto	ANPP
	Kebbi	ANPP
	Zamfara	ANPP
	Katsina	PDP
	Kano	ANPP
	Jigawa	ANPP

Source: INEC Record, 2003

Table 3.2b Sampling frame of the party respondents

S/N	STATE	NO OF LGCS	POPULATION OF PARTY OFFICIALS
1	Anambra	21	1068
2	Lagos	20	1020
3	Bauchi	20	1020
4	Borno	27	1356
5	Niger	25	1260
6	Rivers	23	1164
7	Zamfara	14	732
8	FCT Abuja	6	424
	TOTAL		7944

SOURCE: PDP, AD, ANPP, APGA Official Records, 2003

3.4a Estimation of the party sample size

Guilford and Fruchter (1973:47) postulated the formula below to determine the sample size for the study of the dominant parties.

$$n = \frac{N}{\sum [(I+N (e)^2]}$$

Where;

n=the desired sample size to be determined

N=total population

e=accepted error limit (0.05) on the basis of 95% confidence level.

In our case:

N=7944

e=0.05

n=sample size

Therefore :$n = \frac{7944}{1+7944(0.05)2}$

$$n = \frac{7944}{7945(0.05)2}$$

$$n = \frac{7944}{7945(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{7944}{19.8625}$$

n= 399.9496539

approximately 400 party officials.

3.4b Estimation of the sample size of the electorate

Daniel and Terrel (2006:14) advanced the formula below to determine the sample size for estimating means:

$$n = \frac{Z^2\ r^2}{d^2}$$

thus from the pilot survey that preceded the study ,the following values were generated:

Z=level of confidence =1.96

r= population of variability(variance)-(standard deviation)^2=73.10

d=discrepancy to be tolerated between the true value of estimated parameter (i.e. voter-focused strategic flexibility).This is one-half of the desired internal width which is 40.

Therefore $n = \frac{(1.96)^2(73.10)^2}{40}$

n = 400.769

approximately 400 voters.

The sample for this study consisted of 800 respondents: 400 of these respondents were randomly drawn from the 4 dominant political parties. These party respondents consisted of party officials at the national, state, and local government levels in the selected states. The other sample of 400 respondents from the electorate consisted of all eligible voters in the selected states. Table 3.3 below indicates the results of April 19, 2003 presidential elections which lends credence to the proportion of dominance by parties.

Table 3.3: The Result of April 19, 2003 Presidential Elections

PARTY	CANDIDATES	SCORED NOTES	TOTAL % OF VOTES	QUOTAS VALID
PDP	Olusegun Obasanjo	24,109,159	61.80	29 of 25
ANPP	Mohammadu Buhari	12,495,326	32.03	17 of 25
APGA	Chukwuemeka Ojukwu	1,295,655	3.32	2 of 25
UNPP	Jim I. Nwobodo	166.735	0.43	0 of 25
PAC	Sarah N. Jibril	156.286	0.40	0 of 25
NCP	Ganiyu Fawehinmi	145,716	0.37	0 of 25
NDP	Ike O.S. Nwachukwu	130,806	0.34	0 of 25
APLP	Osita Emmanuel Okereke	126,212	0.03	0 of 25
JP	Chris Ogeneborie Okotie	119,220	0.03	0 of 25
PRP	Musa A. Balarabe	100,662	0.26	0 of 25
PMP	Agwucha A. Nwankwo	56,532	0.14	0 of 25
NNPP	Kalu Idika Kalu	23,646	0.06	0 of 25
BNPP	Ifeayinchukwu G.N.	22,524	0.06	0 of 25
MDJ	Muhammadu D.Y.	21,235	0.05	0 of 25
ARP	G.K.E. Ndu Yahaya	13,316	0.03	0 of 25
DA	Antonia A.J. Ferreira	8,367	0.02	0 of 25
NAP	Tunji Braithwaite	6,834	0.02	0 of 25
NAC	Olapade (R.O.) Agoro	5,735	0.01	0 of 25
LDPN	Christopher P. Ajuwa	4,408	0.01	0 of 25
MMN	Mojisola A. Obasanjo	3,699	0.01	0 of 25

Source: Tell (Lagos), May 5, 2003, P.25

The last column of table 3.3 (i.e quotas valid) indicates that the Leader Party (PDP) scored at least 25% of the total votes cast in 29 out of 36 States. The Challenger Party (ANPP) scored at least 25% of the total votes cast in 17 out of 36 States. The Nicher Party (APGA) scored at least 25% of the votes cast in 2 out of 36 States.

In view of the need for some degree of randomness of data and non-availability of complete sample frame occasioned by non-participation of AD in the presidential polls, the researcher relied on the fact that AD was in control of the reins of executive arm of government in Lagos state to include it as a dominant party in line with the view of Henneberg, (1996:91) This is shown in table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4:   Proportion of Party Dominance Based on 2003 Presidential Elections

PARTY	VOTES SCORED	TOTAL % OF VOTES	QUOTAS VALID
PDP	24,109,159	66.80	29 OF 25
ANPP	12,495,326	32.03	17 OF 25
APGA	1,295,655	3.32	2 OF 25
AD	-	-	-

Source: Tell (Lagos), May 5, 2003, p.25

3.5 Sampling Technique and Procedure

The study adopted a combination of methods in selecting samples. One is probability sample selection method in which stratified and cluster techniques were employed. The other was

non-probability sample selection method whereby convenience, quota, and judgmental samples were generated. In applying the above methods, the whole country was stratified into six geopolitical zones. Each zone formed a cluster whereby a particular state was purposively selected as sample unit. In selecting the samples, the researcher avoided states where gross electoral irregularities were reported by local and international election observers (Vanguard 26 May, 2003).

The Federal Capital Territory (Abuja) was included as the seventh cluster where a sample of 40 respondents was taken because these parties have their head-quarters in Abuja where strategic policies affecting the conduct and practice of political marketing are evolved. In all , 800 copies of the questionnaire were administered.

3.6a Instrumentation and Data Collection

Leedy (1980:114) in Opara (1994:132) argued that "data sometimes lie buried deep within the minds or within the attitudes, feelings or reactions of the men and women. And that like oil beneath the sea, the first problem is to devise a tool to probe below the surface". He concluded that the questionnaire is a popular instrument which observers use to discover the data. Hence, the personal interviews, but mainly questionnaire: applied to this study.

Respondents were requested to respond to questions in a self administered, quick-answer, structured (close-ended) and unstructured (open-ended) copies of questionnaire.

The use of mainly structured questionnaire was to enhance uniformity of response bearing in mind that the degree of variations in behaviour is likely to be high when dealing with such complex constructs like politics and strategy.

The questionnaire was adapted from a combination of sources: One was from that originally developed by Conant, Mokwa, and Varadarajan (1990:156) to operationalize the miles and snow strategic typology. The other represented a qualitative adaptation and modification of the 20 - item of construct by Narver and Slater (1990:20; 1994:35). Qualitative adaptation of modified versions of Narver and Slater (1990:20; 1994:36) construct in country – specific studies are evidenced in Appiah – Adu and Ranchhood, (1998:197); Deng and Dart, (1994:724); Gray et al, (1999:645); Kumar, Liu, Luo and Shi, (2001:201); and Subramanian and Yauger, (1999:213).

This combination of methods was well suited for obtaining in-depth responses, especially for providing broad insight into a political party's marketing strategies with emphasis on the election-induced influences in the country context. The questions were in two sets. The first set pertains to the political marketing practitioners. The second set was to elicit the views of the electorate.

The first set of questionnaire has five sections which captured the four objectives of the study in addition to the profile of the respondents viz:

(i).   The role of marketing mix strategies in electoral politics.

(ii).   Perception of political marketing strategies by parties and electorates

(iii).   Contents of competitive marketing strategies most in use

(iv).   An assessment of the market growth strategies of the parties under consideration.

Section A of the questionnaire contains two questions, which measure the role of marketing strategies in electoral politics. The questions identified the role of marketing strategies in politics as perceived by the parties and their electorates.

Respondents were to determine the extent to which each of these roles applied to Nigeria's democratic ideals on a five-point Likert Scale ranging from "SA" = 5, through to "SD" = 1point.

Section B focused on the perception of the role of marketing strategies in electoral politics.

In **Section C** of the questionnaire, the questions used represented a qualitative adaptation and modification of the 20- item construct by Narver and Slater (1990:20; 1994:35). The items were based on the seven Ps of marketing and market segmentation, targeting and positioning (STP).

Each of the questions in this section C of the questionnaire interrogated the contents of competitive marketing strategies that a political party could use to position itself in the political market. Respondents were required to indicate on the 7 points Scale provided; whether each item described the kind of marketing strategy their political party used to pursue the attainment of its objectives.

Section D of the questionnaire was a multidimensional construct adopted to measure on comparative basis the market growth strategies as well as the political marketing orientations of Nigerian dominant political parties. The 'paragraph' method has been the most widely used approach to operationalize and measure Miles and Snow's strategic typology. In this

125

research there are nine behavioural dimensions as explicated in the Miles and Snow's adaptive cycle model. For each of the nine dimensions, there are four distinct response options. Each response option characterized a specific distinctive archetypal adaptive stance relative to the dimension.

Respondents were required to read short paragraph-length descriptions of each of the three political market expansion strategies; and then select the one that most closely characterizes their political party. This "self reporting" approach, as it is also called, is acknowledged as an appropriate method in the conduct of strategy research. Among its merit is that respondents can complete it quickly and the researcher easily makes categorization decisions.

The marketing skill of the respondents and their political parties ought to be aptly captured on the election result released by INEC, but due to its controversial nature in some cases **Section E** of the questionnaire was put in place to assess the level of their political marketing effectiveness relative to their competitors. The parties' effectiveness here was measured in eight dimensions based on 2003 general elections:

(a)   Vote-share

(b)   Size of membership .

(c)   Competitive strength.

(d)   Conflict management.

(e)   Internal marketing

(f)   Mass mobilization

(g)   Responsive leadership

(h)   Ideological relevance

Respondents were requested to indicate the estimation of their party's performances relative to the performance of other parties on a five-point scale ranging from lowest 100%; lower 100%; middle 100%; next 100%; to top 100%.

The second set of the questionnaire had four (4) sections. The first section focused on the role of marketing strategies in electoral politics. This was presented on 7-point scale. Section B focused on the perception of the role of marketing strategies in politics.

Section C of this questionnaire assesses the marketing strategies that the party has been using to position itself in the political market. Respondents were to indicate on a 7-point scale provided, whether each item described the kind of marketing strategies which the ruling party

in their state of origin or residence uses to pursue its objectives. Section D measures the effectiveness of the strategies based on five (5) criteria: Vote-share, size of membership, competitive position, ideological relevance, party growth.

3.6b Questionnaire Administration and Field Work

The administration of the questionnaire was undertaken using the following procedures:

(i). Copies of the questionnaire were distributed (by the researcher or his assistants) at the selected sites (location) to respondents. In order to be successful in this direction, the co-operation of the respondents was solicited in the course of the administration.

(ii). In the course of the questionnaire administration, selected respondents were intimated with the purpose of the study and their participation was sought in the form of appeal.

(iii). This was followed by a short interview intended to ascertain whether the respondents had adequate qualification and experience to respond to the questionnaire.

(iv). Having succeeded in (iii) above, the respondents' were required to fill out the questionnaire uninterrupted. They were, however, assisted where and when necessary, but with utmost caution to ensure that responses were not influenced through unnecessary suggestions from the researcher. By so doing, researcher's bias was averted.

3.7 Data Analytical Technique and Interpretation

Data collected were analyzed with both manual and electronic methods using a data preparation grid and SPSS. Using the structured grids allowed specific responses to be located with relative ease and facilitate the identification of emerging patterns. (Minn and Drever, 1990:256). Descriptive statistical and content analyses were used in analyzing the collected data (Asika, 1991:71; Osuagwu, 2002:801, Otokiti, Olateju and Adejumo, 2007:13). By using descriptive analysis, the researcher was able to calculate the mean, frequency distribution, and percentage analysis of the study.

Opara (1994:132) recalls that the application of percentages to studies of this ilk was underscored by Freud and William (1974:93), when they observed that the percentages of the

total number of cases that fell into a given class are often more interesting to deal with when samples are involved than just knowing the actual frequency.

The rational for the foregoing was to order and break data into constituent parts so as to obtain answers to the research questions and hypotheses to the understanding of informed readership.

Further to the above, the analysis of data involved the use of Chi-square and ANOVA since more than two variables were compared. The essence was to crystallize the findings. The study also adopted CETSCALE to measure certain construct. CETSCALE was developed and psychometrically validated by Vida and Amitrovic (2001:379)

3.8 Validity Test

The research instrument was adapted from multi-item scale instruments developed by Conant, Mokwa, and Varadarajan (1990) to operationalize the Miles and Snow's strategic typology. There has also been a qualitative adaptation of Narver and Slater (1990, 1994) constructs into this study.

Although the above two constructs had been tested for validity in many recent studies, the questionnaire in this study was additionally submitted to two separate panels of four Professors and researchers. These researchers were sourced from Rivers State University of Science and Technology, and University of Port Harcourt, all in Port Harcourt, as well as University of Lagos and Lagos State University, in Lagos. These panels comprised of individuals with backgrounds and expertise in marketing. These experts vetted the set of questions to establish further validity and credibility assurance, by advising and commenting on the questionnaires' design to ensure overall relevance and congruence with case context.

Much as this model extended the (Narver and Slater, 1990:20; 1994:35) market orientation model, whose validity and reliability had been proved in different studies, it also supported a recent study by Philemon (2003:17) which concluded by proposing an environmental model of political marketing orientation of parties.

Presuming a fundamental link between Nigeria's political environment and changes in individual party's adoption of market orientation strategies, consequence case explanations about strategic changes reflect perceived change in Nigeria's political programmes. The case explanation identified some evidence of party conception, adoption and justifications of

marketing strategies implementation and subsequent effect on governance. By also assuming an explanatory relationship between marketing strategies and political environment, the conclusion of this study could, in specific instances of high proximal similarity, be used for extending theory based analytic generalization of political marketing and challenges in developing countries or nascent democracies.

The use of proximal similarity model (Trochin, 2001:73) for the purposes of limited naturalistic generalization may be useful for supporting other emergent democracies currently adopting political marketing strategies. Where a link between political environment and the ability of the individual party in sub-Saharan Africa to adopt and implement marketing strategies is established. (Appiah-Adu, 1998:197; Blankson and Appiah-Adu 1998:235; Okoafor and Kotabe, 1993:103; Philemon, 2003:17; Winston and Dadzie, 2002:65), it could be concluded that this relationship would be positive. As such, the extent of changes and justifications of marketing strategies implementation in the Nigerian democratic process (a single case study) remains a function of party-wide understanding and commitment towards political marketing orientation strategies within the context of democracy.

3.9   Further Reliability Tests

The Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient is known and widely used reliability test. Alpha ranges in value from 0 to 1; and is used to describe the reliability of factors extracted from dichotomous or multi point formulated questionnaires or scale.

Table 3.1 below shows the Alpha Coefficient for three key variables of the research: party dominance, marketing strategies, and, electorate. It shows also the values of Guttman's Split-half Reliability Test also computed here to compare and confirm the reliability of the Alpha Coefficents for the three key variables.

Statistically, values of about 0.70 are considered adequate to conclude internal consistency (Nunally, 1978:89). The results obtained here therefore indicate that the instruments used in this research are reliable.

TABLE 3.5: Reliability Estimates of the Key Variables

Variable	Cronbach's Coefficient α	Guttman's Split-Half Reliability Index
Party dominance	0.72	0.85
Marketing Strategies.	0.85	0.85
Electorate	0.70	0.79

References

Amit, R., Glosten, L. and Muller, E. (1993 "Challenges to Theory of Entrepreneurship Research". *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 30:5, 815-833.

Asika, N. (1991). *Research Methodology in the Behavioural Sciences.* Ibadan: Longman Nigeria, Plc.

Bailey, K.D. (1987). *Methods of Social Research.* 3rd Edition, New York: The Free Press.

Bannock, G. (1981). *The Economic of Small Firms: Return from the Wilderness*, Oxford Basil Blackwell,

Brockhaus, R.H. (1986). "Risk Taking Propensity of Entrepreneurship:. *Academy of Management Journal,* Vol. 23, No. 3.

Brockhaus, R.H. and Horwitz, P.S. (1986). The Psychology of the Entrepreneur in D.L. Sexton, and R.W. Similor (Eds), Women-owned Business, New York: Praeger.

Brunstein, J.C., and Maier, G.W. (2005). "Implicit and self-attributed motives to achieve: Two separate but interacting need". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89,205-222.*

Chein, I. (1981). An Introduction to Sampling. *In Research Methods in Social Relations,* 4th ed., L.H. Kidder, New York: Holt, Rinechart and Winston.

Cronbach, L.(1951) Coefficient Alpha and Internal Structure of Test. Psychometrika 16:297-334

Czaja, R. (1998). "Questionnaire Pretesting Comes of Age", Marketing Bulletin, Vol. 9, Pp. 52-66.

Daniel, C. & Terrell, D.(2006) Business Statistics. New York: Prentice-Hall

Denison, D. and Alexander, J. (1986). "Patterns and Profiles of Entrepreneurs: Data from Entrepreneurship Forums". Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research. Ed. Robert Ronstadt Hornday, Rein Perterson, and Karl Vesper. Wellsley, Mass: Babson Center for Entrepreneurial Studies, 758-593.

Dubini, P. (1988). "The Influence of Motivations and Environment on Business Startups: some Hints for Public Policies". *Journal of Business Ventu1ring* 4, 11-26.

Ekpo-Ufot, A. (1992). The State of the Arts of Finance-Accounting Management in Some Lagos Organizations in the Chemical Industry: An Exploratory Study, in Ojo, J.A.T (ed.), *Business Performance Improvement Through Cost Management,* Lagos: University of Lagos Press.

Gartner, W.B., Mitchell, T.M. and Vesper, K.H. (1989). Taxonomy of New Business Ventures. *Journal of Business Venturing,* Vol. 4, No. 3, 169-186.

Gelin, M. (2005). "The Importance of Gender in Starting and Managing a Small Business". *Houston Psychiatric Society*, June.

Goode, W. J. and Hatt, P.K. (1952). *Methods in Social Research*. New York: McGraw-Hall.

Guobadia, Abel,(2003), "2003 Elections: The Flaws we Noticed" Vanguard, August 13.

Hisrich, R.D. and C. Brush (1986) "Characteristics of the Minority Entrepreneurs"., Journal of Small Management, Vol. 24.

Hisrich, R.D., Micheal P.P. and Shepherd, D.A. (2005). *Entrepreneurship, International*. Ed., Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Iloh Emeka Charles and Mike Alumona I. (2009) Electoral Process and Gender Discrimination in Nigeria: A case study of 2003 & 2007 General Elections. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* Vol. 10, No 4, Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion Pennsylvania.

Kerlinger, F. (1964). *Foundations of Behavioural Research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kotz, S., Johnson, N.L. and Read, C.B. (1983). *Encyclopedia of Statistical Science*. New York: Wiley.

Munn, P. and Drever, E. (1990). *Using Questionnaires in Small-Scale Research: A Teacher's Guide*. Loanhead: Macdonald Lindsay Pinder.

Minnit, M., Allen, E., and Langouitz, N. (2006). "Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2005 Report on Women and Entrepreneurship". *GEM Publication*.

Ogundele, O.J and Opeifa, A.Z. (2003). "Factors that Influence the Emergence, Behaviour and Performance of Entrepreneurs in Nigeria", *The Abuja Management Review*, Vol. 1, Issue No. 2, June.

Ojo, J.A.T. (2006). "Using SMEs to Achieve Millennium Development Goals: Challenges and Prospects". *Covenant Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, Vol. No. 1, December.

Okwechime, I. (2007), "The West and the Politics of Monitoring The 2003 Election". Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigerian Political Science Association.

Olutunla, G.T. (2001). "Entrepreneurship for Economic Development:. Inaugural Lecture Series 27, Delivered at the Federal University of Technology, Akure, Thursday, 26th April.

Otokiti, S.O. (1987). "High Technology in Small Scale Industries: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and Industrialized Countries". Ph.D. Thesis submitted to University of Delhi, New Delhi, India.

Otokiti, S.O., Olateju, O. and Adejumo, O. (2007). *Contemporary Statistical Methods*. Lagos: Vantage Publication Company.

Osuagwu, L. (2000). "The Marketing Research Practices of Nigerian Companies: An Exploratory Study", Journal of African Business, Vol. 3(1), Pp. 81-107.

Phillips, B.S. (1976). *Social Research: Strategy and Tactics*. 2nd Ed. New York: Macmillian.

Ronstadt, R. (1984). "The Corridor Principle". Journal of Business Venturing, Vol. Pp. 3:31- 40.

Rosin, H. and Karen K. (1990). "Marital and Family Correlates of Women Managers' Attrition from Organizations". *Journal of Vocational Behaviour,* 37, 104-120.

Shane, S, L Kolvereid, and Westhead, P. (1991). "An Exploratory Examination of the Reasons Leading to New Firm Formation across Country and Gender". Journal of Business Venturing, Vol. 6, 431-446.

Sari, K., and A. Trihopoulou (2005). "Female Entrepreneurs' Personal Characteristics and Motivation: A Review of the Greek Situation, "Women *in Management Review* Vol. 20(1), Pp. 24.36.

Selltiz, C., Wrightsman, L. and Cook, S. (1976). *Research Methods in Social Relations*. 3rd Ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Shimp, T.A., Sharma, S. (1987). "Consumer ethnocentrism: construction and validation of the CETSCALE", Journal of Marketing Research 24 (August). Pp.280-289

Singleton, R.A., Straits, B.C. and Straits, M.M. (1992). *Approaches to Social Research*. 2nd Ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Timmons, J.A. (1978). "Characteristics and Role Demands of Entrepreneurship", American Journal of Small Business Vol.3, Pp.5-17.

Zikmund, W.G. (1994). Business Research Methods, Florida: The Dryden Press.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.1   Introduction

Data for this study were collected in two phases. Data for phase one were collected from sample of four political parties considered to be dominant among the thirty political parties that participated in the 2003 general election in Nigeria. Data were collected through the questionnaire instrument in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria and Abuja. Probability sampling was obtained utilizing a geographical area sampling methodology within the selected zones whereby a state was chosen in each geographical zone according to their proportion of dominance (see Table 3.4 in chapter three).

Consequently, four hundred copies of the questionnaire were administered to the four dominant parties to confirm whether marketing strategies applied to their activities and if they were capable of improving significantly the level of electorate support. A total of 315 copies were returned, of which 298 were complete and usable resulting in a net response rate of 74.5%. 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, 1994:725; Felton 1959:55), 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, 1990:17; Mavondo, 2005:256; Miles and Snow, 1978:254)

In the second phase of the research, data were collected from the residents of the states where the parties being studied controlled, out of the 400 copies of questionnaire administered, 311 were returned. After editing, only 300 were found usable and suitable for our purpose. This also amounted to 75% response rate. For both phases of the research, 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 phase one of the study are presented in table 4.1. In all parties more than half of the participants were male with the share of male respondents being highest (60.4%). The party 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 in these areas.

TABLE 4.1 Sample Characteristics of Party Questionnaire (Members)

	PDP	ANPP	AD	APGA	TOTAL
Number of target respondents*	200	120	40	40	400
Share of actual respondents	150	80	35	33	298
Share of response rate (%)	75	66.7	87.5	82.5	74.5
Share of male (in %)	60.4	54.0	50.5	50.7	53.9
Share of female (in %)	39.6	46.0	49.5	49.3	46.1
Average age in years(standard deviation in bracket)	(17.68)	(16.09)	(14.12)	(12.56)	(15.44)
Respondents who completed university education (in %)	26.4	14.5	36.5	17.3	24.4
Share of respondents who are married (in %)	62.7	55.0	43.5	37.6	48.6
Share of respondents who hold office in the party and having secondary education and above.	80.5	65.5	75.5	72.5	73.5

Source: Field Survey of Dominant Parties: 2003 Elections, 2007.

Note:* Distribution according to proportion of Dominance.

Demographic characteristics of the total sample in phase two of the study are presented in table 4.2 below. The geopolitical zone subsamples are similar with respect to the age of the respondents, but differ with respect to the average level of education, employment status and relative household income. Since the data collection was limited to major cities, the sample does not correspond entirely to the characteristics of the population in the geopolitical zone compared to the general population of the geopolitical zone because people living in the cities are better educated, the employment level is higher and so is the household income. Our main motivation for limiting the survey to larger cities was only the concentration of enlightened electorate in these areas which represent the natural entry points for political parties and their candidates.

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

4.2   Results: The First and Second Phases

The results of the first phase of our data analysis are presented in the following five subsections. First we establish the role of marketing strategies in electoral politics. Then we determine the degree of homogeneity in the ways political parties and electorate perceives the role of marketing strategies.

In the third section, we probe the contents and compare the application of such marketing strategies among the identified dominant parties in Nigeria. Then we assess the effectiveness of the strategies in the context of the Nigerian political system.

As a result of this latter analysis, we then identify what can be done by the government and political parties/ candidates as well as the electorate to improve the current practice of political marketing in Nigeria.

4.2.1 The Role of Marketing Mix Strategies in Electoral Politics

Role of marketing strategies has been described as the expectations held by people about the essence of employing marketing strategies by marketers (Craven and Piercy, 2003:245). In order to establish the essence of marketing strategies in politics, this study set for itself the first objective of examining the role of marketing strategies in politics, i.e. ***"To determine the role of marketing mix strategies in party membership drive"***.

In order to achieve this objective, the study raised the first research question which can be restated as follows:

Research Question I: ***"What role do marketing mix strategies play in party politics?"***

In an attempt to answer this question, responses were sought from both the parties and electorate in the questionnaire. (See Appendices I and II). Tables 4.3 and 4.4 below summarize the responses in phase 1 (parties) while Tables 4.5 and 4.6 summarize the responses from the electorate.

Table 4.3   Role of Marketing Mix Strategies in Electoral Politics (Party Perspective)

	Responses	LP	CP	FP	NP	Total	%
a.	Emergence of credible and responsive leaders	30	13	6	6	55	**18.3**
b.	Mobilization of the people for overall development of the nation.	40	13	8	6	67	**22.7**
c.	Promote the ideals of democratic politics.	25	20	5	8	8	**19.3**
d.	Help to manage the crisis and conflicts that go with politics.	30	20	8	5	63	**20.7**
e.	Encourage political branding and mass participation in politics.	25	14	8	8	55	**18.3**
	Total	**150**	**80**	**35**	**33**	**298**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

KEY: LP= Leader Party – PDP;   CP=Challenger Party – ANPP;
          FP=Follower Party – AD;   NP= Nicher Party – APGA.

4.2.2 Interpretation of Result

The analysis of party responses on the role of marketing strategies in politics indicates a somewhat general consensus among the parties that marketing strategies are indispensable. They have identified the following as the specific roles of marketing strategies in party politics eliciting the interest of credible and responsive leaders in politics (19.3%):

- Mobilizing the people for national development (22.7%)
- Promote the ideals of democracy (19%)
- Help to manage their crises and conflicts that go with politics (20.7%)
- Encourage political branding and mass participation in politics (18.3%)

The foregoing findings are consistent with previous cross-parties studies (e.g. Coram, 2003:76; Baines et al 2003:249; Butler and Kavanagh, 1997:97; Lees-Mashment 2001:73; Osuagwu, 2008:87).

The current state of political environment requires that deliberate efforts be made to sustain the role which marketing strategies are seen to be playing. Thus question 2 of our questionnaire sought for ways of sustaining the role of marketing strategies in politics. The result is presented in Table 7.0 below:

Table 4.4: Ways of Sustaining the Role of Marketing Mix Strategies in Politics (Party Perspective).

	RESPONSES	LP (F)	CP F	FP F	NP (F)	Total	%
a.	Continuous political enlightenment	15	15	8	3	51	**17**
b.	Innovative politicians.	20	20	8	8	61	**20**
c.	Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system.	20	20	8	10	88	**30**
d.	Continuous use of marketing research and planning	25	25	15	15	98	**33**
	Total	**150**	**80**	**35**	**33**	**298**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

KEY: LP= Leader Party – PDP; CP=Challenger Party – ANPP;
FP=Follower Party – AD; NP= Nicher Party – APGA.

4.2.3 Interpretation of Result

Table 4.4 which contains the parties' responses on the ways of sustaining the role of marketing strategies in politics indicates the following:

- Continuous political enlightenment (17%)
- Innovative politicians (20%)
- Basic marketing for the operators of the political system (30%)
- Continuous use of marketing research and planning (33%)

From the result, it is crystal clear that a preponderance of the respondents believes that the roles of marketing strategies in politics can be sustained through:

- Basic Marketing Training for the operators of the political system
- Continuous use of marketing research and strategies

Table 4.5: The Role of Marketing Mix Strategies in Politics (Electorate Perspective)

	Responses	ELP Freq	ECP Freq.	EFP Freq.	ENP Freq.	Total	**%**
a.	Emergence of credible and responsive leaders	30	25	8	6	69	**22.6**
b.	Mobilization of the people for overall development of the nation.	30	20	4	5	59	**19**
c.	Help to develop nationalist ideology which forms the unifying creed of a nation.	35	20	6	4	63	**22**
d.	Promote the ideals of democratic politics.	20	20	5	7	52	**15.7**
e.	Political branding and party's public image.	40	10	8	7	6.5	**21.7**
	Total	**155**	**85**	**31**	**29**	**300**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

KEY: ELP= Electorate of Leader Party;   ECP=Electorate of Challenger Party;
EFP=Electorate of Follower Party; ENP= Electorate of Nicher Party.

4.2.4 Interpretation of Result

Consistent with the theoretical framework in this study is the view that marketing mix strategies play a number of roles in politics. From the electorates' perspective, these roles are identified as follows:

- Emergence of credible and responsive leaders (22.6%)

- Mobilization of people for overall national development (19%)

- Help to develop nationalist ideology which form the unifying creed of a nation (21%)

- Promote the ideals of democratic politics (15.7%)

- Encourage political branding and mass participation in politics (21.7%)

Table 4.6: Ways of Sustaining the Role of Marketing Strategies in Politics (Electorate Perspective)

	RESPONSES	ELP Freq.	ECP Freq.	EFP Freq.	ENP Freq.	Total	%
a.	Continuous political enlightenment	30	15	3	8	56	18.5
b.	Innovative politicians.	20	15	3	3	41	13.5
c.	Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system.	50	30	13	9	103	34.0
d.	Continuous use of marketing research and strategies	55	25	12	9	101	34.0
	Total	**155**	**85**	**31**	**29**	**300**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

KEY: ELP= Electorate of Leader Party;   ECP=Electorate of Challenger Party;
EFP=Electorate of Follower Party; ENP= Electorate of Nicher Party.

4.2.5 Interpretation of Result

The result of the electorates' responses on the sustenance of the role of marketing strategies in politics indicates the following:

- Continuous political enlightenment (18.3%)
- Innovative politicians (13.4%)
- Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system (34%)
- Continuous use of marketing research and strategies (34.3%)

4.2.6 Discussion of Result

A comparison of the results in the two phases with respect to the role of marketing strategies in politics indicates preponderance as well as of opinion in the following areas:

- Emergence of credible and responsive leaders.
- Mobilization of the people for overall development of the nation
- Help to develop nationalist ideology which form the unifying creed of a nation
- Promotion of the ideals of democratic politics
- Help to manage the crises and conflicts that go with politics
- Encourage political branding and mass participation in politics.

- In the same vein, the respondents of the two phases were of the consensus that the role of marketing strategies in politics can be sustained in the following ways:
- Continuous political enlightenment
- Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system
- Emergence of innovative politicians.
- Continuous use of marketing research and strategies

Table 4.7: Mean Scores of the Role of Marketing Strategies as identified by the Dominant Parties

Respondents	Political Branding	Mass Mobilization	Promoting Democratic Ideals	Conflict Management	Responsive Leadership	**Total**
LP	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.5	**18.2**
CP	3.9	4.3	4.1	4.1	3.8	**20.2**
FP	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.6	**18.4**
NP	6.8	7.0	7.1	6.9	5.8	**56.8**
Total	**17.9**	**18.9**	**18.6**	**18.4**	**16.7**	

All factors measured on 5-points Likert Scale

4.2.7   Interpretation of Result

A closer look at table 4.7 above indicates that Follower party (AD) and Leader party (PDP) have the least perception with mean scores of 18.4 and 18.2 respectively.

On the other hand, Challenger party (ANPP) and Nicher party (APGA) have higher perception in terms of the role of marketing strategies in politics with mean scores of 20.2 and 33.6 respectively. However, Nicher party with overall perception rating of 33.6 preponderantly believes that the role of marketing strategies in politics is indispensable, particular in the areas listed on the table.

Furthermore, among the five major roles (Political branding, Mass mobilization, Promotion of democratic ideals, and emergence of responsive leadership), Mass mobilization comes top with a mean score of 18.9. This is closely followed by promotion of democratic ideals (x = 18.6), conflict management (x = 18.4), political branding (x = 17.9), and emergence of responsive leadership (x = 16.7).

The major roles of marketing strategies in politics have been identified as political branding/image building, mass mobilization, promotion of democratic ideals, conflict management and responsive leadership.

Mean Score
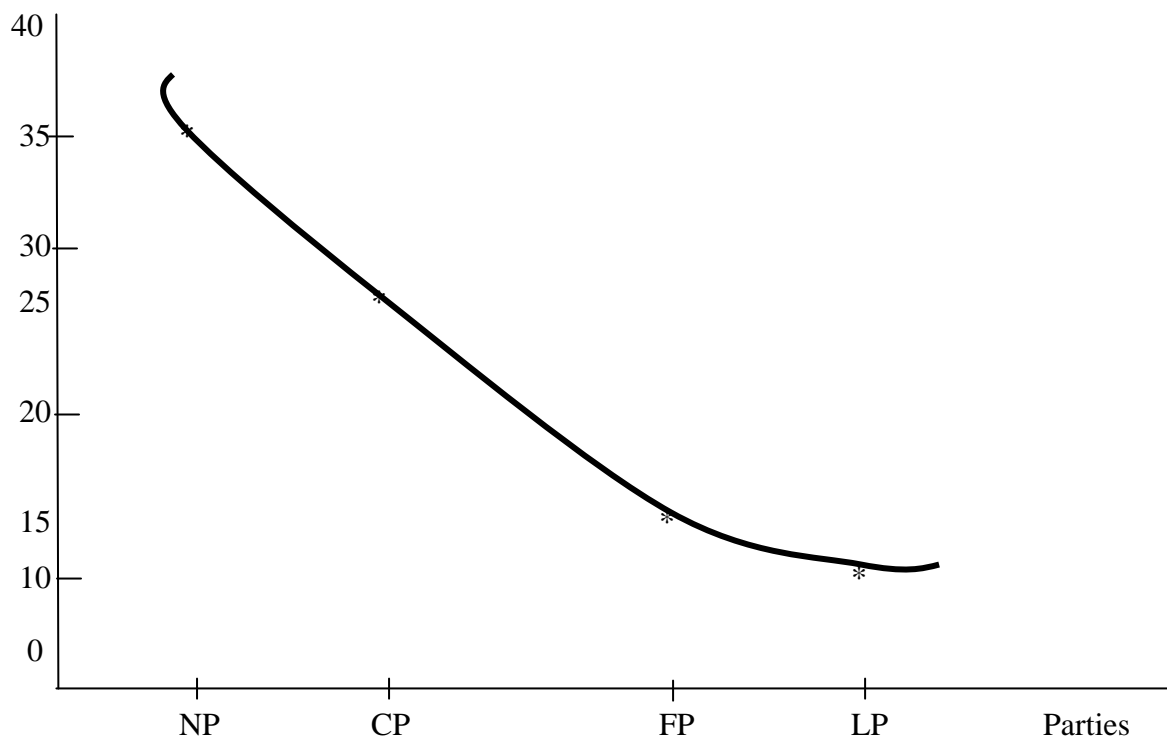
Figure 9.0: Pecking order of the marketing mix strategies as identified by the parties.

141

Table 4.8: **Mean Scores of the Role of Marketing MixStrategies as identified by the Electorate**

Respondents	Responsive Leadership	Mass Mobilization	Promoting of democratic ideals	Developing Nationalist Ideology	Political Branding	**TOTAL**
ELP	5.0	5.0	4.7	4.3	4.9	**23.9**
ECP	4.4	5.0	4.4	3.9	4.6	**22.3**
EFP	5.5	5.3	5.1	4.1	5.5	**22.7**
ENP	5.3	5.2	4.5	3.7	4.8	**23.5**
TOTAL	**20.4**	**20.5**	**18.7**	**16.0**	**19.8**	

All factors measured of 5 – points Likert Scale.

4.2.8 Interpretation of Result

The table 4.8 indicates that the electorate of the Challenger Party has the least favourable perception on the five (5) major roles of marketing mix strategies in politics with a total mean score of 22.3.This is closely followed in ranking by the electorate of the Follower party with a total mean score of 22.7

On the other hand, the electorates of the Follower Party and Leader party with perception rating of 23.5 and 23.9 respectively have the most favourable perception mix the role of marketing mix strategies in politics.

Furthermore, among the five major roles of marketing strategies in politics as identified by the electorates, emergence of mass mobilization comes top with a total mean score of 20.5. The same goes for responsive leadership. This is understandable when it is reckoned that marketing mix strategies encourage efficient internal marketing within the party which ultimately produces internal democracy leading to the emergence of credible and responsive leader. With the marketing mix, promotion of democratic ideal, mass mobilization and participation can be secured; and this accounts for a mean score of 18.7. In addition, political branding records a mean score of 19.8 showing that it is indeed the third in the order of importance. This is understandable because marketing mix strategies make it possible for political candidates and party programmes to be positioned in such a way that electorate can easily identify with them. A product that is not branded will hardly have a unique selling point (USP).

Mean Score
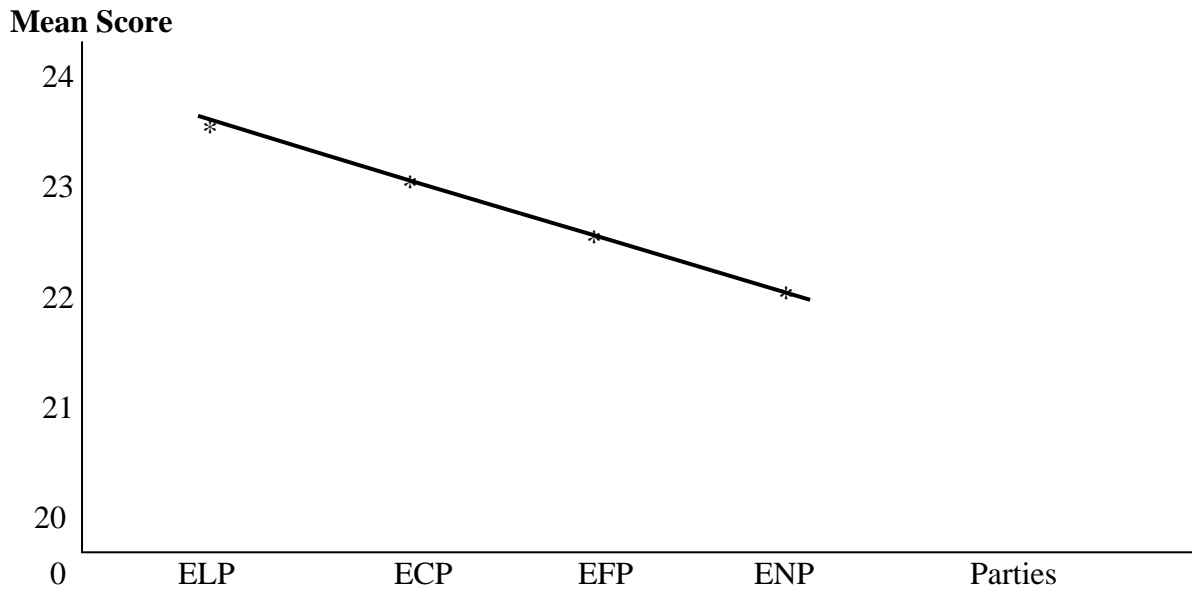
Figure 10.0: Pecking order of the role of marketing mix strategies (Electorate Perspective).

4.3. Perception of the Role of Political Marketing Strategies in Electoral Politics.
4.3.1 Introduction

This is the second objective of this study. The basis of this objective is that political parties operate in a complex and uncertain environment. In order to make sense of this environment, party leaders tend to form simplified cognitive representation of the importance or otherwise of marketing strategies. This mental model can be referred to as "their perception of the role of political marketing strategies". In this connection, research question II was earlier raised in this study and restated below:

RESEARCH QUESTION II: HOW DO POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTORATE PERCEIVE THE ROLE OF MARKETING STRATEGIES IN POLITICS

In line with this research question, this study posits that if the political leaders who also are the political marketers of their parties can accurately perceive and understand the role of political marketing strategies they will be in a position to develop marketing strategies that most suitably fit or match the characteristics of their political market place. That, hopefully will enhance their electoral success and hence their performance.

Perception of the role of political marketing strategies has been described as the expectations held by people about the essence of employing marketing strategies by marketers (Craven and Piercy, 2003:245). In order to measure this construct, the study adopted CETSCALE which was developed and psychometrically validated by Vida and Amitrovic (2001:379).

143

The scale measures perceptions of the appropriateness of variables. Perception of the role of political marketing strategies can be rated from 'Strongly Agree' to 'Strongly Disagree' whereby a respondent on the high end of the spectrum believes that the variable is most appropriate in depicting the importance of the role of political marketing strategies. On the other hand, 'Strongly Disagree' respondents view the variables as not representing their perception of the role.

Table 4.9: Perception of the Role of Political Marketing Strategies (Party Perspective)

	LP		FP		NP		CP		TOTAL	
RESPONSE	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
The perception that marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics.	75	50.0	20	57	23	70.0	40	50.0	158	52.7
Formulation of marketing strategies to maximize benefits of the role of marketing strategies.	43	28.7	7	21	8	24.0	24	30	82	27.6
Electoral vices as negative role of marketing strategies	32	21.3	8	22	2	6.0	16	20	58	19.7
TOTAL	150	100	35	100	33	100	80	100	298	100

KEY: LP= Leader Party – PDP; CP=Challenger Party – ANPP;
FP=Follower Party – AD; NP= Nicher Party – APGA.

4.3.2 Interpretation of Result

Table 4.9 above indicates a somewhat general consensus among the parties that political marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics. This is confirmed by the fact that at least 50% of the respondents of each party sample indicated that marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics.

28.7% of PDP respondents agreed that the party takes time to formulate marketing strategies so that it can maximize their benefits. 30% of ANPP respondents fell into this group. The other parties have less than 27%. In other words, despite the relatively strong perception that marketing strategies play positive role in electoral politics, less than 30% of all the respondents argue that their party takes time to study and formulate marketing strategies. This finding may be attributed to the somewhat traditional voting behaviour of their electorate and lack of skill in marketing by politicians.

While the average scores on the positive role of marketing strategy may provide useful information with respect to the cross-party comparisons, they are quite useless in facilitating voter segmentation and positioning strategies within a single geopolitical zone. Clearly, an important question for political marketers relates to the demographic characteristics of voters with strong perception about the positive role of marketing strategies and the extent to which these perceptions are reflected in their actual behaviour.

144

Table 4.10 Perception of the Role of Marketing Strategies (Electorate Perspective)

RESPONSE	ELP		EFP		ENP		ECP		TOTAL	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
The perception that marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics.	85	54.8	22	71.0	16	55.2	50	58.8	173	57.6
Formulation of marketing strategies to maximize benefits of the role of marketing strategies.	40	25.8	7	22.6	11	37.9	25	29.4	83	27.7
Electoral vices as negative role of marketing strategies	30	19.4	2	6.4	2	6.9	10	11.8	44	14.7
TOTAL	155	100	31	100	29	100	85	100	300	100

KEY: ELP= Electorate of Leader Party;   ECP=Electorate of Challenger Party;
EFP=Electorate of Follower Party; ENP= Electorate of Nicher Party.

4.3.3 Interpretation of Result

Table 4.10 above indicates that 54.8% of the electorate of the Leader party perceived that marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics. The percentage of such perception recorded for the electorate of the Follower party was 71%; 55% was for the electorate of the Nicher party; and 58.8% for the electorate of the Challenger party.

In addition, 25.8% of the Leader party's electorate agreed that the party takes time to formulate marketing strategies in order to benefit from the role they play in politics. 22.5% was for the Follower party; 37.9% for the Nicher party; and 29.4% for Challenger party.

On whether electoral vices constitute the negative role of marketing strategies, 19.4% stood out among the electorate of the Leader party; 6.4% for Follower party; 6.9% for Nicher party; and 11.8% for Challenger party.

4.3.4 General Discussion

The cross-party comparison reveals that over 50% of the respondents from both the parties and their electorate perceived marketing strategies as playing extremely positive role in party politics. But this is not enough to conclude that marketing play positive role in politics. Hence, the study adopted CETSCALE which was developed and psychometrically validated by Vida and Amitrovic (2001:379). The scale measures perceptions of the appropriateness of variables.

The CETSCALE has been previously used and validated in various studies, including central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Linguist et al, 2001:99; Vida and Reardon, 1997:213). The three-item version of the original scale was utilized on this study. The scale was purified and pretested on convenience samples of respondents in the four political parties for its comprehensibility, clarity of instructions and length, after which changes were incorporated. The CETSCALE has a midpoint of 25.0 which is the cut-off point between positive and negative roles, it is equivalent to 50% of the respondents. When based on average scores none of the sub-samples appears extremely positive or negative. The analysis of variance reveals significant differences at $(P<0.05)$ across the party sub-samples. Table 4.11 below is the Cetscale of the perception of the role of marketing strategies.

TABLE 4.11: Cetscale of the Perception of the Role of Marketing Strategies and Total Sample.

	PDP	AD	APGA	ANPP	Total
Total positivity/negativity score on the CETSCALE (a)	26.2% (8.2)	26.0% (8.0)	29.5% (9.5)	28.2% (7.9)	27.5% (8.6)
I perceive that marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics (b)	52.47%	51.9%	59.0%	56.3%	54.9%
Because of the role of marketing strategy, my party takes time to formulate marketing strategies so as to maximize their benefits.	24.0%	30.4%	23.6%	32.1%	27.5%
I consider electoral vices as the negative role of marketing strategies	23.6%	17.7%	17.4%	11.8%	17.6%

FOOTNOTES:
a: Average summated scores on the CETSCALE instrument; scale range =10-50: higher scores indicate highly positive role; standard deviations are presented in parentheses
b: percentage share of respondents who agree with the statement.

4.3.5 Interpretation of Result

Going by the table 4.11 above, it is now crystal clear that marketing plays positive role in politics with a CETSCALE of 26.0 and above for all the parties.

Consistent with the findings of previous cross-party studies (e.g. Carowthers 2000:176; Baines et al, 2002; Butler P, and Collins D, 1994:32; Kavanagh, 1995: 97; Lees-Marshment. J, 2001:73) our analysis of the entire four party samples reveal that the more of the respondents who believe that marketing strategy plays positive role in electoral politics tend to be older people with average and above average education than their counterparts who feel that marketing strategy plays negative role. This group justifies their opinion on the ground

that the Nigerian brand of politics is inundated with rigging, deselection, selection, imposition of candidates, killing, etc. But those with the perception that marketing strategy plays a positive role argue that the problem with Nigerian parties is mis-application of marketing strategies.

Our aggregate analysis reveals that the respondents who do not believe that marketing strategy plays positive role in politics tend to evaluate party programme less favourably than do those who believe otherwise.

It is important to note that the CETSCALE captures respondents' perception on the role of marketing strategy in politics rather than their actual voting behaviour. One important revelation arising from the CETSCALE analysis is that 52% of electoral success in Nigeria is ascribable to marketing strategies while the other 48% is determined by other anti-democratic forces such as government, Godfatherism, rigging, selection, deselection, imposition of candidates, political killings, etc.

Further analysis could be shown with the mean score as indicated on table 14.12

TABLE 14.12: Mean Scores of the Perception of the Role of Marketing Strategies in Politics.

	LP	CP	FP	NP	TOTAL
Party Perception	50.0	20.0	15.0	15.0	100
Electorate Perception	51.7	21.7	13.3	13.3	100
Total	101.7	41.7	28.3	28.3	

KEY: LP= Leader Party – PDP; CP=Challenger Party – ANPP;
FP=Follower Party – AD; NP= Nicher Party – APGA.

4.3.6 Interpretation of Result

Table 14.12: indicates that the mean scores of the perception of the role of marketing strategies in politics is highest in the Leader party (x=101.7). This is followed by the Challenger party (x=41.7). Follower party and Nicher party have equal perception mean score of 28.3 respectively. This can be depicted graphically in a perking order.

The degree of perception of these roles by the dominant parties has been indicated by their mean scores as follows:

Mean Score
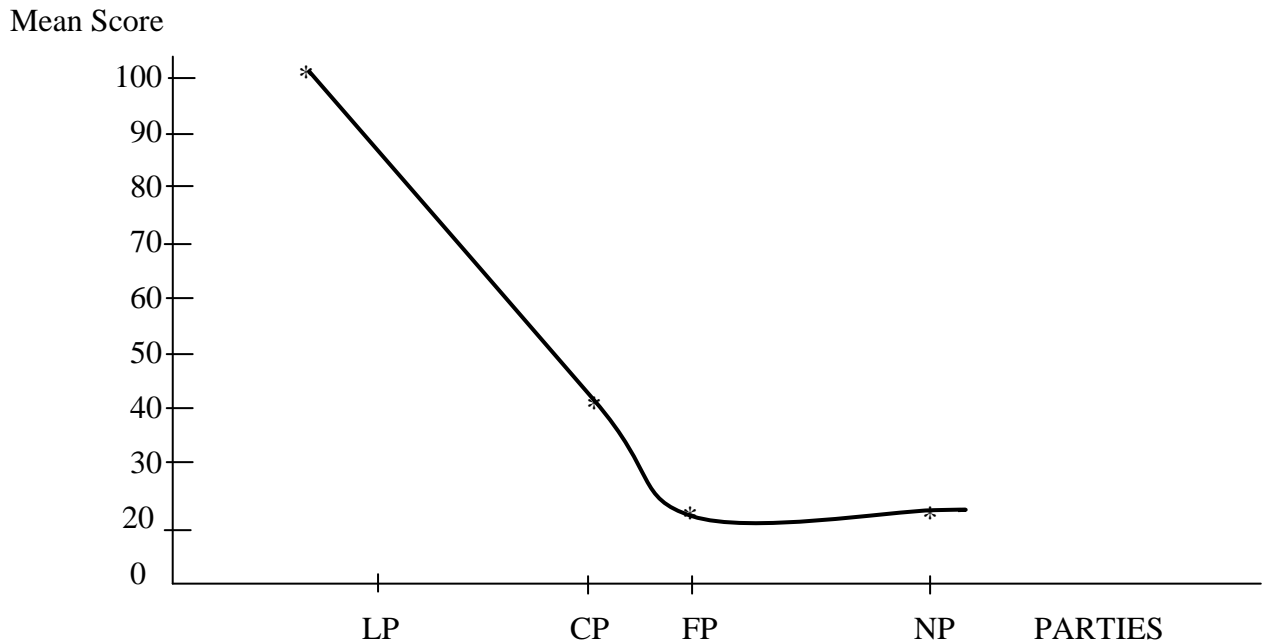
Figure 11.0: perking order of the perception of the role of marketing strategies.

The above figure shows that our perking order was sustained by the study.

4.3.7: Restatement and Test of Research Hypothesis I

The first hypothesis of this study is that there is no significant difference in the way Nigerian parties and their electorate perceives the role of marketing strategies in politics thus:

H_o: There is no significant difference in the way Nigerian political parties perceive the role of marketing.

H_i: There are significant differences in the way Nigerian political parties and their electorate perceive the role of marketing strategies in politics.

The test of hypothesis is pertinent here to determine whether there are significant differences in the way Nigerian parties and their electorates perceive the role of marketing strategies in politics. Although, table 4.12 and figure 9.0 above indicate that the mean scores for the various perceptual dispositions among parties are not equal, it is not a sufficient ground to conclude that there are significant differences in the perceptual dispositions of parties on the role of marketing strategies. In order to have a more plausible ground, a statistical analysis using one-way analysis of variance was employed. The results are shown on table 4.13

Table 4.13:   Result of ANOVA Statistical Analysis of the Perception of the Role of Marketing Strategies by the Dominant Political Parties.

		Sum of Square	Df	Means Square	F-Cal.	F-Tab.	Decision
Nicher	between groups	0.914	3	.305	.777	.520	Reject Ho
	within groups	8.236	21	.392			
	total	9.150	24				
Leader	between groups	1.410	3	.470	1.075	.381	Reject Ho
	within groups	9.180	21	.437			
	total	10.590	24				
Challenger	between groups	1.372	3	.457	.687	.570	Reject Ho
	within groups	9.712	21	.666			
	total		24				
Follower	between groups	1.202	3	.401	.827	.494	Reject Ho
	within groups	10.472	21	.484			
	total		24				

Decision Rule: Reject Ho if F-Calculated > F-Tabulated. Otherwise, accept.

Sig. Level: α=0.05

4.3.7 Interpretation of Result

The decision rule requires us to reject Ho if F-calculated > F-tabulated. Otherwise, we accept at x = 0.05 or 0.01. Thus from table 16.0 at x = 0.05 or 0.01 we reject the null hypothesis which says there is no difference in the way Nigerian political parties perceive the role of marketing strategies. This means that there are differences in the way parties perceive the role of marketing strategies in politics.

Phase 2

This hypothesis was also tested in phase 2 using the mean scores of the five major roles of marketing strategies as perceived by the electorate of the dominant parties. As can be seen on table 4.10, the mean scores of the various perceptual dispositions among the electorate on the role of marketing strategies in politics are not equal. Yet this is not a sufficient ground to conclude that there are significant differences in the perceptual dispositions of the electorates. To have a more plausible ground, a statistical analysis using one way analysis of variance was performed. The results are shown on table 4.14 below:

TABLE 4.14: Results of ANOVA Tests of Perception of Role of Marketing Strategies by Nigerian Electorates.

S/N	Role Of Marketing Strategies		Sum of Sqaure	(Df)	Means Square	F-Value Calculated	F-Value tabulated	Decision
1	Responsive Leadership	Between Groups	5.887	3	1.962	6.612	0.004	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	5.045	17	0.297			
		Total	10.092	20				
2	Mass Mobilization	Between Groups	0.369	3	0.123	0.215	0.885	Accept Ho
		Within Groups	9.723	17	0.572			
		Total	10.091	20				
3	Ideological Relevance	Between Groups	0.380	3	0.127	0.194	0.899	Accept Ho
		Within Groups	11.132	17	0.655			
		Total	11.152	20				
4	Promotion Of Democratic Ideals	Between Groups	5.614	3	1.871	4.186	0.022	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	7.599	17	0.447			
		Total	13.212	20				
5	Political Branding	Between Groups	4.111	3	1.370	5.801	0.006	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	4.016	17				
		Total	8.127	20	0.236			

Significance Level α =0.05 (3.55) or =0.01 (6.01)

4.3.8 Interpretation of Result

The F-Value was calculated to determine the significance or otherwise of the differences in the mean scores of the role of marketing strategies as perceived by the various groups of electorate.

As the table 4.14 has shown, the differences in perception of the role of marketing strategies in politics by the electorate of the four dominant parties are significant in three of the five areas investigated (i.e. Responsive Leadership, promotion of democratic ideals, and political branding). The differences in their perception of mass mobilization and ideological relevance are not significant.

Based on these results, the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the way electorates of Nigerian parties perceive the role of marketing strategies is rejected. Conclusion can therefore be made that there are significant differences in the ways electorates in Nigeria perceive the role of marketing strategies in electoral politics.

4.4   Marketing Strategies of Political Parties

4.4.1 Introduction

This is the third objective of this study. The basis of this objective is the view that marketing strategies differ among political parties because each party employs different mixes of marketing variables to compete in politics.

In essence, political parties operating within a country may compete by using different competitive methods due to dissimilar political marketing orientations of party leaders and other internal distinctive competences. Based on this viewpoint, research question III was earlier raised in this study and restated below:

Research Question III: *What are the contents of competitive marketing strategies employed by Nigerian political parties in enhancing their electoral performance(vote share)?*

In line with this research question, this study indicates that the source of performance differences among political parties is a key theoretical and empirical issue in the field of political marketing. In a democratic setting, societal factors as well as marketing strategies are the primary determinants of party effectiveness. Conversely, the resource-based perspective posits that it is the party's internal structure that drives competitive advantage. The contents of competitive marketing strategies of the political parties are therefore contained on table 4.15 below:

Table 4.15   Mean Scores of Marketing Strategies of the Dominant Parties.

S/N	RESPONSES	FP	LP	CP	NP	TOTAL
1	Product related strategies	5.1	6.3	5.3	3.5	**20.2**
2	Promotion related strategies	4.8	6.3	5.0	4.1	**20.2**
3	Distribution related strategies	4.9	6.1	5.8	4.8	**21.6**
4	Price related strategies	4.8	6.1	5.1	4.3	**20.3**
5	People related strategies	4.4	6.0	4.5	4.3	**19.2**
6	Process related strategies	5.0	5.9	5.3	3.8	**20**
7	Physical evidence strategies	4.3	5.7	4.1	3.5	**17.6**
8	Party oriented strategies	4.7	5.6	4.9	4.7	**19.6**
9	Sales oriented strategies	5.0	5.6	5.5	5.2	**21.3**
10	Market oriented strategies	4.3	5.7	4.3	4.2	**18.5**
	TOTAL	**47.3**	**59.3**	**49.8**	**42.4**	

All factors measured on 7-points scale.

KEY: LP= Leader Party – PDP;   CP=Challenger Party – ANPP;
FP=Follower Party – AD;   NP= Nicher Party – APGA.

4.4.2 Interpretation of Result

On a general note, the parties employed more of distribution related strategies (x=21.6) and sales oriented strategies (x=21.3). Next to these two are price related strategies (20.3), product related strategies (x=20.2) and promotion related strategies (x=20.3). These are followed by process oriented strategies (x=20.0), party oriented strategies (x=19.6), people oriented strategies (x=19.2), market oriented strategies (x=18.5), physical evidence (x=17.6).

Conversely, the Leader party has the best mix of all the ten strategies, and this is evidenced by an overall mean score of 59.3. This is followed by the Challenger party (x=49.8), Follower party (x=47.3), and Nicher party (x=42.4).

As table 4.15 shows all the marketing strategies employed by the Nigerian dominant political parties have been identified as falling under two major categories i.e. marketing mix strategies and political marketing orientation strategies. The marketing mix strategies include product, promotion, place (distribution), price, people, process, and physical evidence.
The political marketing orientation strategies include product-oriented strategies, sales-oriented strategies, and market-oriented strategies. The parties' mean scores on each of the strategies have been shown on table 4.15 and can be interpreted as follows:

ON PRODUCT RELATED STRATEGIES

Lx=6.3> Cx=5.3> Fx=5.1> Nx=3.5. This means that Leader party employs more product oriented strategies than other parties.

ON PROMOTION ORIENTED STRATEGIES

Lx=6.3> Cx=5.0> Fx=4.8 > Nx=4.1. The Leader party applies promotion-oriented strategies more than other parties.

ON DISTRIBUTION RELATED STRATEGIES

Lx=6.1 > Cx=5.8 > Fx=4.9 > Nx=4.8. The Leader party employs more of the distribution oriented strategies than other parties.

ON PRICE RELATED STRATEGIES

Lx=6.1 > Cx=5.1 > Fx=4.8 > Nx=4.3. The Leader party uses price related strategies more than other parties.

ON PEOPLE RELATED STRATEGIES

Lx=6.0 > Cx=4.5 > Fx=4.8 > Nx=4.3. The Leader party adopts people-oriented strategies more than other parties.

ON PROCESS RELATED STRATEGIES

Lx=5.9 > Cx=5.3 > Fx=5.0 > Nx=3.8. The Leader party is ahead of other parties in the application of process related strategies.

ON PHYSICAL EVIDENCE STRATEGIES

Lx=5.7 > Fx=4.3 > Cx=4.1 > Nx=3.5. The Leader party is leading other parties in the application of physical evidence strategies. It is followed by Follower party, Challenger party and lastly Nicher party.

ON PARTY ORIENTED STRATEGIES

Lx=5.6 > Cx=4.9 > Fx=4.7 = Nx=4.7. This means that the Leader party is leading other parties in the enforcement of party position upon the electorate.

ON SALES ORIENTED STRATEGIES

Lx = 5.6 > Cx = 5.5 > Nx = 5.2 > Fx = 5.0. The Leader party employs more sales-oriented strategies than other parties. However, it is closely followed by Challenger party in this respect.

ON MARKET-ORIENTED STRATEGIES

Lx = 5.7 > Cx = 4.3 = Fx = 4.3 > Nx = 4.2. This shows that the Leader party is ahead of other parties in the application of market-oriented strategies.

Mean Score
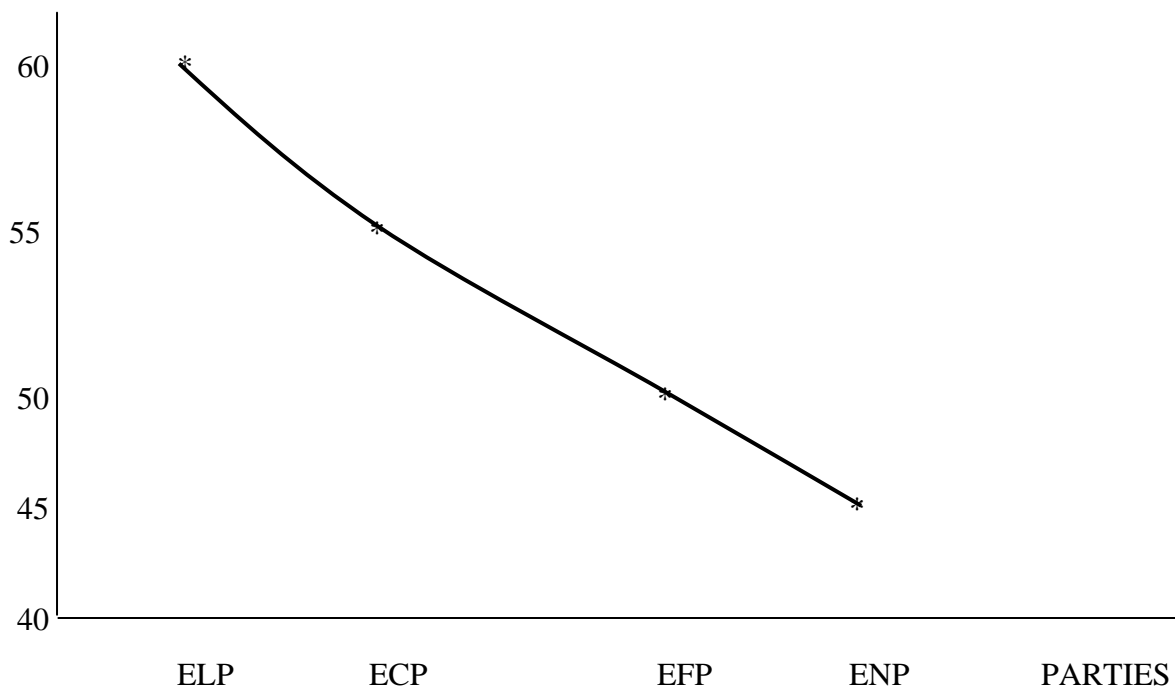
Figure 12: Perking order of the parties' marketing strategies.

4.5   Assessment of the Parties' Marketing Strategies

4.5.1 Introduction

The assessment of the parties marketing strategies was considered necessary both from the viewpoints of the parties themselves and their electorate. The idea was to have a balanced view concerning the application of marketing strategies by the political parties. In this connection, table 4.16 below shows the mean scores of the parties rating of their marketing strategies.

4.5.2   Interpretation of Results

The parties got the highest total mean score of 23.0 in their strive toward building a long-run relationship with voters. The same score was recorded in their strategic marketing decision to establish a strong foothold in the vote-market.

The table further shows that Challenger party received the highest total rating (x = 105.5) in all the areas investigated. This is closely followed by Leader party with total mean score of 96.5. The total mean scores of 92.5 and 77 are for Follower party and Nicher party respectively.

Tables 4.16: Mean Scores Of The Parties' Rating Of Their Marketing   Strategies.

S/N	MARKETING STRATEGIES	LP	CP	FP	NP	TOTAL
1.	As a reflection of its marketing strategy our party provides products/services that are widely perceived as unique by electorate	4.5	6.5	5.0	5.0	**21.0**
2.	My party's marketing strategy is unique in the provision of certain services widely valued by the citizens.	3.5	5.0	5.0	5.0	**18.5**
3.	In our marketing strategy, we target particular voting area in the entire heterogeneous market	5.5	4.5	4.5	2.5	**22.0**
4.	The overall marketing objectives and strategies of my party are built on strong knowledge of the electorates needs.	5.0	6.5	4.5	6.0	**17.0**
5 .	Our marketing strategy reflects intensive (ward network) to reach as many voters as possible.	6.0	4.5	4.5	7.0	**22.0**
6.	Our commitment to service is such that voters do not regret voting for us.	4.5	4.5	3.5	4.5	**17.0**
7.	We rely on heavy campaign through wide range of media to generate awareness among voters in the political market.	5.0	6.0	3.5	3.0	**17.5**
8.	Our party has consistently maintained a position of innovators in our service delivery	4.0	4.0	4.5	1.5	**14.0**
9.	We have consistently improved upon our products/service so as to defend our vote- share position.	5.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	**19.0**
10.	In making strategic marketing decisions, our aim is to establish a strong foothold in the vote- market	5.5	6.5	5.0	6.0	**23.0**

11.	We have consistently improved the people's quality of life and strive to build long-run relationship with voters	4.5	7.0	5.0	6.5	**23.0**
12.	Our wining strategy is rooted in our ability to present good candidates for elective offices	5.5	6.0	5.0	2.5	**19.0**
13.	We treed the political terrain very carefully and seek only those opportunities that are proven to be promising	3.5	6.0	6.0	5.0	**20.5**
14.	We consistently seek opportunities in new vote markets with our existing political product.	3.5	5.5	4.0	5.5	**18.5**
15.	We consistently modify our existing programmes, and introduce new candidates to our people.	5.5	5.0	5.0	2.5	**18.5**
16.	Our strategy puts strong emphasis on new programmes and credible candidates	4.0	6.0	5.0	3.5	**18.5**
17.	Our programme and service mix have not changed since the last election	5.0	6.0	4.5	3.0	**11.00**
18.	Our marketing strategy reflects emphasis on the party and not on the individual candidate.	1.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	**11.0**
19.	Our marketing strategy put emphasis on voter segmentation and targeting.	1.5	3.5	4.5	2.0	**11.5**
20.	Our marketing strategy includes financial inducements to voters, security and INEC officials as well as rigging	3.5	5.0	4.0	4.5	**17.0**
	TOTAL	**96.5**	**105.5**	**92.5**	**77**	

All factors measured on 7- points' scale.

KEY: LP= Leader Party – PDP; CP=Challenger Party – ANPP;
FP=Follower Party – AD; NP= Nicher Party – APGA.

Mean Score
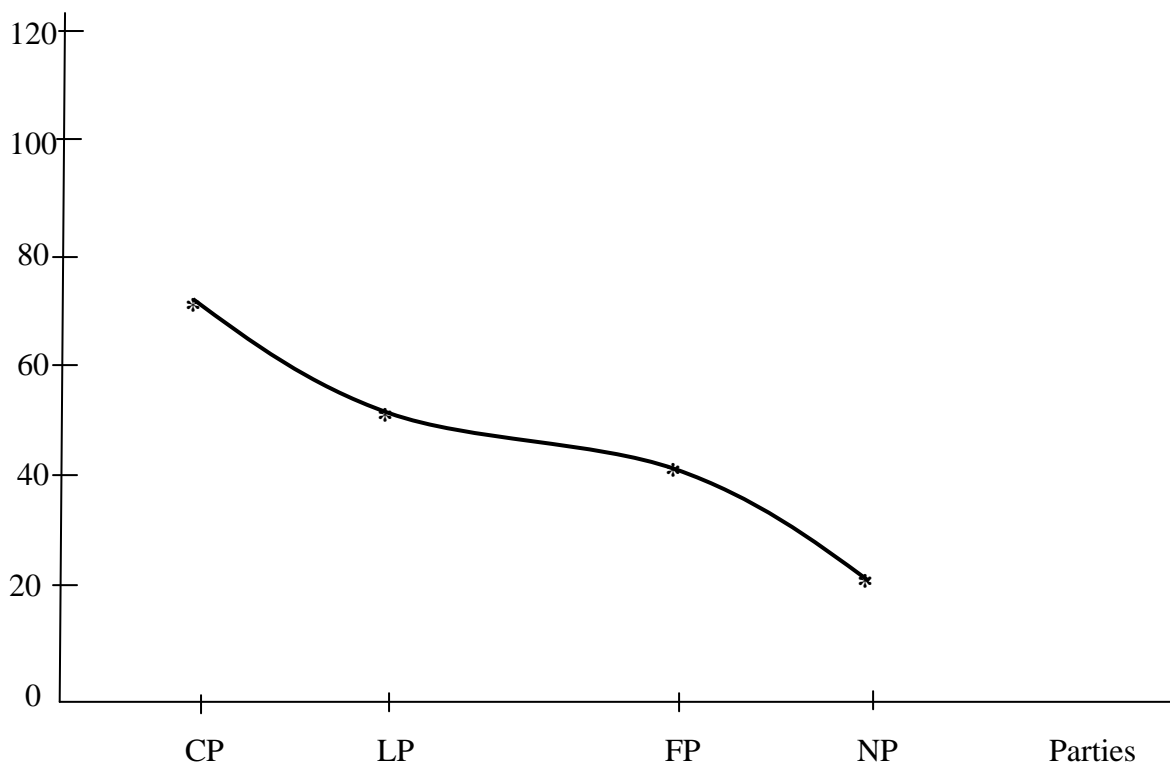
Figure 13.0: Perking order of the parties rating of their marketing strategies.

Table: 4.17:   Mean Scores of the Electorates' Rating of the Parties Marketing Strategies.

	RESPONSES	ELP	ECP	EFP	ENP	Total
1.	As a reflection of its marketing strategy our party provides products/services that are widely perceived as unique by electorate	5.8	6.5	5.0	5.2	**5.8**
2.	The party's marketing strategy is unique in the provision of certain services widely valued by the citizens.	6.0	5.0	5.0	4.9	**5.3**
3.	In its marketing strategy, the party targets particular voting area in the entire heterogeneous market	5.0	4.5	5.5	4.4	**5.0**
4.	The overall marketing objectives and strategies of the party are built on strong knowledge of the electorates needs.	6.0	6.5	3.5	5.6	**5.3**
5.	Its marketing strategy reflects intensive (ward network) to reach as many voters as possible.	6.6	4.5	6.5	5.8	**23.6**
6.	Its commitment to service is such that voters do not regret voting for us.	4.8	4.5	3.5	4.1	**16.8**
7.	It relies on heavy campaign through wide range of media to generate awareness among voters in the political market.	5.2	6.0	4.5	4.2	**20**
8.	The party has consistently maintained a position of innovators in its service delivery	5.8	4.0	5.0	3.7	**18.4**
9.	It has consistently improved upon our products/service so as to defend its vote- share position.	5.6	4.5	5.0	6.0	**21.2**
10.	In making strategic marketing decisions, its aim is to establish a strong foothold in the vote- market	6.6	5.5	6.0	5.7	**24**
11.	It has consistently improved the people's quality of life and strive to build long-run relationship with voters	6.6	4.5	6.0	5.6	**22.5**
12.	Its wining strategy is rooted in its ability to present good candidates for elective offices	5.8	5.5	6.0	4.9	**22.4**
13.	Its treads the political terrain very carefully and seeks only those opportunities that are proven to be promising	6.0	3.5	5.0	4.9	**19.6**
14.	Its consistently seeks opportunities in new vote markets with its existing political product.	5.6	3.5	6.5	4.7	**20.4**
15.	It consistently modifies our existing programmes, and introduces new candidates to the people.	5.6	5.5	5.5	4.6	**21.2**
16.	Its strategy puts strong emphasis on new programmes and credible candidates	5.6	4.0	6.0	4.7	**20.4**
17.	Its programme and service mix have not changed since the last election	4.0	5.0	4.0	4.5	**17.6**
18.	Its marketing strategy reflects emphasis on the party and not on the individual candidate.	3.0	1.0	3.0	2.8	**10.4**
19.	Its marketing strategy puts emphasis on voter segmentation and targeting.	2.8	1.5	3.5	2.9	**10.8**
20.	Its marketing strategy includes financial inducements to voters, security personnel and INEC officials as well as rigging.	6.2	3.5	5.5	4.5	**19.6**
	TOTAL	**108.6**	**89**	**100.5**	**93.7**	

4.5.3 Interpretation of Result

In all the twenty (20) areas investigated, the highest rating went to Leader party with a total mean score of 108.6. This is closely followed by follower party whose electorates' rating amounted to a total mean score of 100.5. The total mean scores of 93.7 and 89.0 resulted from the rating of electorates of the Follower and the Nicher parties respectively

Again, in all the areas investigated, the parties' involvement in making strategic marketing decision with the aim of establishing a strong foothold in the vote-market came top (total x =

24.0). The parties also received a high rating from their electorates in the area of building intensive (ward) network to reach as many voters as possible within their respective segments. (total x = 23.6).
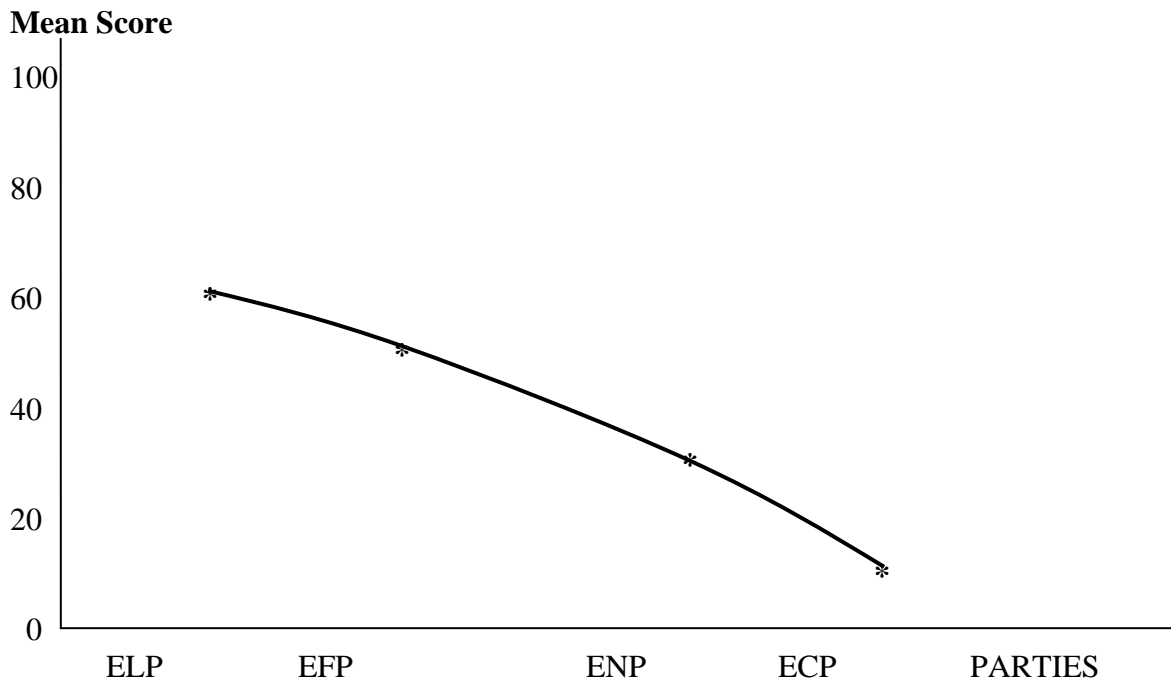
Mean Score

Figure 14.0: Perking order of the Electorates rating of the parties' marketing strategies.

4.6 Restatement and Test of Research Hypothesis II

In order to determine whether the differences in the mean scores of the marketing strategies are statistically significant, hypothesis 2 of this study was recalled and restated thus:

Ho: There is no significant difference in the contents of the competitive marketing strategies of Nigerian political parties.

H1: There is significant difference in the contents of competitive marketing strategies of Nigerian Political parties.

The ANOVA tests for the competitive marketing strategies of the dominant political parties were run, and the results presented in tables 4.18 below:

TABLE 4.18: Descriptive & ANOVA Statistical Analysis of the Marketing Strategies of the Parties.

	F	L	C	N	F-Value Cal.	F- Tab.	Decision	Relative Size
Variable 1 Product Strategies	5.13 (1.23)	6.29 (0.76)	5.25 (0.46)	3.5 (1.22)	9.08	0.000	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 2 Promotion Strategies	4.75 (0.89)	6.29 (0.76)	5.0 (1.85)	4.12 (0.41)	3.97	0.010	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 3 Place Strategies	4.86 (1.13)	6.14 (0.69)	5.75 (0.71)	4.67 (1.03)	4.16	0.016	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 4 Price Strategies	4.75 (1.1.7)	6.14 (0.38)	5.13 (1.35)	4.33 (1.22)	3.31	0.037	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 5 People Strategies	4.38 (1.30)	6.0 (0.58)	4.50 (0.20)	4.33 (1.03)	3.87	0.021	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 6 Process Strategies	5.00 (1.51)	5.86 (0.38)	5.25 (0.89)	3.83 (0.75)	4.56	0.011	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 7 Physical Evidence	4.25 (1.39)	5.71 (0.95)	4.13 (1.13)	3.50 (1.38)	3.96	0.019	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 8 Party Oriented	4.38 (1.77)	5.57 (1.81)	4.88 (0.99)	4.67 (1.63)	0.526	0.762	Accept Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 9 Sales Oriented	5.00 (1.07)	5.57 (0.98)	5.50 (1.20)	5.17 (0.98)	0.484	0.696	Accept Ho	L>C>F>N
Variable 10 Market-Oriented	4.25 (1.04)	5.71 (0.95)	4.25 (1.04)	4.17 (0.41)	4.61	0.001	Reject Ho	L>C>F>N

The figure in parenthesis represents the standard deviation and level of significance: x=0.05.

Decision Rule: Reject Ho if F-Calculated > F-tabulated. Otherwise accept.

4.6.1: Interpretation of Result

Table 4.18 indicates that the differences in the contents of the competitive marketing strategi dominant

political parties are significant in eight out of ten strategic areas investigated. Follower party puts emphasis on one dimension: Their programme/service range as well as their target market is narrow compared to the leader and challenger parties. The same applies to the nicher party.

An observable pattern here shows that:

- Leader party's evaluations of their competitive marketing strategies are significantly distinct from those of nicher party on all ten dimensions, challenger on seven dimensions, and follower on nine dimensions.

- Challenger's evaluations are significantly distinct from those of nicher on all ten dimensions; those of followers on nine dimensions and those of leaders on three.

- Nicher evaluations are significantly distinct from those of followers on seven dimensions.

2	The findings of the study affirm the strong sales-orientation of Leader party, particularly their emphasis on intensive (ward) network to reach as many voters as possible. It corroborates Baine's proposition concerning the distinctive competence of Leader parties. They have the capability of finding, and exploiting new vote market opportunities. On the other hand, challenger party, true to its appellation relies heavily on campaign and propaganda as well as hard selling techniques to push its programmes and defend their vote-shares. They tread the political terrain carefully to seek only those opportunities that have been proven to be successful.

Thus as indicated by Scammel (1997:23), Newman (1999:33) and O'Cass (1996:37), comparatively leader parties continuously seek to locate and exploit new political needs and vote opportunities, while Nicher parties seek to seal off a portion of the vote market , to create a stable set of programmes and electorates. Challengers cautiously follow leaders into new market domain, while also protecting a stable set of political products and electorates.

From the foregoing analysis it is possible here to conclude that there are significant differences in the marketing strategies of Nigerian dominant political parties. Differences in marketing strategies of these political parties are significant for 10 out of 20 aspects of marketing strategies investigated.

Among the electorates of the four parties differences were found in four marketing strategies employed by the parties.

TABLE 4.19: Result of ANOVA Statistical Analysis of the Rating of Marketing Strategies of Political Parties.

S/N	Marketing Strategies	Mean Sd Np	Mean SD LP	Mean SD CP	Mean SD FP	
1.	As a reflection of its marketing strategy our party provides products/services that are widely perceived as unique by electorate	5.200 (0.758)	5.610 (0.841)	5.765 (0.750)	4.833 (1.258)	C>L>N>F
2.	My party's marketing strategy is unique in the provision of certain services widely valued by the citizens.	4.900 (0.894)	5.200 (1.301)	5.333 (0.577)	4.333 (0.763)	C>L>N>F
3.	In our marketing strategy, we target particular voting area in the entire heterogeneous market	4.400 (1.140)	5.200 (1.410)	5.000 (0.500)	4.167 (1.755)	L>C>N>F
4.	The overall marketing objectives and strategies of my party are built on strong knowledge of the electorates	5.600 (0.821)	5.950 (0.707)	5.333 (1.607)	5.000 (2.179)	L>C>N>F

159

No.	Statement					
	needs.					
5.	Our marketing strategy reflects intensive (ward network) to reach as many voters as possible.	5.700 (1.151)	6.120 (0.841)	5.866 (1.184)	6.333 (1.154)	F>L>C>N
6.	Our commitment to service is such that voters do not regret voting for us.	4.100 (0.547)	4.700 (1.478)	4.266 (0.680)	5.000 (0.866)	F>L>C>N
7.	We rely on heavy campaign through wide range of media to generate awareness among voters in the political market.	4.800 (0.836)	5.220 (0.792)	5.233 (0.750)	3.667 (0.577)	C>L>N>F
8.	Our party has consistently maintained a position of innovators in our service delivery	3.700 (1.255)	5.030 (1.410)	4.933 (0.901)	2.500 (1.322)	L>C>N>F
9.	We have consistently improved upon our products/service so as to defend our vote- share position.	4.800 (0.447)	5.380 (0.808)	5.033 (0.550)	3.000 (0.500)	L>C>N>F
10.	In making strategic marketing decisions, our aim is to establish a strong foothold in the vote- market	5.700 (0.570)	5.890 (0.804)	6.033 (0.550)	5.167 (0.763)	C>L>N>F
11.	We have consistently improved the people's quality of life and strive to build long-run relationship with voters	5.500 (0.935)	6.150 (1.011)	5.700 (1.081)	5.500 (0.866)	L>C>N>F
12.	Our wining strategy is rooted in our ability to present good candidates for elective offices	4.500 (1.274)	5.869 (0.849)	5.766 (0.251)	3.833 (1.154)	L>C>N>F
13.	We tread the political terrain very carefully and seek only those opportunities that are proven to be promising	4.700 (0.670)	5.740 (0.718)	6.166 (0.288)	5.500 (0.500)	C>L>F>N
14.	We consistently seek opportunities in new vote markets with our existing political product.	4.800 (0.821)	5.33 (1.298)	5.200 (1.539)	4.500 (1.000)	L>C>N>F
15.	We consistently modify our existing programmes, and introduce new candidates to our people.	4.700 (1.255)	5.490 (1.045)	5.533 (5.774)	3.166 (1.154)	C>L>N>F
16.	Our strategy puts strong emphasis on new programmes and credible candidates	4.600 (0.821)	5.9800 (0.393)	5.200 (1058)	3.333 (0.763)	L>C>N>F
17.	Our programme and service mix have not changed since the last election	4.200 (0.758)	3.940 (0.838)	4.466 (0.503)	3.500 (0.500)	L>C>N>F
18.	Our marketing strategy reflects emphasis on the party and not on the individual candidate.	2.500 (1.581)	3.940 (1.700)	2.333 (1.154)	3.666 (1.537)	L>C>F>N
19.	Our marketing strategy put emphasis on voter segmentation and targeting.	2.400 (0.651)	3.540 (0.935)	2.600 (1.94)	4.333 (5.999)	F>L>C>N
20.	Our marketing strategy	4.100 (0.961)	5.560 (0.809)	5.066 (1.401)	4.333 (0.288)	L>C>F>N

includes financial inducements to voters, security and INEC officials as well as rigging					
Overall	4.680 (0.130)	5.350 (0.546)	5.000 (0.500)	0.4166 (0.152)	L>C>N>F

4.6.2 Interpretation of Result

Table 4.19 shows that these differences in the marketing strategies of the parties are significant in ten out of twenty areas revealed by the electorate.

Furthermore, it is evident in table 4.19 that leader party has the superior marketing strategies relative to challenger, follower and nicher in twelve of the twenty areas assessed. Challenger is also superior in six areas and follower in two respects.

4.6.4 General Discussion of Result

Based on the above view point, several typologies have been developed to classify and describe parties' political marketing behaviours into a few types. A political marketing orientation is commonly defined as how a party uses strategy to adopt and/or change aspects of its environment for a more favourable alignment. In literature, it is variously referred to as political marketing pattern, ideological thrust, predisposition, or choice.

Arguably one of the most well received approaches to conceptualizing and operationalizing marketing strategy implementation is the typology of Kotler (2002:194). It is recognized in the literature as the competitive marketing structure and it comprises the market leader, market challenger, market follower, and market nicher.

In line with this arrangement, it stands to reason that PDP (the ruling party) is the market leader; ANPP is the challenger, while AD and APGA could stand as market follower and market nicher respectively. The parties are asymmetrical in that the ruling party held a majority at the time immediately after the general elections under reference. It attempted to retain or increase its support by presenting the image of a favourable political manager, proposing policies, advertising and defending its existing programmes and so on. The opposition (i.e. challenger and the Follower) attempted to reduce the ruling party's support by doing such things as criticizing the activities of the ruling party and arguing that they have a better set of policies than those currently in place. This asymmetry is shown in the data presented in the analysis that follows.

However, the competition among political parties can be broken into two, somewhat different, periods. These periods will be thought of as one for this study rather than as periods in a two period strategy.

The first period is the time between elections and the activities of the parties involved the marketing strategies directed at programme development and building the image as well as reputation of the party. Marketing strategy is defined in a broad sense to include things like appearances at public functions and talk shows, advertising, consultation with groups, development of position papers, selling policies to various constituencies, attending launches, listening to constituents, digesting and criticizing the ruling party actions. We might also consider the timing of new policy initiatives and legislation as reflecting a development of marketing strategy. The resources used are mostly time, effort, the goodwill of volunteers and party members as well as party funds. Marketing strategy is also costly in non-monetary terms in the sense that there are always opportunities lost in terms of time and resources that party activists or politicians could spend on other activities, working in their constituency, or simply as leisure or in seeking other forms of private income. It may also use resources that could either be used elsewhere or saved for the election campaign itself. These include the time and goodwill of volunteers and staff.

The second is the period during an election campaign in which the remaining marketing strategies are complemented. At this point, effort (e.g. logistics, rallies etc.) and most advertising funds are spent. This is a winner takes all strategy, rather than a strategy of positioning. Although this campaign period has its own dynamics, it is probably best thought of as a complete commitment of all marketing strategies over a short time interval.

In other words, the parties follow a number of strategies in a marketing competition depending on such things as information available and ability to appropriately redeploy strategies. This means that appropriate functional strategies contribute to the effectiveness of political marketing. In particular, it has been established that the match between politics and marketing strategy contributes immensely to the understanding of political marketing. The reason is not far fetched. The primary purpose of marketing is to create long term and mutually beneficial exchange relationship between an organization and its publics (i.e. individuals and organizations with which it interact). The manner in which parties undertake marketing, however, has continued to evolve. Increasingly, political marketers are involved

in charting the direction of the party and contributing to strategic decisions that enable the party to create and sustain competitive advantage. Political marketers are therefore no longer mere implementers of decisions in the area of campaign but also active initiators and makers of party manifestos and programmes.

Political marketing strategy is a plan for selecting, analyzing a target market (constituency) and then developing and maintaining a marketing mix (product, price, promotion, place, people, process, physical evidence) that will satisfy the market.

A target market (constituency) is a group of voters at whom the party directs its marketing strategies. Marketing mix is a combination of seven elements that a party uses to attract voter responses. Thus, the marketing mix elements form the components of marketing strategy because once a party selects a target market (voter group) it must develop a set of marketing mix that satisfies or matches the needs of its target markets. This sets the stage for political marketing.

The underlying premise of this research is that political marketing is essentially an iterative process with the semblance of strategic marketing. This is because as a party's external environment changes, market opportunities and threats emerge and disappear, and may re-emerge in a modified form at a later stage. In essence, the formulation of a marketing strategy is concerned with matching the capabilities of a political party with the demands of its external environment (i.e. political market place)

4.7   Effectiveness of Market Growth Strategies of The Political Parties

4.7.1 Introduction

The construct of marketing strategy effectiveness remains an enduring concern for both academics and marketers. It lies at the heart of marketing theories, provides the ultimate independent variable in empirical research and facilitates actions and their justifications by political marketers. In political marketing literature, there appears to be two main streams of research on the determinants of a political party's dominance .One is based on the economic tradition and emphasizes the importance of external marketing factors in the determination of a party's effectiveness or dominance.

Another stream of research builds on the behavioural and sociological paradigms and views of marketing strategists with the demands of the environment as the prime determinants of

effectiveness. Another relevant development in the stream of research is the attempt to understand and determine the inter-party of heterogeneity. This came with the concept of political marketing orientations in which parties are classified based on dimensions of competition. Vote differentials are seen to be sustained due to the presence of certain conditions that create barriers to mobility between parties. Asymmetries among political parties within a democracy act to limit the contraction of differentials and equalization of vote. The resource –based view of the party (as an organization) further holds that the party's specific idiosyncrasies in the accumulation and leverage of unique and durable resources are the sources of sustainable competitive advantage as well as marketing strategy effectiveness.

4.7.2: Presentation and Analysis of Results

The fourth objective of this study is to assess the effectiveness of market growth strategies of political parties in enhancing their competitiveness(i.e.marketing strategy and effectiveness relationship). It is important to determine whether political parties, given their perception of the role of marketing strategies and the application of certain market growth strategies perform effectively. It is imperative to note, however, that effectiveness is measured in terms of the way it reflects in the dominance or performance of a party during the general elections at various levels. So, the satisfaction of the citizenry is indicative of the effectiveness of the parties' marketing strategies in delivering value to the electorate. Another important measure is responsive leadership which reflects in the ability of the parties to respond to changes in the needs of the people. It should manifest in the content of the party's programmes and profile of candidates (political products).

This research therefore measured effectiveness of market growth strategies in electoral politics as a multidimensional construct in two phases.

In the first phase of the research, eight criteria were employed to measure the effectiveness of the market growth strategies employed by dominant political parties, viz;

- Responsive Leadership
- Mass Mobilization
- Promotion of Democratic ideals
- Developing Nationalist Ideology
- Competitive Strength

- Conflict Management
- Party's internal democracy (Internal Marketing)
- Political branding

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference in the levels of effectiveness of the market growth strategies of dominant political parties in Nigeria.

Table 4.20 shows the scores of the effectiveness rating of the parties (Parties' Perspective)

TABLE 4.20 Mean Scores of Effectiveness of market Growth Strategies of Parties (Parties Perspective).

S/NO	Effectiveness Criteria	LP	CP	FP	NP	Total
1	Responsive Leadership	3.8	4.1	3.7	3.6	15.2
2	Mass Mobilization	5.6	4.4	4.0	3.7	17.7
3	Democratic Ideals	4.3	5.2	3.8	3.3	16.6
4	Competitive Strength	4.4	4.0	3.8	3.7	15.9
5	Ideological Relevance	4.1	4.4	5.0	3.0	16.5
6	Conflict Management	4.8	3.7	3.6	3.5	15.6
7	Political Branding	4.5	4.4	4.3	4.0	17.2
8	Internal Marketing	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.0	16.9
	Total Overall Effectiveness	35.9	34.5	32.4	28.8	

4.7.3 Interpretation of Result

KEY: LP= Leader Party – PDP;   CP=Challenger Party – ANPP;
FP=Follower Party – AD;   NP= Nicher Party – APGA.

The table shows that the market growth strategies of the leader party were the most effective in terms of overall effectiveness with a total overall effectiveness mean score of 35.9.

The table further shows that the parties did relatively well in two criteria – i.e. mass mobilization (x=17.7) and political branding (x=17.2).

In the second phase, five criteria were used to measure the effectiveness of market growth strategies employed by Nigerian political parties, viz: Vote share, Ideological relevance, Competitive position, Size of membership, and Party growth. Figure 13.0 shows the perking order of the market growth strategy effectiveness of the parties (parties' perspective).

Mean Score
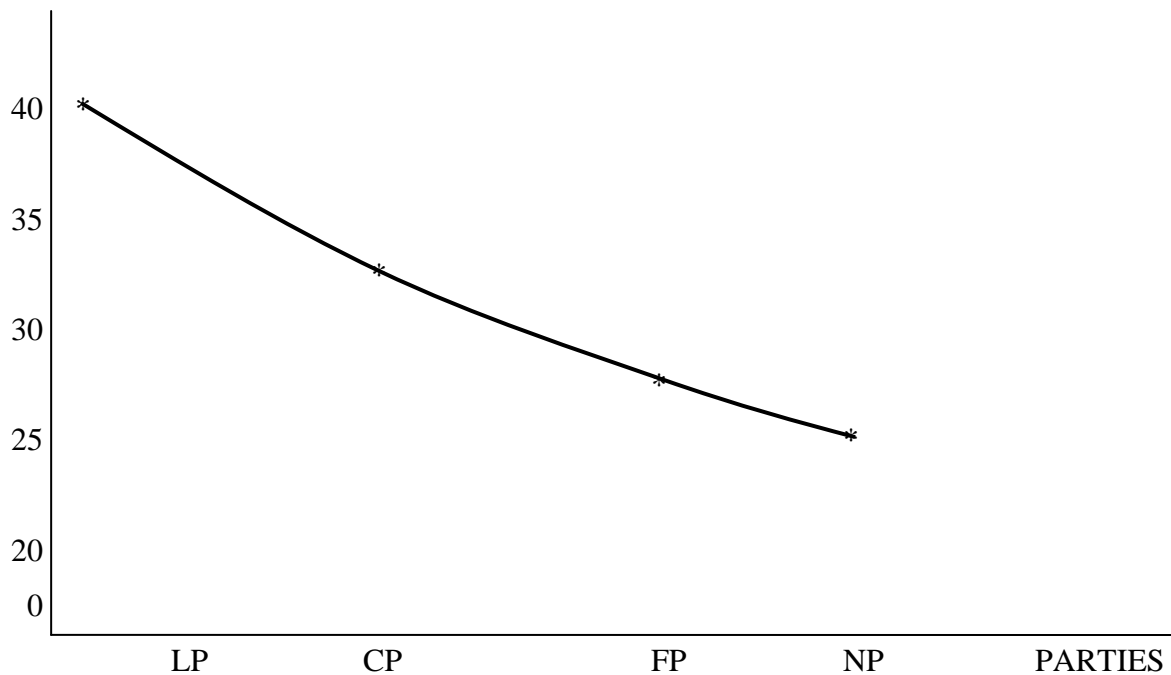
Figure 15.0: Perking order of the market growth strategy Effectiveness of the parties (Parties' Perspective)

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.

Mean Score
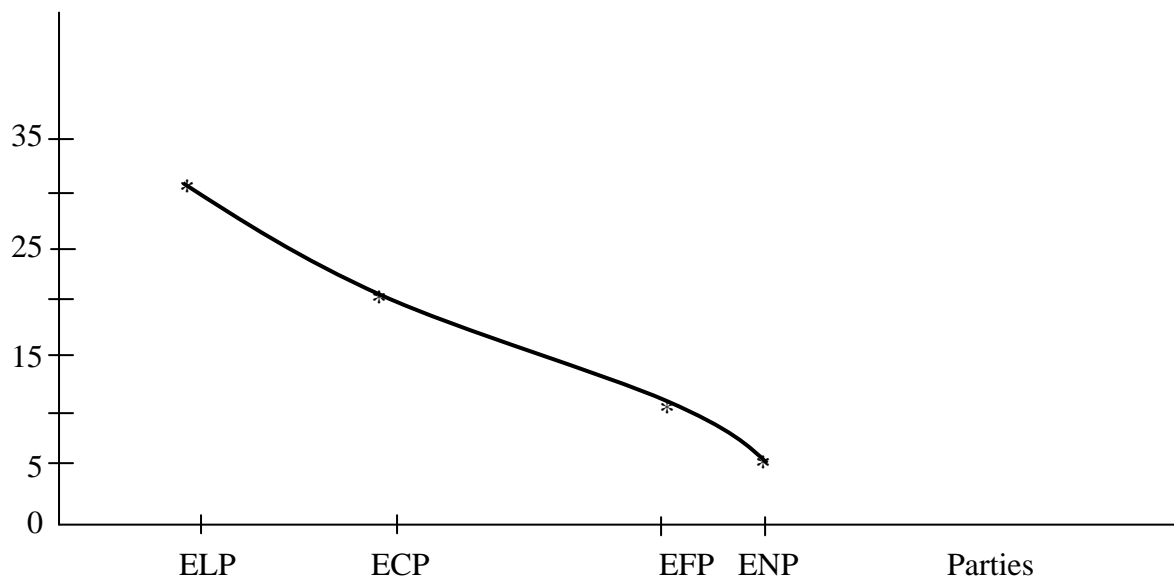
Figure 16.0: Pecking order of the market strategy Effectiveness (Electorate Perspective).

4.8   Restatement and Test of Research Hypothesis III

4.8.1 Introduction

The congruence between the parties' competitive position and market growth strategies is a very important theoretical proposition. Lees-Marshment (2001:73) found that all three competitive postures: Leader, Challenger, and Follower parties performed equally well in any political environment provided that the strategy is well implemented. This is contrary to the traditional view that different environments favour certain strategies over others.

The research problem addressed here is the effectiveness or performance implications of market growth strategies adopted by the dominant political parties. The research question is: To what extent are the market growth strategies affective in enhancing the competitive position of parties? This gives rise to the third null hypothesis which is restated below.

Ho: There is no significant difference in the levels of effectiveness of the market growth strategies adopted by the dominant political parties in Nigeria.

Although Hooley et al (2003:25) and Henneberg (1996:23) 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 4.22: Result Of ANOVA Statistical Analysis Of The Effectiveness of Market growth Strategies Of The Parties (Parties Perspective)

S/N	Effectiveness Criteria		Sum of Sqaure	(Df)	Means Square	F-Calculated	F-Tabulated	Decision
1	Responsive Leadership	Between Groups	0.944	3	0.315	0.811	0.505	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	6.594	17	0.388			
		Total	7.538``	20				
2	Mass Mobilization	Between Groups	0.349	3	1.316	3.255	0.048	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	6.874	17	1.316			
		Total	10.823	20				
3	Democratic Ideals	Between Groups	3.211	3	1.737	3.465	0.040	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	8.521	17	0.501			
		Total	13.732	20				
4	Competitive Strength	Between Groups	1.013	3	0.0338	0.655	0.591	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	8.765	17	0.517			
		Total	9.778	20				
5	Ideological Relevance	Between Groups	7.804	3	2.601	11.713	0.000	Accept Ho
		Within Groups	3.776	17	0.222			
		Total	11.580	20				
6	Conflict Management	Between Groups	0.234	3	7.814	0.130	0.941	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	10.204	17	0.6000			
		Total	10.438	20				
7	Political Branding	Between Groups	0.471	3	0.157	0.301	0.824	Reject Ho
		Within Groups	8.869	17	0.522			
		Total	9.340	20				
8	Internal marketing	Between Groups	0.270	3	0.979	4.102	0.023	Accept Ho
		Within Groups	11.263	17	0.239			
		Total	11.532	20				

Significance Level: = 0.05(3.55) OR = 0.01 (6.01)

4.8.2 Interpretation of Result

The ANOVA F. statistics is highly significant for six out of eight criteria of effectiveness considered by the parties. On comparative basis, table 4.23 shows where each party stands in terms of effectiveness in each of the variables.

TABLE 4.23: Result of Descriptive Statistical Analysis of The Effectiveness of Market growth Strategies of The Parties (Parties Perspective)

Variables	Effectiveness Criteria	LP	CP	FP	NP	Relative position
1	Responsive Leadership	3.700 (0.308)	4.130 (0.739)	3.766 (0.251)	3.666 (0.763)	C>F>L>N
2	Mass Mobilization	4.560 (0.260)	4.366 (0.321)	4.010 (0.739)	3.666 (0.288)	L>C>F>N
3	Democratic Ideals	3.840 (0.634)	5.166 (0.288)	4.280 (0.749)	3.666 (0.577)	C>F>L>N
4	Competitive Strength	4.433 (0.404)	4.000 (0.827)	3.840 (0.634)	3.666 (0.577)	L>C>F>N
5	Ideological Relevance	5.000 (0.353)		5.000 (0.353)		F>C>F>N
6	Conflict Management	3.840 (0.477)	3.750 (0.978)	3.666 (0.288)	3.500 (0.500)	L>C>F>N
7	Political Branding	4.500 (0.500)	4.420 (0.168)	4.270 (0.871)	4.000 (0.000)	L>C>F>N
8	Internal Marketing	4.333 (0.577)	4.320 (0.900)	4.200 (0.908)	4.000 (0.000)	L>C>F>N
	Overall Effectiveness	**4.230 (0.623)**	**4.200 (0.360)**	**4.120 (0.216)**	**3.133 (0.230)**	

4.8.3 Interpretation of Result

Table 4.23 indicates that challenger party is the most effective party in the areas of responsive leadership and democratic ideals; while follower party proved to be the most effective in one area i.e. ideological relevance. However, the leader party stood out as the most effective in the areas of mass mobilization, competitive strength, conflict management, political branding, and internal marketing.

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: x =0.05 or = 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.

Furthermore, the ANOVA F-statistic is highly significant for four out of five criteria of effectiveness of market growth strategies used by the dominant parties.

PARTIES

Voter – share L
  C
  F
  N

Ideological relevance L
  C
  F
  N

Competitive Position L
  C
  F
  N

Size of membership L
  C
  F
  N

Growth Prospect L
  C
  F
  N

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

AVERAGE SCORE

Chart 1.0: Comparison of the result of ANOVA Statistical Analysis of the Effectiveness of the parties' marketing strategies (Electorate perspective); (where 1 = least, 10 = highest).

4.8.5 General Discussion

There is general consensus among the parties that marketing strategies play positive role in electoral politics. This positive role seems to be pronounced in the following areas:

- ❖ The emergence of credible and responsive leaders
- ❖ Mobilization of the people for overall national development
- ❖ The development of nationalist ideology
- ❖ The promotion of democratic ideals
- ❖ The management of crises and conflicts that go with politics
- ❖ Political branding and Mass participation in politics.

These findings constitute an improvement on previous cross-parties studies which limited the role of marketing strategies to political communication and propaganda (e.g. Coram, A. 2003; Baines et al, 2003:1099; Butler and Kavanagh 1997:97; Lees-Marshment 2001:73; Osuagwu, L. 2008:87).

The current state of political environment requires that deliberate efforts be made to sustain the role which marketing strategies are seen to be playing. The consensus is that these efforts should be made in the following areas:

- ❖ Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system.
- ❖ Continuous use of marketing research and planning.
- ❖ Creation of independent, courageous and corrupt-free democratic institutions.

Although the mean scores for the various perceptual dispositions among the parties on the role of marketing strategies are not equal, it is not a sufficient ground to conclude that there are significant differences. Thus a statistical analysis using one-way analysis of variance was employed. The results indicate that there are significant differences in the ways political parties perceive the role of marketing strategies. As for the electorates, their perception of the role of marketing strategies is significant in three of the five areas tested (i.e. Responsive Leadership, promotion of democratic ideals, and political branding). The differences in their perception of mass mobilization and ideological relevance are not significant.

The parties employ seven marketing mix strategies and three political marketing orientation strategies. The leader party has the superior marketing strategies relative to Challenger, Follower and Nicher in all the eight significant strategies compared. Challenger is also

superior to Follower and Nicher in all eight respects, and Follower is superior to Nicher in all eight strategies. In all, the results indicate that Leader part demonstrated.

The findings of the study affirm the strong marketing orientation of Leader party, particularly their emphasis on intensive (ward) network to reach as many voters as possible. It corroborates Baine's proposition concerning the distinctive competence of Leader parties. They have the capability of funding, and exploiting new vote market opportunities. On the other hand, Challenger party, true to its appellation relies heavily on campaign and propaganda as well as hard selling techniques to push its programmes and defend its vote-shares. In all the twenty demonstrations of marketing strategies, the Leader party was superior in twelve, Challenger in six and Follower in two.

In terms of overall effectiveness of the strategies, the Leader party was the most effective. But specifically, ANOVA F-statistics is highly significant in six out of eight criteria of effectiveness considered from the parties' perspective. The Leader party was the most effective in five criteria (i.e. Mass mobilization, competitive strength, conflict management, political branding, and internal marketing); 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 electorates' perspective, the ANOVA F-statistics is highly significant for four out of five criteria of effectiveness on marketi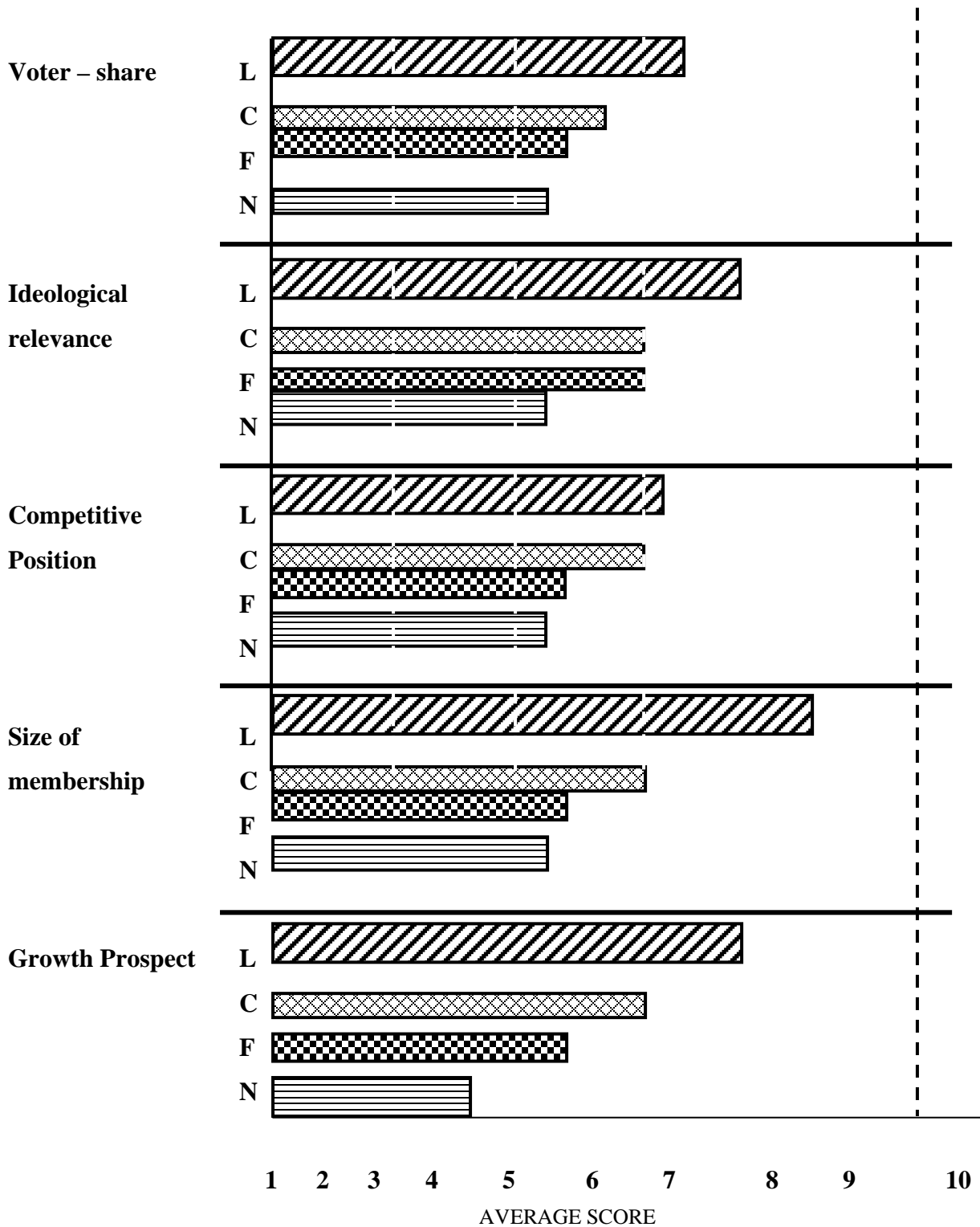ng strategies used by the dominant parties. Challenger party is the most effective in ideological relevance while the Leader party is the most effective in other criteria such as vote-share, competitive position, size of membership and growth rate.

RESEARCH TOPIC: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MARKETING STRATEGIES OF DOMINANT POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA. (The Case of 2003 General Elections)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	HYPOTHESIS	MEASUREMENT	STATISTICAL TOOLS	FINDINGS	RESULT	INTERPRETATION	LITERATURE LINK
RQ 1: What role do marketing mix strategies play in politics?	-	14 item Likert scale.	Tables, Frequencies, Percentages, Means.	Responsive Leadership, Mass mobilization, Democratic ideals, Conflicts management, Political branding, Ideological relevance.	41.9% (P&E) 41.7% (P&E) 34.7% (P&E) 20.7% (P&E) 40.0% (P&E) 25.0% (P&E)	Out of the 14 items listed, respondents identified six as the basic roles of marketing mix strategies in politics.	These roles prove that marketing in politics is not limited to communication (Savwate, 1990)
RQ 2: How do political parties and their electorates perceive the role of marketing in politics?	-	CETSCALE items	Tables, means, percentages etc.	Positive side of the Cetscale.	Score on a Cetscale: LP=26.2, CP=26.0, FP=29.5, NP=28.2.	Marketing strategies play positive role in politics but not extremely positive,implying that 52% of electoral success in Nigeria is due to marketing strategies.	This is contrary to Baines,1996;Lees-Marshment,2001, stance that 90% of electoral success in advanced democracies is due to marketing .
RQ 2: How do political parties and their electorates perceive the role of marketing in politics?	**Hypothesis 1** H_o: There is no significant difference in the way parties and their electorates perceive the role of marketing strategies in politics.	3-item Likert scale.	ANOVA. X=0.05 significant level.	f-calculated > F-tabulated in all the 4 cases (parties) i.e. ANOVA: NP: F (.777)>F(.520) LP: F(.1.075)>F(.381) CP: F(.678)>F(.570) FP: F(.827)> F(.494) All at x + 0.05 significance level.	H_o is rejected in all the cases (parties).	We accept the alternate Hypothesis which implies that there are significant differences in the perception of the role of marketing strategies.	This corroborated the stance of Craven and Piercy (2003) that parties perceive the role of marketing in politics differently.

169

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	HYPOTHESIS	MEASUREMENT	STATISTICAL TOOLS	FINDINGS	RESULT	INTERPRETATION	LITERATURE LINK
RQ3: What are the contents of competitive marketing strategies used by Nigerian political parties in increasing their vote-share?	**Hypothesis 2** H_o: There is no significant difference in the content of the competitive marketing strategies of Nigerian Political parties.		Tables, means, ANOVA. x=0.05 significant level. 20 –item (Likert-scale) and 9 dimensional (structured) questions.	The contents of the parties' marketing strategies identified as: product, promotion, price, place, process, people, physical evidence, party oriented, sales oriented and market oriented strategies.	In all the 10 strategies, L>C>F>N. H_o was rejected in 8 out of the 10 areas.	The LP has superior configuration of marketing strategies over others. Differences in the marketing strategies of the parties are significant in 8 of the 10 strategies.	This agrees with the stance of Baines (1996) Scammel (1999) Newman (1991) and Scarrow (1996), Kotler (1999). They argued that the differences result in L>C>F>N.
RQ4:How effective are the market growth strategies of parties in enhancing their competitive position?	**Hypothesis 3** H_o: There is no significant difference in the levels of effectiveness of market growth strategies employed by Nigerian parties.	Likert scale using certain effectiveness criteria: Vote-share, membership size, ideology, growth, competitive position, internal marketing, responsive leadership, branding, mobilization, and conflict management.	Tables, Means, ANOVA. x=0.05 significant level.	The Leader Party was best in the overall effectiveness rating on all the 8 criteria. All the parties did well in two criteria; political branding and mass mobilization. From the rating of the electorate, the LP was the most effective in market growth strategy application.	H_o is rejected in 6 out of 8 criteria of effectiveness considered by the parties. LP proved most effective in 5, CP in 2, and FP in 1. Ho was rejected in 4 out of 5 criteria of effectiveness considered by the electorate.	H_i is accepted meaning that there are significant differences in the levels of effectiveness of parties.	This is congruent to the theoretical proposition by Lees-Marshment (2001) that levels of party effectiveness depend on the extent and configuration of market growth strategy applied.

References

Abati, R. (2003), "A Lid on Campaign Donations", The Guardian, Tuesday February 25, p.22.

Ake, C. (1996), Democracy and Development, Washington DC. Brookings Institute.

Baines, P.R. and Egan, J. (2001), "Marketing and Political Campaigning: Mutually Exclusive Mutual", Qualitative Market *Research: An International Journal*, Vol.4 No.4, pp.25-34.

Baines, P.R., Harris, P. and Lewis, B.R. (2002), "The Political Marketing Planning Process: Improve Image and Message in Strategic Target Areas", Marketing Intelligence & Planning, Vol. 20 No. 1, pp.6-14.

Baines, P.R., Scheucher, C. and Plasser, F. (2001), "The Americanization Myth in European Political Markets: A Focus on the United Kingdom", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 35 No. 9/10, 1099-1117.

Barkdale, H.C. and Darden, W.R. (1972), "Consumers' Attitudes Toward Marketing and Consumerism, *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 36. Pp.28-35.

Bauer, H.H., Huber, F. and Hermann, A. (1996), "Political Marketing: An Information-
Economic Analysis", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 30 No. 10/11, pp.152-   165.

Blois, K. (1974), "The Marketing of Services: An Approach", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 8, pp.7-19.

Blois, K. (1987), "Marketing for Non-profit Organizations" in Baker, M.J. (Ed.), *The Marketing Book,* London: Heinemann.

Blumber, J.G., Kavanagh, D. and Nossiter, T.J. (1996), "Modern Communications versus Traditional Politics in Britain: Unstable Marriage of Convenience" in Swanson, D.L. and Mancini, P. (Eds.), *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy*: *An International Study in Electoral Campaigning and their Consequences,* London: Praeger.

Bowler, S., Donovan, T. and Fernandez, T. (1996), "The Growth of the Political Marketing Industry and the California Initiative Process", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 30 No. 10/11, pp. 19-34.

Butler, P. and Collins, N. (1994), "Political Marketing: Structure and Process", European Journal of Market, Vol. 28 No.1, pp. 19-34.

Butler, P. and Collins, N. (1994), "Strategic Analysis in Political Markets", *European Journal of Marketing,* Vol. 28 No. 10/11, pp. 32-44.

Carowthers, T. (2000), "Democracy Promotion: A Key Focus in a New World Order", Issues of Democracy, May.

Clement, M.N. (1992), *The Marketing Glossary*, New York: Amazon.

Deng. S. and Dart, J. (1994), "Measuring Market Orientation: A Multi-Factor, Multi-Item Approach", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 10, pp. 725-742.

Denton, R.E. (1988), "*The Primetime Presidency of Ronald Reagan*", New York: Preager.

Dermody, J. and Scullion, R. (2001), "Delusions of Grandeur?: Marketing Contribution to "Meaninful" Western Political Consumption", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 35 No. 9/10, pp.1085-1098.

Diamantopoulos, A. and Hart, S. (1991), "Marketing Orientation and Company Perormance: Evidence from UK Manufacturing Industry", AMA Educators Conference, Orlando Florida.

Egan, J. (1999), "Political Marketing: Lessons fron the Mainstream", *Journal of Marketing Management,* Vol. 15. No. 16, pp.495-504.

Farrel, D.M. (1996), "Campaign Strategies and Tactics" in LeDuc, L., Niemi, R.G. and Norris, P. (Eds.), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Felton, A.P. (1959), "Making the Marketing Concept Work", *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 37, pp.55-65.

Fukuyama, F. (1992), *The End of History and the Last Man,* New York: The Free Press.

Gamble, A. (1990), "Theories of British Politics", *Political Studies*, Vol. 38, pp. 8-19.

Gershman, C. (2000), "Building Cooperation among Democracies", *Issues of Democracy* May.

Glick, e. (1967), *The New Methodology,* Washington DC: American Institute for Political Communication.

Halperin, M.H. (2000), "Building Cooperation Among Democracies:, *Issues of Democracy*, May.

Holsti, O.R. (1996), Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. Mento Park, CA: Addison-Wesley.

Harrop, M. (1990), "Political Marketing", <u>Parliamentary Affairs</u>, Vol. 43, No.3,pp.20-33.

Henneberg, S. (1996), "Second Conference on Political Marketing", *Journal of Marketing Management,* Vol. 12, pp.23-31.

Hooley, G.J., Greenley, G.E., Cadogan, J.W. and Fahy, J. (2005), "The Performance Impact of Marketing Resources", *Journal of Business Research,* Vol. 58, No. 1, pp.18-27.

Huff, L. and Kelley, L. (2005), "Is Collectivism a Liability? The Impact of Culture on © Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
Jeter, H. (2003), "Reflection on the 2003 Elections in Nigeria", *The Guardian,* Tuesday April 15, p.75.

Kavanagh, D. (1995), *Election Campaign: The New Marketing of Politics*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Kohli, A. and Jaworski, B.J. (1990), "Market Orientation: The Construct, Research Propositions and Managerial Implications", *Journal of Marketing,* Vol. 54, pp.1-19.

Kotler, P. (1975), "Overview of Political Candidate Marketing", *Advances in Consumer Research,* Vol. 12, pp.7-218.

Kotler, P. (2002), "Overview of Political Candidate Marketing", Advances in Candidates, Campaigns, and Causes" in Newman, B. (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Kotler, P. and Kotler, N. (1981), "Business Marketing for Political Candidates", *Campaigns and Elections,* pp.24-33.

Kukah, M.H. (1999), Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Lebahn, D.W. and Biehal, G. (1991), *Empirical Research in Strategic Market Planning: Current Progress & Future Directions,* Chicago IL: American Marketing Association.

Lees-Marchment, J. (2001a), "The Marriage of Politics and Marketing", *Political Studies,* Vol. 49, pp.692-713.

Lees-Marshment, J. (2001b), "Marketing the British Conservatives 1997-2001", *Journal of Marketing Management,* Vol. 17, pp. 929-941.

Lees-Marshment, J. (2001c), "Political Market and Traditional Values: 'Old Labour' 'New Times'". *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 7 No. 3, pp.205-216.

Lock, A. and Harris, P. (1996), "Political Marketing: Viva La Difference", European Journal of Marketing, Vol. 30 No. 10/11, pp. 21-31.

Madunagu, E. (2003), "Elections as Civil War", *The Guardian*, Thursday April 17, p.63.

Mauser, G. (1983), *Political Marketing*: *An Approach to Campaign Strategy*, New York: Praeger.

Mavondo, F.T. (2000), "Marketing as a Form of Adaptation: Empirical Evidence from a Developing Economy", *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, Vol. 18 No. 5, pp. 256-272.

McGinniss, J. (1969), *The Selling of the President 1968*, Naples FL: Trident Press.

McKenna, R. (1991), "Marketing is Everything", *Harvard Business Review*, pp. 65-79.

Meldrum, M. (1996), "Critical Issues in Implementing Marketing", *Journal of Marketing Practice: Applied Marketing Science*, Vol. 2 No. 3, pp.29-43.

Miles, R.E. and Snow, C.C. (1978), *Organisational Strategy, Structure and Process.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Newman, B. and Sheth, J. (1985), "A Model of Primary Voter Behaviour", Journal of Consumer Research, pp.21-33.

Newman, B.I (Ed.) (1999), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Newman, B.I. (2002), "The Role of Marketing in Politics", Journal of Political Marketing, Vol. No.1, pp.1-5.

Nimmo, D. (1970), *The Political Persuaders*: *The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns,* Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Nimmo, D. (1999), "The Permanent Campaign Marketing as a Governing Tool" in Newman, B.I. (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing,* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, pp. 73-86.

O'Cass, A. (1996), "Political Marketing and the Marketing Concept", European Journal of Marketing, Vol. 30 No. 10/11, pp. 37-53.

174

O'Cass, A. (2001), "Political Marketing: An Investigation of the Political Marketing Concept and Political Market Orientation in Australian Politics", European Journal of Marketing Vol. 35 No.9/10, pp. 1003-1025.

O'Shaughnessy, N. (1990), T*he Phenomenon of Political Marketing*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

O'Shaughnessy, N. (2001), "The Marketing of Political Marketing", European Journal of Marketing, Vol. 35 No. 9/10, pp.1047-1057.

Odeyemi, J.A. (2002), "Nigeria's Economic Revival Requires Holistic Approach", The Guardian, Monday November 18, pp. 70-71.

Otokiti, S.O. (1987), "High Technology in Small Scale Industries: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and Industrialized Countries", Ph.D. Thesis submitted to University of Delhi, New Delhi, India.

Parkhe, A. (1993), "Messy Research Methodological Predispositions and Theory Development in International Joint Ventures", Academy of Management Review, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 227-268.

Reid, D.M. (1988), "Marketing the Political Products", *European Journal of Mark*eting, Vol. 22, No. 9, pp.34-47.

Savigny, H. (2004), "Political Marketing: A Rational Choice", *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.21-38.

Scammel, M. (1997), "The Wisdom of the War Room: US Campaigning and Americanization", *Joan Shorenstein Center Policy Research Paper* R-17, Cambridge MA: Harvard University.

Shama, A. (1973), "Applications of Marketing Concepts to Candidate Marketing", Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Association for Consumer Research, pp. 793-801.

Shama, A. (1976), "Marketing the Political Candidate", Journal of Academy of Marketing Science, Vol. 4 No. 4, pp.23-41.

Siguaw, J.A., Brown, G. and Widing, R.E. (1994), "The Influence of the Market Orientation of the Firm on Sales", Journal of Marketing Research, 31 (1), pp. 106-116.

Smith, G. and Hirst, A. (2001), "Strategic Political Segmentation: A New Approach for a New Era of Political Marketing", European Journal of Marketing, Vol. 35 No. 9/10,pp.1058-1073.

Smith, G. and Saunders, J. (1990), "The Application of Marketing to British Politics", *Journal* of *Marketing Management*, Vol. 5 No. 3,pp.295-306.

Spogard, R. and James, M. (2000), "Governance and Democracy: The People's View", *A Global Opinion Poll* (www.gallup-international.com).

SpSS, Inc (2003), SPSS 15.0 for Windows (Statistical Analysis Computer Software) Chicago.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1998), Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Thomas, W. (2004), "Delivering Service in Nigeria: A Roadmap", *The Guardian*, Wednesday March 24,pp.9-10.

Veloutsou, C. Saren, M. and Tzokas, N. (2002), "Relationship Marketing: What if? *European Journal of Marketing,* Vol.36, No.4, pp.433-449.

Viola II & Dmitrovic T (2001) An Empirical Analysis of Consumer Purchasing Behaviour in former Yugoslavia Markets, Economic and Business Review Vol. No.3-4, 191-207.

Webster, C. (1992), "What Kind of Marketing Culture Exists in Your Service Firm? An Audit", *The Journal of Services Marketing*, Vol. 30 No. 10/11, pp.92-103.

Wring, D. (1996), "Political Marketing and Party Development in Britain: A Secret History", *European Journal of Marketing,* Vol. 30, No. 10/11, pp.92-103.

Wring, D. (1999), "The Marketing Colonization of Political Campaigning" in Newman, B.I. (Ed.) *The Handbook of Political Marketing,* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Zinkhan, G.M. and Pireira, A. (1994), "An Overview of Marketing Strategy and Planning", *International Journal of Research in Marketing,* Vol. 11, pp. 185-218.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0   Introduction

The theoretical frame work which defined the scope and plan of this research was illustrated in the competitive marketing strategy paradigm. As indicated in the paradigm, competitive marketing structures such as market leader, market challenger, market follower and market nicher are perceived, modeled, and situated in the study. Based on this, political parties are said to adopt certain marketing strategies by which they seek competitive advantage in their chosen market.

However the configuration of the marketing strategy allowed by the political party depend on the political marketing orientation adopted by the party leaders, and this accounts for heterogeneity of their effectiveness.

The primary dependent variable of this research is the dominance of some Nigerian political parties. The aim is to determine how party's perception of the role of marketing mix strategy affects their political marketing orientation and consequently how their various marketing strategies affect the overall effectiveness of the parties. A possible proposition is that certain political parties in certain political marketing orientations have superior marketing strategies which enable them to achieve advantage and outperform other parties in other political marketing typologies. From the analysis of the available data the following findings can be reached.

5.1   Summary of the Work

This chapter contains the summary of the work, conclusion, recommendations, limitations of the research, suggestions for further studies, and contribution to knowledge.

In chapter one, the groundwork for the entire project was laid. This included the objective of the study which was primarily to examine whether contemporary parties in Nigeria are turning to be market-oriented in their approaches, and whether marketing offers a solution to

our democratic challenges. Using Nigerian dominant political parties with a focus on 2003 General Elections. Besides, the problem studied was stated along with the research questions. Also, the significance of the study, hypotheses, scope and Delimitations of the study were all indicated in chapter one.

In chapter two, a wide variety of relevant literature on political marketing was copiously consulted and reviewed. This included various theories that relate to political marketing. Consequently, the theories that border on service marketing, game theory, propaganda, political marketing orientation and marketing mix strategies were adopted as the theoretical framework of this study.

In chapter three, the research method was indicated. In this case, the survey method and a cross sectional type of research design was adopted. The instruments of questionnaire and interview were employed to collect the data required for this study the questionnaire was administered to 800 party officials and electorates in the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria across the four dominant parties. Of the 800 copies of questionnaire administered, 626 were retrieved after editing, 600 were found useful for analysis.

In chapter four, data were presented. The data were analyzed (in line with research questions and hypotheses raised in chapter one) using descriptive statistical tools such as tables, frequencies, percentages, means, ANOVA, etc.

5.2   Summary of Findings.

5.2.1 Theoretical Findings

❖ **THE ROLE OF MARKETING STRATEGIES**

Generally, political organizations use marketing strategies in such activities as image building, issue-tracking, the targeting of voters, timing of elections and aiding in policy formulations (Kavanagh, 1995:249, Smith and Hirst, 2001:1058). In other words, marketing strategies are required in electoral competition among rival political parties. Marketing strategies are also needed as short term tactical device (information-gathering in the run-up to elections) and a long-term or permanent managerial activity to ensure sustained governance (Nimmo, 1999:73; Smith & Hirst, 2001:1058). It stands to reason that political parties wishing to gain long-term competitive advantage must strive to design marketing strategies that will achieve the satisfaction of relevant target audience (voters, party members, party funders, etc.)

Marketing strategies occur in three phases of the electoral process. These are pre-election period which embraces marketing planning and campaign activities. It also involves strategy formulation and gradual implementation. The second is the phase of election. In this phase, legal requirements may not permit overt activities. Yet marketing activities (such as personal selling, telemarketing, logistical issues) continue. In the third phase, the post-election analysis begins. Winners begin to deliver on their electoral promises.

The political parties generally employ the following aspects of marketing strategies:

Product Strategies: A political party's product may include its candidates, leadership or executives, elected or appointed members in government positions, staff, party constitution, party conferences and policies, among others (Lees-Marshment, 2001a:692).

Marketing concepts, principles, frameworks and strategies in the area of product (design, launch etc.) have been substantially adapted in order to be of relevance in electoral politics.

Promotion Strategies: political products are promoted via all channels consumed by the target audience. These channels have been enumerated by Savwate (1990:90) as advertising (e.g. print advertisement, audio-visual advertisements, etc); publicity (e.g. write ups, reporting in print and audio-visual media), public relations, lobbying etc); personal selling (door-to-door visits, group meetings, public rallies, telephone calls etc); sales promotion (e.g. exhibitions, leaflets and stickers, etc).

Distribution Strategies: The distribution strategy is concerned with the conditions regarding the availability of exchange offer (political product) to the exchange partner. There are two aspects involved: campaign delivery and offering delivery.

The campaign delivery aspect provides the primary exchange partner (the electorate) an access to all relevant information about political product. The offering delivery aspect refers to the fulfilment of political promises (Harrop, 1990:20; Palmer, 2002:345).

Pricing Strategies: In political marketing, 'price' tends to be redefined as an element of 'costs' or 'sacrifices' (Henneberg, 2003:23). Inhibitions (e.g. caused by opportunity cost considerations) can prevent voter decision process as well as electoral act itself. Therefore, political marketers try to reduce the necessary (monetary and non-monetary) efforts for voters to process political information, form opinion, evaluate alternatives, and participate in politics in the wider sense.

The People Strategies: The 'people' dimension of political marketing instruments can be viewed from two perspectives:

- Parallel – campaign team
- Internal – cohesion team

The parallel – campaign team refers to organisations such as single issue groups (like NLC, NBA, Afenifere, NPSA, etc) that perceive an overlap of their agenda with that of the party.

The internal – cohesion team is concerned with the relationship with party members and party activities as well as all the 'touch point' agents of the party (e.g. front-benchers, spokes people, etc.)

The Process Strategies: The political marketers can choose among different processes to deliver their 'product' to the electorate: such process could be democratic or undemocratic, friendly or unfriendly, encouraging or threatening, etc. For instance, a party may require, as a pre-condition for its ticket that a candidate should show evidence of his community's support.

Physical Evidence Strategies: In this case, the political marketer develops a picture of its intended voter value proposition. For instance PDP uses umbrella as its logo. Besides, the reputation of the political entity (political party or candidate) serves as a physical evidence that service will be delivered as promised. Political parties in advanced democracies (like U.S.A, Germany, United Kingdom, etc) are market-oriented in their politicking while nascent democracies are product and sales-oriented. Nigeria falls under this category.

5.2.2 Empirical Findings

There is general consensus among the parties that marketing strategies play positive role in politics. This positive role seems to be pronounced in the following areas:

- ❖ The emergence of credible and responsive leaders
- ❖ Mobilization of the people for overall national development
- ❖ The promotion of democratic ideals
- ❖ The management of crises and conflicts that go with politics
- ❖ Political branding and Mass participation in politics.

These findings constitute an improvement on previous cross-parties studies which limited the role of marketing strategies to political communication and propaganda (e.g. Coram, 2003:76; Baines et al 2003:249; Butler and Kavanagh, 1997:97; Lees-Mashment 2001:73; Osuagwu, 2008:87).

The current state of political environment requires that deliberate efforts be made to sustain the role which marketing strategies are seen to be playing. The consensus is that these efforts should be made in the following areas:

- ❖ Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system.
- ❖ Continuous use of marketing research and planning.
- ❖ Introducing within the party machinery a voter-focused operation and internal marketing.

Although the mean scores for the various perceptual dispositions among the parties on the role of marketing strategies are not equal, it is not a sufficient ground to conclude that there are significant differences. Thus a statistical analysis using one-way analysis of variance was employed. The results indicate that there are significant differences in the ways political parties perceive the role of marketing strategies. As for the electorates, their perception of the role of marketing strategies is significant in three of the five areas tested (i.e. Responsive Leadership, promotion of democratic ideals, and political branding). The differences in their perception of mass mobilization and ideological relevance are not significant.

Marketing strategies do not play extremely positive role in Nigerian politics as CETSCALE score of 26.0 indicates. This means that it is only 52% of the electoral success in Nigeria that is determined by marketing strategies.

The parties employ seven marketing mix strategies and three political marketing orientation strategies. The leader party has the superior marketing strategies relative to Challenger, Follower and Nicher in all the ten significant strategies compared. Challenger is also superior to Follower and Nicher in all ten respects, and Follower is superior to Nicher in all the ten strategies. In all, the results indicate that Leader party proved superior .

The findings of the study affirm the strong sales- orientation of Leader party, particularly their emphasis on intensive (ward) network to reach as many voters as possible. It corroborates Baine's proposition concerning the distinctive competence of Leader parties. They have the capability of finding, and exploiting new vote market opportunities. On the

other hand, Challenger party, true to its appellation relies heavily on campaign and propaganda as well as hard selling techniques to push its programmes and defend its vote-shares. In all the twenty demonstrations of marketing strategies, the Leader party was superior in twelve, Challenger in six and Follower in two.

In terms of overall effectiveness of the strategies, the Leader party was the most effective. But specifically, ANOVA F-statistics is highly significant in six out of eight criteria of effectiveness considered from the parties' perspective. The Leader party was the most effective in five criteria (i.e. Mass mobilization, competitive strength, conflict management, political branding, and internal marketing); 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 electorates' 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. However, the following can be said of the parties in specific terms:

❖ **PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF MARKETING STRATEGIES.**

This study examined the perception of the role of marketing strategies in party politics and found that:

• Parties have the notion that marketing strategies play positive role in party politics and this notion has been preponderantly expressed by PDP subsample where 50% of the respondents claimed marketing strategies were responsible for PDP's dominance.

• The perception of the party leaders strongly influence the party's configurations of marketing strategies in its response to competitive trends

• The ANOVA F- statistics indicates that there are no significant differences in the way the four dominant parties perceive the role of marketing strategies (which find expression in political orientation, mass mobilization, and democratic ideals) in party politics.

• The mean perception of political orientation is however highest for Nicher Party (X=4.4>4.3 for leader >4.2 for follower >3.9 for challengers).

❖ **MARKETING STRATEGIES OF THE PARTIES.**

Evidences from political marketing literature suggest that all political marketing orientations do not yield equal performance. This means that some political marketing orientations may lead to superior performance, one major implication of the difference in political marketing effectiveness is that marketing strategies may vary across competitive marketing typologies. The result shows that market leader (PDP) showed distinction from other competitive groups in six dimensions:

1. Their marketing strategy reflects intensive (ward network) to reach as many voters as possible.
2. They consistently seek opportunities in constituencies, states and zones with their existing party loyalists.
3. Their marketing strategies include rigging and electoral result falsification.
4. Their marketing strategy includes financial inducement to voters.
5. Their marketing strategies lay emphasis on the party and not the individual candidate.
6. I n making political marketing decisions, their aim is to establish a strong foothold in the political arena.

The challenger showed superiority in three dimensions:

- Trod political terrain very carefully and sought only those opportunities that are proven to be promising.
- They relied on heavy campaign through wide range of media to generate awareness among voters in the political market.
- They consistently modified their existing programmes, and introduced new candidates to the people.

❖ **EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MARKET GROWTH STRATEGIES OF THE PARTIES.**

Results of this study show that there are significant differences in the effectiveness of the strategies employed by the parties. Results of the first phase of the research show that leader party's market growth strategies were more effective than those of the challenger, the challenger's strategies were more effective than the follower's, and the follower's strategies were more effective that the nicher's in all effectiveness criteria

187

Results of the second phase of the research show that there are significant differences in the effectiveness of parties' market growth strategies as observed by their electorates in five measures of effectiveness;

1. Vote- share
2. Ideological relevance
3. Competitive position
4. Size of membership
5. Growth

The result also shows that in terms of vote share on total vote cast, Leader party was more effective in securing votes than the challengers, and the challenger performed better than the follower, and the follower did better than the nicher (L>C>F>N).

The result is the same in terms of competitive position. In terms of ideological relevance, challenger performed better than follower; follower was better than leader and leader was better than nicher (C>F>L>N). As noted in the literature, nicher lags behind all parties possibly because of its myopia in the application of marketing strategies.

The difference in effectiveness can be explained by the difference in the performance objectives of the parties. Parties using different political marketing orientations may have a different performance objectives and consequently, different measures of performance. Examples are cited that leaders tend to gauge their performance in terms of increase in votes which is an indicator of growing electorate acceptance for their new political products. On the other hand, challenger would gauge their performance in terms of operational efficiency whereas the nicher would pursue some different objectives depending on the political terrain in which they find themselves.

5.3   Conclusion

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

1. Marketing strategies do not play extremely positive role in Nigerian politics. This means that only 52% of electoral success in Nigeria is determined by marketing strategies. The other 48% is determined by the over bearing influence of government and other anti-democratic forces in politics (like God-fatherism, ethnicism, etc).

188

2. There are significant differences in the ways parties and their electorates perceive the role of marketing strategies in politics.

3. The parties employ the same set of marketing strategies (i.e. product, promotion, price, place, people, process, physical evidence, party-based and sales-oriented strategies.) except that the configuration of the strategies by parties differ in terms of timing and situations. They are all weak in market-orientation as none of them proved to be market oriented party. Specifically, the unique marketing strategies the Nigerian political parties employ in winning elections are product-oriented and sales-oriented strategies.

4. 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.

5. Kotler et al (1999:249) had concluded that organisations adopting the leader, challenger, follower, and nicher 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.

5.4   Policy Implications of the Findings

The findings of this research are important on several counts:

(1) Democracy is sweeping across the world, and the basic instrument (or institution) of democracy is political party. Hence the failure of political party is the failure of democracy. An understanding of the role of marketing strategies in party politics will help politicians and parties to deepen democratic culture in Nigeria by adhering to best democratic practices.

(2) Wedded to the above is the fact that political parties in Nigeria and the world over constitute a powerful driving force for political development of the country. Yet, their

operators do not appreciate the need to run the parties on the basis of marketing concept (i.e. being voter-focused rather than party centred). This makes it worthwhile and desirable for politicians to have basic marketing training to enhance their skills and performance.

(3) Political parties are becoming more organized in their marketing activities as the 2008 and 2009 presidential elections in USA and Ghana respectively indicated. To catch up with the trend, political parties in Nigeria need to commission marketing research and telemarketing campaigns that transcend constituency boundaries.

(4) Once the campaigns have been conducted, it is important to determine why the campaigns fared in the way that they did.

(5) Party discipline and cohesion can be increased by restricting the capacity of members to switch allegiance to other party once elected.

(6) The models developed in this study can help policy makers to embark on institutional innovation that builds a more coherent party system.

(7) The models do not support the organization of political parties around personalities, narrow interests, tribal and ethnic loyalties.

5.5   Recommendations

The problem addressed by this study has been clearly stated. Despite the vagaries of political permutations, it is apparent that the nature of politics in every nation is a reflection of three dominant issues: the character of the players, the nature of the rules governing the game, and the configuration of the field of play. These three elements determine the content, context and dynamics of politics from one nation to another.

Be that as it may, politics is all about the struggle for the control, use and retention of power even though the nature of such power differs from one context to another. It can also be viewed as the authoritative allocation of value or who gets what, how and why? What this means in essence is that the degree of power or privileges a political product (candidate or party) is able to control is largely determined by his ability to subdue opposition through the accurate deployment of marketing strategies in the contest for power. Wedded to this stance are the differences arising from the way and manner political conflicts are resolved among nations. This provides the anchor for the general notion that politics in some nations is highly developed, well organized with highly differentiated institutional structures and procedures.

Here, the institutions to regulate conflicts are not only in place, they are empowered to perform this role and their decisions are legitimate to the extent that they are generally accepted by the people.

The above scenario is in contrast with the picture of many developing countries or nascent democracies, where the structures and institutions of government are underdeveloped, dysfunctional and in some cases comatose. As a result, these institutions fail to inspire the confidence and loyalty of citizens, who tend to seek extra legal means of redress.

5.5.1 On the Role of Marketing Strategies In Politics

The analysis of the entire four party samples reveal that a preponderant proportion of the respondents believe that marketing strategies play positive role in party politics while those who hold contrary opinion argue that Nigerian brand of politics is inundated with rigging, selection, deselection, imposition of candidates, killing etc. The difference here lies on the political marketing orientation which a party has chosen. That is, whether the party is product-oriented, sales-oriented or market-oriented.

It is also important to note that the role of marketing strategy as a construct does not support the organization of political parties around personalities, narrow interests, and tribal or ethnic loyalties. It is rather intended to support political groupings and help move them towards becoming more coherent, policy-oriented political parties.

Be that as it may, the following recommendations are pertinent:

❖ Parties should follow democratic process in all activities, including internal elections.

❖ Parties should provide basic marketing training for their officials to increase their understanding of the role of marketing in politics.

❖ There should be an overhaul of the country's election management body to improve their performances in the conduct of elections in Nigeria.

5.5.2 On Perception of The Role of Marketing Strategies

In the past few years, the Nigerian politics has systematically moved away from ideal democracy even where parties generally have good perception of the role of marketing strategies in politics. Under this circumstance, political parties fail to recognize the nexus between marketing concept and democracy. Essentially, both constructs are people-centered.

The good perception of the role of marketing strategies by parties and their candidates does not reflect in their activities thereby leading to slow growth of democracy in Nigeria. This is evidenced in the fact that Nigerian parties generally have weak democratic processes as reflected in their internal and external marketing activities. For democracy to grow in Nigeria, therefore, there must be a strategic fit between our parties' perception of the role of marketing strategies and their activities. In other words, there must be congruence of what the people demand and what the parties offer.

To receive the desired strategic fit, the party leaders should be able to understand model, interpret, extrapolate and forecast the marketing trends and concepts. The findings of this study have confirmed that the perception of party leadership, regarding the role of marketing strategies in politics, influence the responses of the party to its electorate and peculiar environment. For this reason, it is imperative for party leadership to have appropriate perception of the role which marketing strategies can play in party politics.

It is strongly recommended therefore that leaders of Nigerian political parties take seriously their gate-keeping roles by improving their understanding of marketing concept in order to enhance their perception of the role of marketing strategies. This is because the business of strategy formulation and implementation is critical to a party's success, not only at the polls, but also in governance.

Appropriate perception of the role of marketing strategies leads to timely detection of opportunities in the political marketplace, and eventual alignment of the party's strengths to the demands of the political environment. It is obvious that in Nigeria, the political environment is escalating toward higher levels of uncertainty, hostility, dynamism, and heterogeneity of players. Thus party leaders should know that competitive advantage derives from accurate perception of current trends. To also sustain the competitive advantage, competitive intelligence is of paramount relevance. Party leaders should develop formal competitive intelligence units responsible for formal programmes of gathering information on the party's competitors. Political espionage can also be developed for gathering information straight from competitors. This may take the form of using former and current supporters / employees of competitors. In short, a party should sharpen its feelers to be able to perceive this trend.

5.5.3 On the Marketing Strategies of the Parties

Marketing strategy is concerned with setting direction and matching internal resources and skills with a changing political environment in a way that enhances the performance of the parties over time. This fit-view of strategy was espoused by Peter Drucker and other organizational theorists in the 1980s. Other contemporary researchers have seen strategy as a process by which organizational resources and competences are leveraged to yield new opportunities and provide competitive advantage. Thus the association of marketing strategy with politics remains a significant shift in marketing management since the 1990s.

A panoramic view of the literature shows that politics will lose its salt and glamour without the inputs which only marketing can provide, especially in a democratic environment. Thus marketing concerns and viewpoints have become pivotal in the management of political affairs.

In today's world, the realities of democracy are making the shift toward political marketing mandatory for all political parties and nation-states. The move is no longer a choice because in the battle for vote-share, marketing strategy is the most effective weapon parties can employ to leverage vote shares.

It has been observed that marketing strategies in a party promote innovativeness which contributes to the creation of positional advantage which in turn leads to superior electoral performance. The implication is that marketing strategy reflects a systematic effort by a political party to acquire information about its vote market and to integrate such information into political marketing process.

In the light of the foregoing theoretical background and the results of this research, it is strongly recommended that Nigerian political parties have to be totally market-oriented. A market-oriented party seeks to understand electorate's expressed and latent needs and goes ahead to develop superior solutions to meet those needs in its programmes. In other words, the goal of market-oriented party is to provide superior value for electorate. The result is that voter satisfaction leads to party re-election

Research has also shown that when a party is market-oriented and hence able to meet voters' needs more accurately and effectively than competitors; and in a manner which competitors find difficult to emulate, it will be able to achieve competitive advantage. Market-orientation

thus represents both an additional strategic dimension and an important basis for building a sustainable competitive advantage.

When a party is market-oriented, it is able to look beyond current voters' needs to develop future programmes that will tap latent needs which serve to strengthen a party's position in the vote market over time. Market-orientation is also crucial in guiding a party's process of selecting its flag bearers who are ultimately used to create voter value, quick and extensive market penetration with decreased campaign and electioneering costs. There is always a strong positive relationship between market orientation and party's overall performance, and Nigerian parties can benefit from it. Hence, political campaigns in elections should focus on issues of social, economic and political relevance to replace the usual dramatization of ideological bankruptcy across the political landscape by the political parties.

5.5.4 On the Effectiveness of Marketing Strategies

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.

5.6 Problems Encountered During the Study

In the course of this study, the researcher encountered the following challenges:

(i) The parties were reticent about some information on their operations

(ii) The party leaders and officials were rather suspicious of our motives, despite assurances from the research assistants that they were not sponsored by the oppositions. They were not willing to divulge certain information considered germane to the study.

(iii) Some others who obliged us with some information tended to exaggerate such information in the hope that we would publish it to impress the reading public. Yet there were some who thought we were working for some NGO's which seek to expose the ills of the politicians.

(iv) In some survey locations like Anambra it was difficult to identify the genuine party officials because of the existence of two factions of the Executive Committee. Of course, there was a pending case in court to determine this. Thus the researcher identified those who constituted the executive committee before the infractions, and elicited their responses. Lagos had the same problem, but theirs was not as pronounced as that of Anambra.

(v) During the course of this study, some respondents bluntly refused to fill out the questionnaire with the excuse that it was bulky, and that they had no such time. Some others got scared by the understanding that it was for a Ph.D work. They felt their information would be too inferior to the level in view. In certain places in the north, the literacy level of both some officials and electorates hampered the completion of the questionnaire. In most cases, we had to get an interpreter who expected reward for a job well-done. This increased the cost of the exercise.

(vi) Talking to female party officials and electorate was an uphill task because of religious or cultural biases. The thought that it was a ploy to make love advances, and possible misinterpretation of observers pitched the female respondents against the research assistants. At times, they hurriedly released some information and went their way.

5.7   Limitation and Suggestion for Further Studies

The variance between marketing theory and its practice can be determined and explained through empirical research (Osuagwu, 2008:87). Thus, this research effort examined the marketing strategies of political entities with a view to understanding political markets, political environments, political marketers and approaches for achieving efficiency and effectiveness through political marketing strategies. But further investigation is desirable with respect to political practices, political entities, the electorates (individual voters) and the society at large. Using marketing principles and techniques to understand and evaluate such linkages is important for efficient and effective democratic practice in a society or nation (O'Cass, 2001:1003).

In addition, the degree of practice of certain marketing principles, strategies and theories has not been adequately investigated empirically across different political contexts and cultures (Lock and Harris, 1996:21; Osuagwu, 2008:87). This paucity of research work means that it is difficult to draw general conclusion about political marketing. Thus, to analyze and understand political behaviour (practices and strategies) in political entities, it is imperative for future researchers in this area to use theoretical marketing frameworks situated within relevant contexts and countries and examine empirically, the relevance of these settings and environments. By so doing, marketing theory can provide a clearer view of the long term competitive positions and strategies of political entities in other contexts.

Furthermore, empirical study is desirable to determine the degree to which the strategies of political parties are a function of voter behaviour in the different relevant segmentation bases such as tribe, gender, geopolitical zone, age group and social class, among other segmentation variables. A proper understanding of the political behaviour of voters and other relevant stakeholders would assist political parties in designing efficient and effective marketing strategies, ensure healthy political competition among parties, and deepen democratic culture in nations.

Again, as Osuagwu (2008:87) has suggested, a two-stage research method (qualitative and quantitative) is necessary for a proper investigation of marketing in political entities. This method will allow for both an exploratory stage investigating the phenomenon of marketing strategy (such as market orientation strategy) and developing research ideas, and then a descriptive stage of presenting patterns of the phenomenon of marketing strategy in Nigeria political entities. This approach

isespecially practical when the phenomenon of study, such as market orientation strategy in Nigerian political entities, is in evolution (Parklie, 1993:227).

Finally, since effectiveness is the ultimate dependent variable of this research and the root of the problem under investigation, the marketing strategies of political parties can be evaluated in three segments i.e. the pre-election strategies, during election strategies, and post-election strategies. Further studies can be focused on each of these segments as a way of properly articulating and understanding the essence of marketing in politics and governance. In other words, further research will help to determine what performance objectives are pursued with what marketing strategies and what results.

5.8   Contributions to Knowledge

The ways in which this study has contributed to the body of knowledge include:

(i) It adds to the existing literature in political marketing practices with respect to their roles, perception of these roles by participants, the strategies involved, and the effectiveness of such strategies in nascent democracies.

(ii) The parties and electorates' rating scale developed by the researcher could be used for other related research works on officials and citizens in governance.

(iii)The typological study of the dominant parties have given rise to the development of instruments for measuring marketing strategies of political parties with a view to explaining the variations in political party performance.

(iv)The results obtained from this study have added value to the body of knowledge. For instance, it is now crystal clear that the role of marketing in politics is not limited to communications.

(v) This thesis is an invaluable compendium of ideas, facts and figures that can be used by political marketers, strategists, consultants, political institutions, and democratic agencies for the furtherance and promotion of political activities in a nation.

(vi)Different areas of limitations identified in this study have created opportunities for researchers as new topics for further study in political marketing.

(vii)   Models have been developed in the process of this research, and these can further be developed into conceptual and theoretical framework for studies in political marketing. These models include:

(a) Model 1: The Role of Marketing Strategies in Electoral politics.

197

(b) Model 2:   Relationship between perception and marketing strategy in politics

(c) Model 3:   The political marketing process

(d) Model 4:   Mechanism for conflict management in party politics.

5.9   MODELS

MODEL 1: The Role of Marketing Strategies in Electoral Politics.

Model 1 below shows that the role of marketing strategies in party politics begins with the political marketing propeller and cruise system made up of the Board of Trustees of a party. The board propels the activities of the strategic team made up of National Executive Committee (NEC). The strategic team, with the aid of marketing strategies, performs a key boundary spanning role by (1) gathering critical environmental information and (2) linking the party to its primary strategic constituency groups – target market segments. The strategic team also initiates other structures that combine with it to form the marketing fuselage. These structures are staff and membership, fund raising, information system and propaganda management. The third segment is the marketing warhead comprising

(a) The marketing planning and control system

(b) Party ideology and manifestoes

(c) The scanner or market sensor. The scanner involves the marketing intelligence system which may also dabble into political espionage.

It is important to note that the marketing mix element constitutes the tools of the warhead.

MODEL 1:   The Role of Marketing Strategies in Party

Political Marketing Propeller and Cruise System   The Marketing Fuselage   The Marketing Warhead
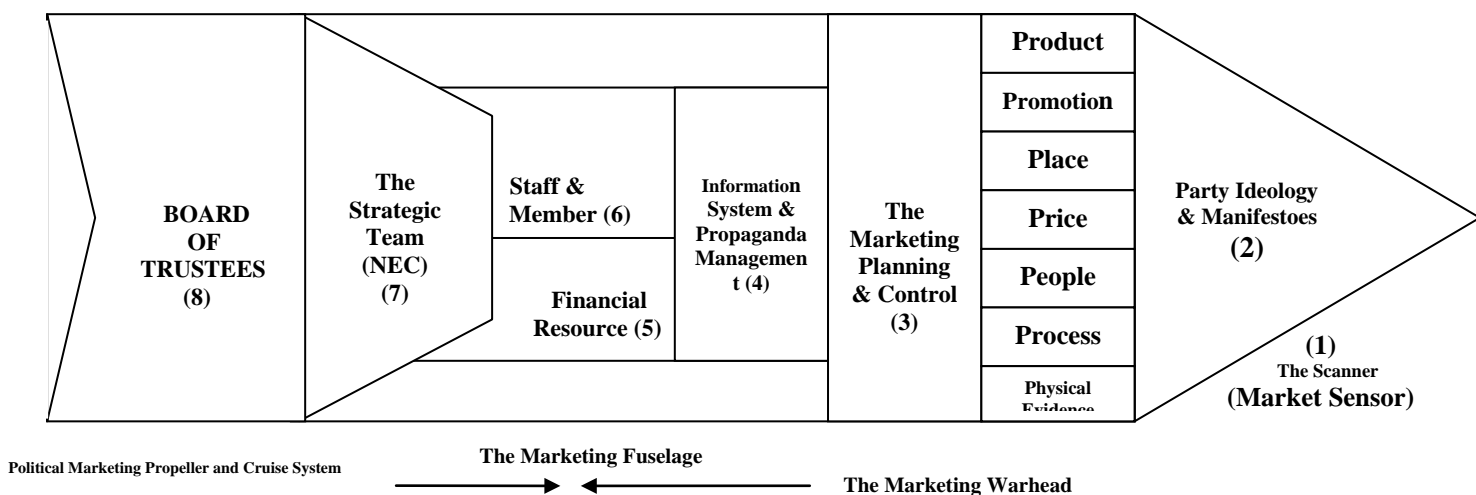
Source: Designed by the Researcher (2009)

Figure 17.0: The Role of Marketing Strategies in Politics

198

MODEL 2: Relationship between Perception and Role of Marketing Strategies in Politics
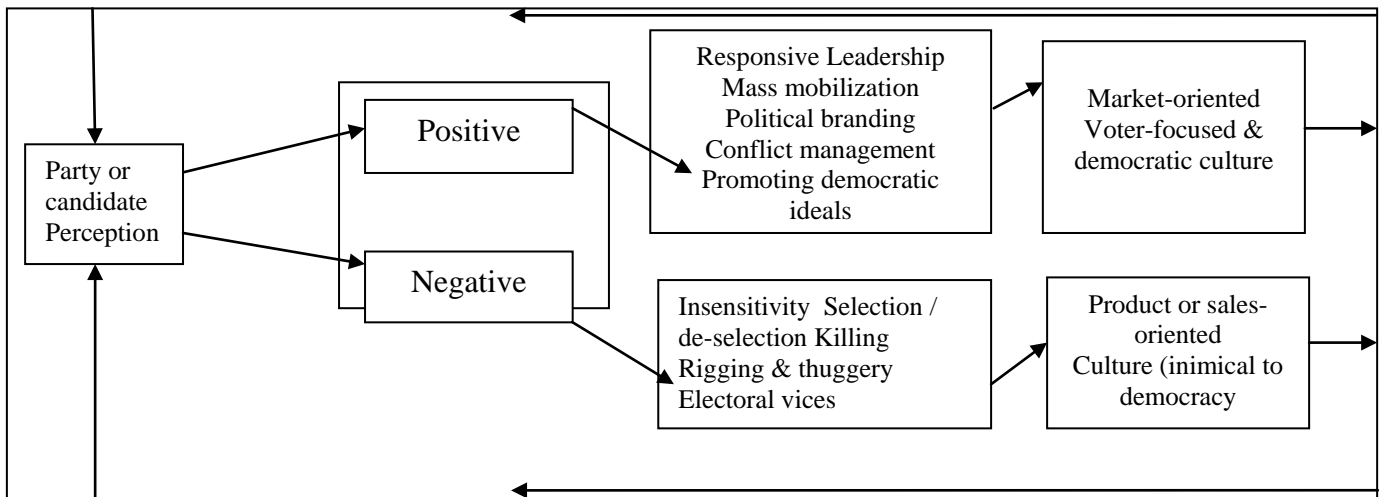
Figure 18.0: Relationship between perception and role of Marketing Strategies in Politics.

Source: Designed by the Researcher (2009)

Model 2 above indicates that a party or candidate that has positive perception about the role of marketing strategies will tend to offer responsive leadership, engage in mass mobilization to earn the mandate of the electorate, ensure that his/her party or candidature is properly branded and positioned in the minds of voters, anticipate and manage conflict, promote democratic ideals in all spheres of operation. The result will be market-oriented, voter-focused and democratic culture.

On the other hand, party or candidate having negative perception about the role of marketing strategies in politics will tend to be insensitive to the yearnings and aspirations of the electorate, engage in selection or de-selection of candidates for election, involve in political killing and assassination, sponsor rigging and Thuggery during elections, and indeed other electoral vices. The result, of course, will indicate that such a party or candidate has product or sales-oriented culture, and as such constitutes a danger to democracy.

MODEL3: The Political Marketing Process
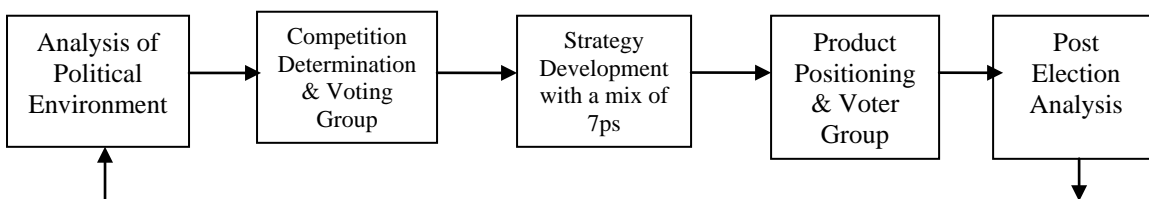
Figure 19.0: The Political Marketing Process

Source: Designed by the Researcher (2009)

There are five stages in the political marketing process:

STAGE 1: Analysis of political Environment: This is concerned with the analysis of the political environment. This would include information gathering about the political tradition (e.g. zoning arrangement) and constituency identification.

Also in this stage, constituencies that are most likely to change their allegiance are identified since such constituencies are particularly important to all the various parties ,and resources can be targeted more effectively at these constituencies, thereby saving political parties both money and time (Baines, 1996:34).

Other issues in this stage include:

Historical Data: These are reviewed to show the party's vote- share and major source of competition at the previous election (i.e. if it is an existing party).

Census Statistic: This shows the demographic structure of the constituency. It reveals changes in the constituency's demographic and partisan profile. With this revelation appropriate targeting of relevant voting groups can take place.

Constituency Ranking: Knowing where each constituency stands in the electoral federation helps to determine the swing needed to gain a seat. If the persuadable voters are less than the required swing in that constituency then the constituency should not attract the attention and resources of the party in question.

Constituency Research: This is vital for a full understanding of the current position of the major parties within a constituency since historical voting data does not give any idea of recent changes in the partisan nature of the constituency.

Canvass Records: Canvassing should be undertaken in order to determine the supporters of the particular parties (or even floating voters, so that the constituency organisations can tailor specific strategies to the relevant sections of the electorate.

The combination of constituency research, census statistics, canvass records and historical data allows the political strategists to determine the principal competition and the relevant voting groups to be targeted.

STAGE 2: **Competition Determination and Voting Group Identification**

This stage involves determining the main competition and segmenting the various voter groups as well as incorporating all the recent data from canvassing and constituency research.

STAGE 3: Strategy Development

This concerns a decision on how the seven variables of marketing will be combined to gain effect. These variables are commonly referred to as 7p's or components of marketing strategy. They are products, promotion, price, place, people, process, and physical evidence. They have been briefly explained as part of theoretical underpinning of this paper.

STAGE 4: Product Positioning and Voter Group Targeting

Product positioning gives voters reasons to favour a particular party or candidate. This reason derives from the policies, issues and the reasoned argument of the political marketer.

Voter group targeting can be conducted through door-to-door canvassing, telephone, direct mail and local meetings, etc.

STAGE 5: Post-Election Analysis

The essence of good marketing in politics is to learn from previous successes and failures, and to build these into future planning and strategy. This stage attempts to determine what lessons can be learned from previous stages.

MODEL 4:   Model for Conflict Management in Party Politics

Intra-party conflict leading to voter cynicism and low voter turnout is a problem that faces all politicians and political parties. Within the commercial spheres, companies promote internal peace by quickly attending to industrial action. In order to effectively compete, Political parties differ in that they are reliant on citizen participation in the political process. This participation is now in sharp decline, and raises questions about the legitimacy of the system.   Consequently, a model that combines the two main competing paradigms in marketing is developed to tackle the contemporary challenges facing democratic politics.

The discussion below explains the rubrics of each paradigm and their interface in the model. Precipitation of a conflict episode with overt hostile behaviour among party members requires some mechanism to bring hostility to an end. Figure 18.0 below is the framework proposed for conflict management in politics. This framework relies on the two competing

paradigms (i.e. marketing mix management paradigm and relationship marketing paradigm) in marketing. It is developed on the premise that there is something good in each of the paradigms which party managers can adopt to create party stability.

MODEL 4:   MECHANISM FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN PARTY POLITICS
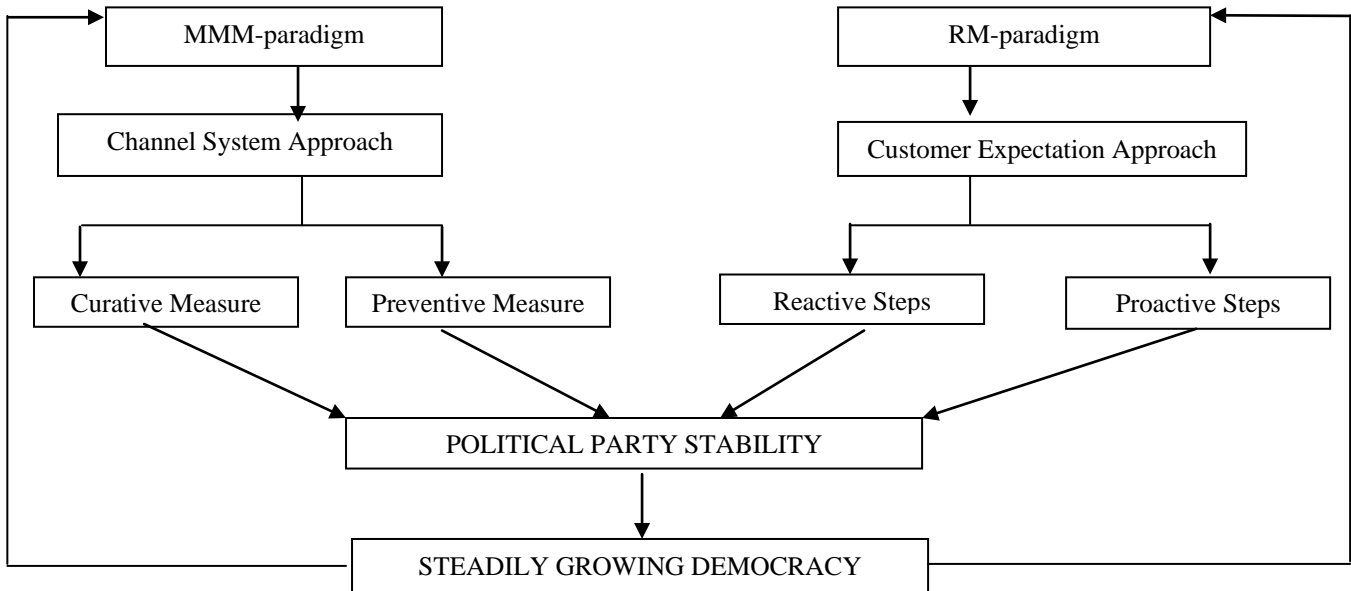
Figure 20.0:   A Frameworks for conflict management in party politics
Source: Designed by the Researcher (2009)

The MMM-paradigm has donated the idea of conflict resolution often used in channel system while the RM-paradigm has donated the strategies which Relationship marketers adopt in understanding their customers' expectation since this forms the basis of forestalling conflict. The result of these two approaches is stability in the political systems which ultimately lead to steadily growing democratic system. We shall consider each of these approaches in detail.

THE MMM-PARADIGM
As we have earlier indicated the MMM-paradigm rests on the notion of the four ps i.e. product, price, place and promotion. The place element is essentially concerned with the channel system and logistical components. The channel system deals with intermediaries that assist the manufacturer in ensuring that goods reach the consumer at the right time, place, price, and form. In the process, conflicts occur and they are often resolved for the benefit of the entire system. It is the approach of resolving these conflicts in the channel

system that is being applied in party politics. This approach is sub-divided into two: curative and preventive.

Preventive Measure

The assumption here is that conflict has not occurred, and the party can take the following measures to prevent it from occurring.

Adoption of Super ordinate goals

Essentially, a superordinate goal is one which all party members desire but which cannot be achieved by anyone member acting alone. All party members have a stake in the operating efficiency of the party system and most likely have as an overriding goal a desire to win election. In such instance, appeals to the superordinate goal may aid in ending a conflict episode.

The development of superordinate goals becomes most pronounced when the party is confronted with an external threat. Before the April 2007 elections, PDP strove to reduce internal conflict because of the threat from the opposition parties – most of whose influential members defected from PDP.

Improving Communication Process

More efficient flow of information and/or communications in the party will permit party members to find solutions to their conflict based on common objectives.

Many associations have been established by aspirants and their supporters (e.g. Agenda 2007). These associations invite membership from all levels of the party hierarchy. Through their meetings, the party members are able to share information and improve communications. In addition, meetings afford members an opportunity to develop solutions to common problems and thus reinforce prevailing party relationships.

To some extent, all party communications are efforts to decrease or avoid conflict. When communication exists simply for the purpose of delivering information, it constitutes a problem-solving effort.

CURATIVE MEASURE

There is a presumption here that conflict is already in existence, and the political party is making effort to cure the conflict situation through the following measures:

Persuasion: Persuasion as a means of resolving conflict implies that the persuaders draw upon their power resources or leadership potential. By its very nature, persuasion involves communication between conflicting parties: The emphasis is upon influencing behaviour through persuasion rather than through sharing information.

The important point concerning persuasion as a means of reaching consensus is that the persuading member appeals to the conflicting members' commitment to superordinate goals of the party. Agreement which is reached through the process of persuasion alleviates or reduces stress. It also results in new understanding.

Negotiation

In negotiation, no attempt is made to fully satisfy a party member. Instead, the negotiation objective is an accommodation halting a conflict episode among party members. Such compromise may resolve the episode but not necessarily the fundamental stress over which the conflict erupted. If stress continues in the party, it is likely that some issue or another will precipitate conflict again at some later time.

Compromise is one means by which consensus can be reached among party members. In compromise situations, each party gives up something it desires in order to end conflict. Often, compromise is necessary to reach consensus in instances when persuasion is ineffective.

Politics

Politics here refers to resolution of conflict by involving neutral party or non-party members in the process of reaching agreement. Examples of such solutions are coalition formation, arbitration or mediation, lobbying or judicial appeal, Laissez Faire.

Coalition: The formation of coalitions among party members is, in effect, an attempt to alter the power structure within the party. Even in a wider sense, two or three opposition parties can form a coalition to reduce the chances of the ruling party.

The formation of such coalition of such coalitions represents a political move by party members. Once formed, however, the conflict resolution process may be achieved through problem solving, persuasion, or negotiation. Again, coalitions may become involved in additional forms of political activity as discussed below.

Mediation and Arbitration

Both mediation and arbitration involve a third party in the conflict resolution process. In mediation, the third party may suggest a solution to the conflict but party members are not required to accept that solution. In arbitration, the solution suggested by the intermediary is binding upon the conflicting parties.

LOBBYING AND JUDICIAL APPEAL

In this case, attempts to influence the legislators and legislative process through lobbying activities are frequent. Court litigation is also a popular means to resolve conflict by drawing outside parties into the relationship.

WITHDRAWAL

An additional method for terminating conflict is the withdrawal of one member from the relationship (party) in order to avoid the hostile behaviour existing in the party. In most cases, such withdrawing member defects to another political party, or voluntarily retires from politics. The withdrawal of Anyim Pius Anyim (the former Senate President) is a good example. Withdrawal is a relatively common method of resolving political conflict in Nigeria.

LAISSEZ FAIRE:

This refers to a situation where nothing tangible is done about the conflict. This is often with the belief that the conflict will resolve itself. This is true in most cases when cooperative behaviour gradually increases to a level where members even forget that there was conflict in times past.

THE RM PARADIGM

As we have noted in this paper, the RM paradigm seeks to build and maintain long-term relationships both internally and externally, and this means member and customer (voter) retention. This member and voter retention is only possible when parties understand the

expectations of their internal and external markets. Two steps are employed in understanding supporter expectation:

Reactive Step

This step is reactionary or responsive. It depends entirely on the customer (party member or voter) in providing some form of feedback to help the party understand the expectations of internal and external supporters. Examples of such reactive steps include attending to:

- unsolicited complaints
- petitions to party executives
- squabbles among members, etc.

Proactive Step

In this approach, the party executives actively solicit information and initiate feedback from the party supporters and members through a well-structured and deliberate process. Examples include conducting:

- ❖ Personal interviews
- ❖ Focus groups or electorate fora
- ❖ Designed surveys/Questionnaire, etc.

While the reactive approach may provide useful information, the proactive approach is recommended as being more effective in management of conflict.

3. Further contributions to knowledge include the scale adapted and used, the entire work, the instrument for the study, and the recommendation arising from this study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Achumba, I. C. (2000) Strategic Marketing Management, Charlotte U.S.A. Mac-… and Capital Publishers Inc.

Achumba, Iheanyi C. (1995), Sales Management Concepts and Strategies, Rock Hill, USA: Al-marks Educational Research.

Ajayi, M.O. (2006) Reflections on Democratic Succession in Nigeria, Covenant University, *Journal of Business & Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, N01 December 2006

Ajayi, M.O. (2007) The Soccer Pitch and the Political Arena in Nigeria; Covenant University Public Lecture Series.

Alderson, W. (1950) 'Survival and Adjustment in Organized Behaviour Systems,' in R. Cox and W. Alderson, Theory in Marketing., Irwin, Homewood, IL.

Amakiri, A.A. (2006) Propaganda in International Politics, Ibadan Spectrum Books Ltd.

American Marketing Association (1960), Committee on Definitions, Marketing Definitions: A Glossary of Marketing Terms, Chicago, USA, p.15

Andrew, (1980) The Concept of Corporate Strategy. Rev.ed. Homeword III; Richard Irwin.

Anosolabehere, S., & Iyengar, S. (1995). Going negative, New York: Free Press.

Aristotle (1991), The Art of rhetoric London: Penguin.

Bloom, M. (1973), Public Relations and Presidential Campaigns, New York: Thomas Y.Crowell Company.

Blumenthal, S. (1980), *The Permanent Campaign*, Boston, and M.A: Beacon Press.

Boone, L. E.; L. Kurtz (1998), Contemporary Marketing: Wired, 9 ed., Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace & Company.

Bradshaw, J. (1995), "Who Will Vote for You and Why: Designing Strategy and Theme". In: Thurber, J. A. & Nelson, C. (1999), *Campaigns and Elections*: American Style. (Ed.) Boulder, USA: West view Press, Co.

Bulter, David and Ranney, Austin (1992), Electioneering – *A Comparative Study of Continuity and Change*, Oxford Clarendon.

Bulter, D. and Kavanagh, D. (1997), *The British General Election* of 1997, Basingstoke: Macmillian.

Calder, D. G. (1983), *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry* II, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Christopher, M., Payne, A., & Ballantyne, D. (1991) "Relationship Marketing", London Butterworth-Heinemann.

Cornelisson, J.P. (2002) "Metaphorical Reasoning and Knowledge Generation: The Case of Political Marketing", *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 1. No. 2. PP. 193-208.

Coram, A (2003) "The Rise and Fall of Support for Political Parties: a dynamic analysis: Electoral studies. 22, 603-16

Craven & Percy (2003) Strategic Marketing (8th Edn) Boston, M.A Irvin, McGraw-Hill.

Dean, D. & Croft, R. (2001) "Friends and Relations: Long-term Approaches to Political Campaigning", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 35, no. 2. Pp. 1197-1216.

Dinken, R. J. (1989), Campaigning in America – A History of Election Practices, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Dixon-Ogbechi, Bolajoko N. (2003), Fundamentals of Business Policy and Strategy, Lagos: Philglad Nig. Ltd.

Downs, A (1957), An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York: Harper Collins.

Hornby, A. S. (1974), Oxford's Advanced Learner's Dictionary, London: Oxford University Press.

Ibodje S.W. and Dode, R. (2007) Political Parties, Voting Pattern and National Integration in Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Edited by Attahiru Jaga and Okechukwu Ibeanu, NPSA.

Irvin, Robert A. and Edward G. Michaels (1989) "Core skills: Doing the right things right." *The McKinsey Quarterly*. (Summer): 4-19.

Itami, H. (2001) *Mobilising Invisible Assets*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Iyiegbuniwe, P. C. (2005). "The Impact of Managerial Perception of Environmental Characteristics on Marketing Strategies, and Performance of Quoted Firms in Nigeria". A Ph.D dissertation, University of Lagos.

Jackson, Jr. T. E. (2004), "Brand Marketing in today's Clustered Political Marketplace", www.findaricles.com/cf_dis/m2519/4_24/100543191/p1/article.jhtml

Johansseon, J. K. (2000), Global Marketing Foreign Entry, local Marketing & Global Management, Boston: McGraw-Hill Companies Inc.

Johnson, D. W. (2001). No Place for amateurs. New York: Routledge.

Kavanagh, D. (1995), Election Campaigning: the New Marketing of Politics, Oxford: Blackwell.

Kavanagh, D. (2003), "Party Democracy and Political Marketing: No Place for amateurs?"

Kotler, P. (1995), Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, Implementation, And Control, 8 ed., New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

Kotler, P., Amstrong G., Senders, J., Wong, N. (1999), <u>Principles of Marketing</u>, London Prentice Hall.

Lazarsfed, P., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1948), <u>The People's Choice</u>, New York: Columbia University Press.

Lees-Marshment, J. (2001), <u>Political Marketing and British Political Parties</u>, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Maarek, P. (1992), <u>Political Marketing and Communication</u>, London: John Libby

Maarek, P. (1995), <u>Political Marketing and Communication</u>, London: John Libby

Machiavelli, N. (1970), <u>The Discourses</u>, London: Penguin.

Machiavelli, N. (1961), <u>The Prince</u>, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Mauser, G. A. (1983), <u>Political Marketing: An Approach to Campaign Strategy</u>, New York: Praeger.

McGinnis, J. (1970), <u>Selling the President</u>, London: Andre Deutsch.

Newman, B. I. (1994). <u>The Marketing of the President</u>: Political Marketing as Campaign Strategy. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Newman, B. (1999). <u>Handbook of Political Marketing</u>, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Newman, B. I. (1999a). <u>The Mass Marketing of Politics:</u> Democracy in an Age of Manufactured Images Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Newman, B. I. (Ed.) (1999b). <u>Handbook of Political Marketing</u>, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Newman, B; J. Sheth (1985), 'A Model of Primary Voter Behaviour in Newman, B. and J. Sheth, Political Marketing, eds., Chicago: American Marketing Association.

Norris, P. (1997), Political Communications in Dunleavy, P., Gamble, A., Holliday, I. An Peele, G. (1997) Developments in Writing, D. (1996), "Political Marketing and Party Development in Britain – a 'Secret History'", European Journal of Marketing, Vol. 30, No. 10/11, pp100-111.

Norris, P. (1999*, On Message: Communicating the Campaign*, London: Sage Publications.

O'Shaughnessy, N. J, (1990), *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing,* Houndmills: McMillan.

Palmer, A. (1994), *Principles of Services Marketing*, London: McGraw-Hill.

Rosenbaum, M. (1997), *From Soapbox to Sundbite:* Party Political Campaigning in Britain   since 1945, London: McMillan.

Sabato, L. J. (1981), *The Rise of Political Consultants*, New York: Basic Books.

Sabato, L. J. (Ed.). (1981), *Campaigners and Election:* Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

Scarrow, S. E. (1996), *Parties and their Members. Organizing for Victory in Britain and Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scammell, M. (1999) 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science', *Political Studies,* XLVII, 718-739.

Thompson, H. S. (1973), *Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail,* New York: Popular   Library.

Thurber, J.; Nelson, C. J. (1995), *Campaigns and Elections American Style,* Boulder: Westview   Press.

White T. H. (1961), *The Making of the President 1960,* New York: Atheneum.

White T. H. (1961), *The Making of the President 1964,* New York: The New American   Library.

White T. H. (1969), *The Making of the President 1968,* New York: Atheneum.

White T. H. (1974), *The Making of the President 1972,* London: Jonathan Cape.

William, J. S. (1978) Fundamental s of Marketing (5th ed.) McGraw Hill Book Company.

Journals

Achumba, I. C.; Dixon-Ogbechi, B. N. (2004 "Political Marketing –Marketing Unusual" in   Marketing Journal, Vol. 1 No 1 October.

Appiah-Adu, K. (1997). Market Orientation and Performance: Do the findings established in large   firms hold in the Small Business Sectors? *Journal of Euro-Marketing.* Vol. 6 Issue3. Pp. 1–   26.

Appiah-Adu, K., & Ranchhod, A. (1998). Market Orientation and Performance in the Biotechnology: *Technology Analysis and Strategic Management.* Vol. 19, Issue 2. Pp. 197-211.

Aristotle (1991), The Art of rhetoric London: Penguin.

Baines, Paul R. Barbara R. Lewis, David A. Yorke (2003), "coordinating Political Campaigns: A   Marketing Planning Perspective"

Barney, Jay B. (1991) "Firm resources and sustained competitive advantage." *Journal of   Management:* 17 (March): 99-120.

Barney, Jay B. and Edward J. Zajac. (1994) "Competitive organisational behaviour: Toward an organizationally-based theory of competitive advantage." *Strategic Management Journal*,   15 (Winter): 5-9.

Barrett, H. (1987), The Sohphists, Novato: Chandler & Sharp.

Bartels, R. (1988) *The History of Marketing Thought*, 3rd edition. Columbus, OH: Publishing   Horizons.

Berry, L.L. (1995). "Relationship marketing of services: Growing Interest, Emerging   Perspectives" *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, Vol. 23, No.4, pp.236.

Bharadwaj, Sundar, P. Varadarajan and John Fahy. (1993) "Sustainable competitive advantage in services industries: A conceptual model and research propositions*." Journal of Marketing*, 57 (October): 83-99.

Blankson, C., & Appiah-Adu, K. (1998). Business Strategy, Organizational Culture and Market Orientation/ *Thunderbird International Business Review,* Vol. 40(3) 235-256.

Blankson, C., & Omar, O. E. (2002), Marketing Practices of African and Caribbean Small Businesses in London, U.K. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal.* Vol. 5, No. 2. Pp. 123-134.

Bulter, P. and Collins, N. (1996), "Strategic Analysis in Political Markets", *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 30 No. 10/11, pp. 32- 44.

Bulter, P. and Collins, N. (1999) "A Conceptual Framework for Political Marketing", in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handwork of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 55-72.

Bulter, David and Ranney, Austin (eds) (1992), Electioneering – *A Comparative Study of Continuity and Change*, Oxford Clarendon.

Bulter, D. and Kavanagh, D. (1997) *The British General Election* of 1997, Basingstoke: Macmillian.

Buzzel, Roberomart D. and Bradley T. Gale. (1957) The PIMS Principles: *Linking Strategy to Performance. New York: The Free Press.*

Castanais, Richard P. and Constance E. Helfat. (1991) "Managerial resources and rents." *Journal of Management*, 17 (March): 155-171.

Chamberlin, Edward H. (1933) *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chatterjee, Sayan and Birger Wernerfelt. (1991) "The link between resources and type of diversification: Theory and evidence." *Strategic Management Journal*. 12 (January): 33-48.

Coviello, N.E., Brodie, R.J., Munro, J. (1997) "Understanding contemporary marketing: development of a classification scheme", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 9, No. 4. Pp.23.

Day, George S. (1984) "Marketing's contribution to the strategy dialogue." *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*. 10 (May): 323-329.

Day, George S. and Robin Wensley. (1988) Assessing advantage: A framework for diagnosing competitive superiority." *Journal of Marketing*. 52 (April): 1-20.

Deng, S. & Dart, J (1994) Measuring Market Orientation: A Multi-factor, Multi-itwm Approach. *Journal of Marketing Management.* Vol. 10, Issues 8, Pp. 725-742.

Dermody & Scullion (2001) "Delusions of Grandeur Marketing Contribution to Meaningful Western Political Consumption". *European Journal of Marketing.* Vol. 35, No. 9-10.

Deshpande, R. J., Farley, J. U., & Webster, F. E (1993). Corporate Culture, Customer Orientation, and Innovativeness in Japanese Firms: A Quadrad Analysis. *Journal of Marketing,* 57, 23-27.

Dyer, W. G., & Wilkins, A. L. (1991) Better Stories, Not Better Constructs, to Generate Better Theory: A Rejoinder to Eisenhardt. *Academic of Management Review* Vol 16 No 3. Pp 613-19.

Gillin, Donna (2000), "Political Telemarketing Vs Legitimate Research", Marketing Research, Vol. 12, No 1.

Gummesson, E. (1991) Marketing Revisited: The Crucial Role of the Part-time Marketers', European Journal of Marketing, Vol 25, No 2, pp60-67

Gummesson, E. (1991) Marketing Revisited: The Crucial Role of the Part-time Marketers', *European Journal of Marketing,* Vol. 25, No 2, pp.60-67

Gummesson, E. (1996) "Making Relationship Marketing Operational", *International Journal of Service Industry Management*, Vol. 5. No.5. pp.5-6.

Gummesson, E. (1997) "The New Marketing- Developing Long-term interactive Relationship Long-Range Planning Vol. 20 No. 4, 10-20.

Hall, Richard (1989) "The management of intellectual assets: A new corporate perspective." *Journal of General Management.* 15 (autumn): 53-68.

Hall, Richard (1992) "The strategic analysis of intangible resources." *Strategic Management Journal.* 13 (February): 135-144.

Hall, Richard (1993) "A framework linking intangible resources and capabilities to sustainable competitive advantage." *Strategic Management Journal.* 14 (November): 607-618.

Henneberg (2002) 'Generic Functions of Political Marketing Management, University of Bath, School of Management, working Paper Series.

Henneberg (2003) "Second Conference on Political Marketing" ' *Journal of Marketing Management.* Vol.12, pp 23-31.

Henneberg, S.C.(2005) "Leading or Following? A Theoretical Analysis of Political Marketing Postures*", Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 5. Forthcoming.

Harris, P. (2001a) "Machiavelli, Political Marketing and Reinventing Government," *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 35, No. 9/10, pp. 1136-1154.

Harris, P. (2001b) "To Spin or Not Spin, That is the Question: The Emergence of Modern Political Marketing", *The Marketing Review*, Vol. 2, pp. 35-53.

Harris, L. C. (2002). Market Orientation: Exploring a Market-Oriented Approach. *Journal Market- focused Management.* Vol. 5: 539-270

Harris Phil and Matthew Ward (2000), "Red Ken in the Sunset: Political Marketing and the Livingstone London Mayoral Election Campaign", Centre for Corporate and Public Affairs, Manchester Metropolitan University Business School.

Harrop, M (1990) 'Political Marketing', Parliamentary Affairs, 43.

Hax, (1993) "Organisation Designs: The Case of Matching Strategy and Structure" *Journal of Business Strategy* Vol. 4 No2.

Hitt, Micheal A. and R. Duane Ireland (1985) "Corporate distinctive competence, strategy, industry and performance." Strategic Management Journal. 6 (July-September): 273-293.

Hofer, Charles W. and Dan Schendel (1978) *Strategy Formulation:* Analytical Concepts. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co.

Holbrook, T.M. (1996*) Do Campaigns Matter*?, Sage, Thousand.

Huber, F. & Herrmann, A. (1999) "A Valued-Oriented Model of Candidate Appraisal," in B.I. Newman (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp.305-320.

Hunt, Shelby D. and Robert M. Morgan (1995) "The comparative advantage theory of competition." *Journal of Marketing*. 59 (April): 1-15.

Hunt, Shelby D. and Robert M. Morgan (1996) "The resource-advantage theory of competition: Dynamics, path dependencies, and evolutionary dimensions." *Journal of Marketing*. 60 (October): 107-114.

Jaworski, B. J., & Kohli, A. K. (1993). Market Orientation: Antecedents and Consequences. *Journal of Marketing.* 57 (July), 53-70.

Johansen, H. (2005) 'Political Marketing: More than Persuasive Techniques – An Organizational Perspective'.

Kohli, A. K., Jaworski, B. J., & Kumar, A. (1993). MARKOR: A measure of Market Orientation. *Journal of Marketing Research.* Pp. 468-477.

Kohli, A. K., Jaworski, B. J. (1990). Market Orientation: The Construct, Research Propositions, and Managerial Implications. *Journal of Marketing,* 54 (April) 1-8.

Kotler, P. (1995), Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, Implementation, And Control, 8 ed., New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, p.464

Kumar, K., Subramanian, R., & Yauger, C. (1998). Examining the Market Orientation - Performance Relationship: A Context-specific Study. *Journal of Management.* Vol. 24. (2) Pp.201.

Lock, A. and Harris, P. (1996), Political Marketing – vive la difference!, European Journal of Marketing, Vol. 30, No. 10/11, pp.21-31

McDonald, M. H. B, (1989), "ten Barriers to Marketing Planning", Journal of Marketing Management, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp.1-18.20

Morgan, R. E., & Katsikeas, C. S., Appiah-Adu, K. (1998). Market Orientation and Organizational Learning Capabilities. *Journal of Marketing Management.* Vol. 14, Pp. 353- 381.

Narver, J. C., & Slater, S. F. (1990). The Effect of Market Orientation on Business Profitability. *Journal of Marketing.* Vol. 54, 20-35.

Scammell, M. (2004), "Citizen Consumers: Towards a New Marketing of Politics?" Mailo: media@lse London School of Economics.

Shama, Auraham (1975), "The Marketing of Political Candidates", *Journal of the Academic Science,* Vol 4, part 4, pp.766-7.

Slater, S. F., & Narver, J. C. (1999). Research Notes and Communications: Market Orientation is more the being Customer-led. *Strategic Management Journal.* Vol. 20. (12) Pp. 1165.

Slater, S. F., & Narver, J. C. (2000). Intelligence Generation and Superior Customer Value. *Academic of Marketing Science Journal.* Vol. 28. (1) Pp. 12.-128.

Wring, D. (!996), "Political Marketing and Party Development in Britain – a 'Secret History'", *European Journal of Marketing ,* Vol 30, No 10/1, pp.100-111.

Conference Proceedings

Egan, J. (1999), "Political Marketing Lessons from the Mainstream," Proceeding of the Academic Marketing Conference, July, University of Sterling Scotland.

Harris Phil and Matthew Ward (2000), "Red Ken in the Sunset: Political Marketing and the Livingstone London Mayoral Election Campaign", Centre for Corporate and Public Affairs, Manchester Metropolitan University Business School.

Seyd, P., P. Whitley, and C. Pattie (2001), 'Repertoires of Political Engagement', *Paper Prepared for the Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Conference,* Political Studies Association, University of Sussex, 14-16 September.

Stockwell, S. (2003), Political Campaigns And Democracy: The Problem of the Media and the Return of the Citizen" *ANZCA03 Conference*, Brisbane, July.

Worlu, R. E. (2005). "Exploring Marketing Mix Elements in Nigerian Politics". A Ph.D Seminar delivered in Covenant University.

Wring, D. (1997), "Reconciling Marketing with Political Science: Theories of Political Marketing", *Proceedings from the Academic of Marketing Conference, Manchester,* Metropolitan University, Manchester.

Internet Sources

Jackson, Jr. T. E. (2004), "Brand Marketing in Today's Clustered Political Marketplace", www.findaricles.com/cf_dis/m2519/4_24/100543191/p1/article.jhtml.

Kavanagh, D. (2003), "Party Democracy and Political Marketing: No Place for amateurs?" www.kas.de/upload/dokumente/einbahnstrasse/kavanagh_._partydemocracy_and_politics_marketing df.

Stockwell, S. (2004), "Taxonomy of the Political Campaign", *s.stockwell@mailboxgu.edu.au*

University of New Orleans, Department of Marketing, Colleges of Business Administration (2003), "Welcome to an Exciting Career! Services marketing", *http://www.uno.edu/~coba/mktg/gr/index.html*

Whitely, P., P. Seyd, and J. Richardson (1994), "True Blues: The Politics of Conservative Party Membership" in Scammell, M. (2004), "Citizen Consumers: Towards a New Marketing of Politics?", *Mailto: media@ise London School of Economics.*

Monograph

Iyiegbuniwe, P. C. (2005). "The Impact of Managerial Perception of Environmental Characteristics on Marketing Strategies, and Performance of Quoted Firms in Nigeria". A Ph.D dissertation, University of Lagos.

APPENDIX I

Department of Business Studies (Marketing)

College of Business and Social Sciences

Covenant University, Ota

August 20, 2006

DEAR RESPONDENT,

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

This research questionnaire, based on a Ph.D dissertation, is studying the marketing strategies of Nigerian political parties. The result of our pilot study indicates that you are a political activist. Hence, you have been chosen to respond to this questionnaire.

The study is intended to improve the quality of political marketing practices in Nigeria and fast-track our nascent democracy. Your timely response will, therefore, be viewed as one of your numerous contributions to our political development.

You can be rest assured that your reactions to this study will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you.

Worlu, Rowland E.

(Researcher)

GENERAL INFORMATION

INSTRUCTION: Tick ⬜ as appropriate and comment where necessary.

Name of respondent …………………………………………………………………

Political party affiliation ………………………………………………………………….

Position in the party …………………………………………………………………

Length of service on that position ………………………………………………………….

Address ………………………………………………………………………………….

Sex: Male ⬜   Female ⬜

Marital status: Single ⬜   Married ⬜

SECTION A: ROLE OF MARKETING STRATEGIES

This section of the questionnaire focuses on the role of marketing strategies in a nascent democracy in which the party in control of your state or where you reside has operated, at least, in the last five years. This party may have been helping to further these roles in Nigeria.

Question 1.

Indicate whether the following statements represent your understanding of the role of marketing strategies in the politics of your state (or state of residence).

		SA	A	U	D	SD
i.	Emergence of credible and responsive leaders	1	2	3	4	5
ii.	Mobilization of the people for overall development of the nation.	1	2	3	4	5
iii.	Help to develop nationalist ideology which forms the unifying creed of a nation.	1	2	3	4	5
iv.	Boosting size of party's membership.	1	2	3	4	5
v.	Improving party's competitive position.	1	2	3	4	5
vi.	Increase in vote-share.	1	2	3	4	5
vii	Enhance party growth.	1	2	3	4	5
viii.	A tool to exploit political behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5
ix.	Promote the ideals of democratic politics. A tool for party branding and positioning.	1	2	3	4	5
x.	Help to manage the crisis and conflicts that go with politics.	1	2	3	4	5
xi.	Serve as a factor instilling in our people the love for Nigeria, Africa and humanity.	1	2	3	4	5
xii.	Provide avenue for party growth.	1	2	3	4	5
xiii.	Help to create stability in the socio-political system.	1	2	3	4	5
xiv.	Encourage democracy and party's public image.	1	2	3	4	5

Question 2: These roles can be sustained in Nigeria's democracy by:

		SA	A	U	D	SD
a.	Continuous political enlightenment	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Innovative politicians.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Continuous use of marketing research and planning	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Continuous emergence of people based politicians.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Independent courageous and corrupt-free democratic institutions.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B: Perception of the Role of Marketing Strategies.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
REPONSES	5	4	3	2	1
I hold the notion that marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics					
Because of the role of marketing strategy, my party takes time to formulate marketing strategies so that it can maximize their benefits.					
I consider electoral vices as the negative role of marketing strategies					

SECTION C: Assessment of Marketing Strategies

Instructions: Reflect on the strategic marketing decisions your party has made in the past five years as a frame of reference to assess marketing strategies.

Below is a list of some marketing strategies a party can use to position itself in the political market. On the scale provided indicate the extent to which your party uses each strategy. Please leave off any one you think is unfamiliar with your party.

1.   As a reflection of its marketing strategy our party provides products/services that are widely perceived as unique by the electorate

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2.   My party's marketing strategy is unique in the provision of certain services widely valued by the citizens.

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3.   In marketing strategy, we target particular market segment (voting area) in the entire heterogeneous market.

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4.   The overall marketing objectives and strategies of my party are built on strong knowledge of the electorate's needs.

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5.   Our marketing strategy reflects intensive (ward network) to reach as many voters
       as possible.

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6.   Our commitment to service is such that voters do not regret voting for us.

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.   We rely on heavy campaign through wide range of media to generate awareness among voters in the political market.

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Our party has consistently maintained a position of innovators in our service delivery.
Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. We have consistently improved upon our products/service so as to ensure our victory in the forthcoming election.
Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. In making strategic marketing decisions, our aim is to establish a strong foothold in the political arena.
Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. We have consistently improved the people's quality of life and strive to build long-run relationship with the electorate.
Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. Our winning strategy is rooted in our ability to identify and present good candidates for elective offices.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13.   We tread the political terrain very carefully and seek only those opportunities that have been proven to be promising.
Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14.   We consistently seek opportunities in (new markets) constituencies, districts, states, and zones with our existing party loyalist.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. We consistently modify our existing programmes, and introduce new candidates to our people.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. Our strategy puts strong emphasis on new programmes/opportunity development.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17. Our programme and service mix has not changed since the last election.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. Our marketing strategy lays emphasis on the party, and not on the individual candidate.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. Our marketing strategy puts emphasis on voters' segmentation and targeting.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. Our marketing strategy includes financial inducement to voters.
  Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION D: DIMENSION OF MARKETING STRATEGIES.

Instructions: In order to compete efficiently in a nascent democracy, party leaders make strategic marketing decisions, which guide their internal operations and position their parties in a country. Nine dimensions of such strategic marketing decision are listed below and numbered 1 – 9. For each dimension, you are required to tick only one option a, b, c, or d, which best describes or resembles your party's strategic posture as you see or understand it.

Dimension 1. (Party / market oriented strategy)

In comparison to other political parties, in Nigeria, my party designs its behaviour to suit (please tick only one option).

(a). ☐   What it believes in and persuades voters to agree

(b). ☐   Voters' opinions and demand.

(c). ☐   What it thinks are the needs of voters.

(d). ☐   The demands of the sponsors.

Dimension 2. (Process strategy)

In comparison to other parties, my party is known as one which:

(a). ☐   Informally talks to party activists and meet with the public.

(b). ☐   Formally uses qualitative research (e.g. electoral results and studies) and qualitative research (e.g. focus group).

(c). ☐   Seeks out the needs of voters.

(d). ☐   Respects the demands of the sponsors.

Dimension 3. (Party oriented strategy)

Compared to other parties, my party selects its candidates / programme to ensure that:

(a). ☐   It does not promise what it cannot deliver in government.

(b). ☐   It obtains the support of members for its victory.

(c). ☐   It promotes opposition weaknesses and highlights its own corresponding strength.

(d). ☐   The party will focus on winning the support of voters it does not have but needs to win power.

Dimension 4. (Physical evidence strategy)

Compared to other parties competing with us, my party implements its behaviour by:

(a). ☐   Engaging in product quality selection, market intelligence and adjustment.

(b). ☐ Promising everything to everyone.

(c). ☐ First seeking traditional supports rather than jump directly to the centre.

(d). ☐ Ensuring that majority within the party broadly accepts the party behaviour and complies with it

Dimension 5. (Promotion strategies)

In comparison to other parties, the communication goal of my party can be described as a commitment to:

(a). ☐ Long term comparison and on-going behaviour.

(b). ☐ Message dissemination by all members to the electorate.

(c). ☐ Sales and market orientation which translate to electoral success.

(d). ☐ Influence others on the communication process, such as journalists and opposition parties.

Dimension 6. (Price strategies)

Compared to other parties, my party manages the expectations of voters through:

(a). ☐ Candidates who represent the party.

(b). ☐ Certain political appointments.

(c). ☐ An ideological framework (i.e. a non-specific umbrella of beliefs and attitudes that guide specific behaviour).

(d). ☐ All of the above.

Dimension 7. (Sales orientation strategy)
Compared to others, the behaviour of my party reflects:

(a). ☐ Present its candidate and assuming that voters will adopt them.

(b). ☐ Sales-orientation: present it candidate and compel voters to adopt them by all means.

(c). ☐ Present candidates in response to voters' demand and need.

(d). ☐ Adopt candidates in response to sponsor' demand

Dimension 8. (People strategy)
In comparison to leaders of other parties, the skills/competition possessed by leaders in my party can be characterized as:

(a). ☐ Analytical: their skills enable them to both identify trend and to develop new political products.

222

(b). ☐ Specialized: their skills are concentrated in one, or a few specialized areas.

(c). ☐ Broad: their skills are diverse, flexible and capable of creating changes.

(d). ☐ Fluid: their skills are related to the short-term demand of the political market.

Dimension 9. (Place strategy)

Compared to other parties competing with us, our electoral victory can be attributed to:

(a). ☐ We concentrate more on developing fully, those constituencies, which we currently serve.

(b). ☐ We respond to the pressure of the political market by taking some risks.

(c). ☐ We aggressively enter into new political territories with new types of programmes.

(d). ☐ We assertively penetrate deeper into the political market we currently serve, and develop new programmes only after a careful analysis.

SECTION E:

This section focuses on the performance of your party in terms of control relative to other parties since 2003 general election. To the best of your knowledge. Please circle the number or point that represents the best estimation of your party's performance in your state during 2003 general election.

		Lowest 100% 1-20%	Lower 100% 21-40%	Middle 100% 41-60%	Next 100% 61-80%	Top 100% 81-100%
1	Vote – share	1	2	3	4	5
2	Size of membership	1	2	3	4	5
3	Competitive strength.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Conflict management	1	2	3	4	5
5	Internal marketing.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Mass mobilization	1	2	3	4	5
7	Responsive leadership	1	2	3	4	5
8	Ideological relevance	1	2	3	4	5

8. Indicate what could be done by government, political parties, and the citizens to improve political marketing practices in Nigeria:

By Government:……………………………….…………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………

By political parties and candidates: ………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………

By citizens: …………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………

APPENDIX II

Department of Business Studies (Marketing)
College of Business and Social Sciences
Covenant University, Ota
August 20, 2006

DEAR RESPONDENT,

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

This research questionnaire, based on a Ph.D dissertation, is studying the marketing strategies of Nigerian political parties. The result of our pilot study indicates that you are in a position to comment on the marketing strategies of the ruling party in your state of origin and or residence. Hence, you have been chosen to respond to this questionnaire.

The study is intended to improve the quality of political marketing practices in Nigeria and fast-track our nascent democracy. Your timely response will, therefore, be viewed as one of your numerous contributions to our political development.

You can rest assured that your reactions to this study will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you.

Worlu, Rowland E.
(Researcher)

GENERAL INFORMATION
INSTRUCTION: Tick ☑ as appropriate and comment where necessary.
1. Name of respondent ……………………………………………………………………………

2. Address……………….. ……………………………………………………………………….

3. Age: (a). 18 – 30 ☐　(b). 31 – 40 ☐ (c). 41 – 50 ☐　(d). 51 and above ☐

4. Sex:　(a). Male ☐　　(b). Female ☐

5. Marital status: (a). Single ☐　(b). Married ☐　　(c). Divorce/separated ☐

6. Occupation:………………………………………………………………………………

7. State of Origin/residence: ………………………………………………………..

8. Ruling party in your state of origin:………………………………………………..

9. Ruling party in your state of residence:………………………………………………..

10. Where the political parties in 8 and 9 above are clearly different, state the one you are assessing…………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION A
This section of the questionnaire focuses on the role of marketing strategies in a nascent democracy in which the party in control of your state or where you reside has operated, at least, in the last five years. This party may have been helping to further these roles in Nigeria.

On the 7 – point scale provided below, please rate these roles by drawing circle round the number that best represents your view.

Question 1: The following statements represent your understanding of the role which marketing strategies play in the governance of your state where you reside.

		Very little			About middle			Very much
a.	Emergence of credible and responsive leaders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	Mobilization of the people for overall development of the nation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	Help to develop nationalist ideology which forms the unifying creed of a nation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	Boosting size of party's membership.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	Improves party's competitive position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	Gain in vote-share.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g.	Help to provide correct information that engender patriotic feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h.	Direct attending away from negative political attitudes and disposition s.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i.	Promote the ideals of democratic politics.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
j.	Help to manage the crisis and conflicts that go with politics.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

k.	Serve as a factor instilling in our people the love for Nigeria, Africa and humanity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l.	Provide avenue for party growth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
m.	Help to create stability in the socio-political system.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
n.	Encourage political branding and mass participation in politics.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Question 2: These roles can be sustained in Nigeria's democracy by:

		Very little			About middle			Very much
a.	Continuous political enlightenment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	Innovative politicians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	Basic marketing training for the operators of the political system.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	Continuous use of marketing research and planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	Continuous emergence of people based politicians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	Independent courageous and corrupt-free democratic institutions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION B: Perception of the Role of Marketing Strategies.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
REPONSES	5	4	3	2	1
I hold the notion that marketing strategies play extremely positive role in politics					
Because of the role of marketing strategy, my party takes time to formulate marketing strategies so that it can maximize their benefits.					
I consider electoral vices as the negative role of marketing strategies					

SECTION C
INSTRUCTION: Reflect on the strategic marketing decisions which the party ruling in your State/where you live has made in the past five years as a frame of reference to determine its marketing strategies.
Below is a list of some marketing strategies a party can use to position itself in the political market. On the scale provided, indicate the extent to which the ruling party uses each strategy. Please leave off any one you think is unfamiliar with the party.

1. As a reflection of its marketing strategy the party provides products/services that are widely perceived as unique by electorate.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. The party's marketing strategy is unique in the provision of certain services widely valued by the citizens.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3.   In its marketing strategy, the party targets particular voting area in the entire heterogeneous market.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4.   The overall marketing objectives and strategies of the party are built on strong knowledge of the electorates needs.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5.   Its marketing strategy reflects intensive (ward network) to reach as many voters as possible.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6.   Its commitment to service is such that voters do not regret voting for it

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.   It relies on heavy campaign through wide range of media to generate awareness among voters in the   political market.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8.   The party has consistently maintained a position of innovators in its service delivery.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9.   In has consistently improved upon our products/service so as to defend its vote-share position.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. In making strategic marketing decisions, its aim is to establish a strong foothold in the vote-market.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. It has consistently improved the people's quality of life and strive to build long-run relationship with voters.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. Its winning strategy is rooted in its ability to present good candidates for elective offices.

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. It treads the political terrain very carefully and seeks only those opportunities that are proven to be promising

Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. It consistently seeks opportunities in new vote markets with its existing political product.

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. It consistently modifies our existing programmes, and introduces new candidates to the people.

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. Its strategy puts strong emphasis on new programmes and credible candidates.

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17. Its programme and service mix have not changed since the last election.

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. Its marketing strategy reflects emphasis on the party and not on the individual candidate.

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. Its marketing strategy puts emphasis on voter segmentation and targeting.

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. Its marketing strategy includes financial inducements to voters, security personnel and INEC officials as well as riggings.

Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION D

This section focuses on the performance of your party in terms of control relative to other parties since 2003 general election. To the best of your knowledge. Please circle the number or point that represents the best estimation of your party's performance in your state during 2003 general election.

		Lowest 100% 1-20%	Lower 100% 21-40%	Middle 100% 41-60%	Next 100% 61-80%	Top 100% 81-100%
1	Vote - share	1	2	3	4	5
2	Ideological relevance	1	2	3	4	5
3	Competitive position.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Size of membership	1	2	3	4	5
5	Party growth	1	2	3	4	5

13. Indicate what could be done by government, political parties, and the citizens to improve political marketing practices in Nigeria:

By Government:……………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………
By political parties and candidates: ………………………………………..
……………………………………………………………………………
By citizens: ………………………………………………………………