Political Marketing of APC and PDP Gubernatorial Candidates in 2016 Edo State Election

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Abstract

Marketing scholars have acknowledged the pivotal role of marketing principles in facilitating relationships. To be specific, soliciting and securing electoral votes is an exchange relationship where marketing principles can be applied. This paper sought to investigate the extent of APC and PDP adoption of marketing principles in the 2016 gubernatorial elections in Edo state, Nigeria. This study adapted the Ex post facto as its research design. Primary data were obtained from political parties materials and through semi structured interview. Oral interviews were conducted for two hundred forty (240) conveniently selected respondents. This consist of forty (40) from each political party in the three (3) senatorial districts in the state. Campaign materials, manifestoes among other literature collected were content analysed and oral responses obtained from the respondents were transcribed. This study found that political parties unconsciously organize their activities around the marketing mix variables of product, place, price and promotion. Also this research reports among others vote buying, political behaviour, past and present performance of political parties as critical success factors. However, this study was unable to establish the role of incumbency in electoral victory. This paper recognized that political parties unintentionally embrace marketing tenets in managing their activities. This is evident as majority of their activities incorporates strategic marketing, services marketing and marketing research principles. This paper recommends that political parties should incorporate new product development techniques as well as master the acts of brand management in their quest for electoral success.

Keywords: APC, Edo State, PDP, Political Marketing

1. Introduction

After several years of military dictatorship in Nigeria, the formation of political parties in 1998 birthed a fresh air of democratic governance. These political parties were found primarily to solicit for vetoes from the electorates to determine the political parties and persons that would govern them. As a result of the numerous parties available to the electorates, political parties and their candidates need to devise strategies that would distinguish them in the electoral market. These strategies when properly deployed could result in the party dominance of the electoral market place. One of such strategies is political marketing.

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It is the belief of several scholars that America Marketing Association (AMA) inclusion of ideas in the definition of marketing is to accommodate political marketing. Political marketing is generally understood as the fusion of services marketing principles and politics. In other words, political marketing paint a picture of the behaviour of political parties in the electoral marketplace. The features of political marketing are evident in the fact that purchase decisions are made the same day and voters (buyers) have to live with the collective choice even though the candidate may not have been their preference. Another issue is that electorates have to contend with is that, political parties like their candidates are complex and intangible products which the voters cannot easily unbundle. Consequently, the voters are left with no option than to decide on the totality of the package (Achumba, Ogbechi & Bolajoko 2004, Ayozie 2013). Furthermore, the political market environment is highly charged with ideas, emotions, conflict and partisanship (Kotler, 2005). In Nigeria, negative advertising, hate speeches, intimidation, mudsling, kidnapping and several destructive tactics are deployed to win elections (Mustapha & Ebomoyi, 2017).

Partisan activities in Nigeria are always expressed through political parties, which are created to achieve political power as well as the goals of the originators and the society. Expectedly, political parties are organized around specific ideologies and ideas of human societies. In the past and just as it is presently, politicians strive to acquire power to either control the local, state or national apparatuses and the mass media. In short, politics is all about acquisition of power. Politicians in their bid to acquire power have to contend with competitions, rancor, disagreements, agreements, conflicts and conflict resolutions.

The fundamental issue for Nigeria's democracy is the problem associated with the activities of political parties and citizens' participation in the political process. To the ordinary voters, there is the perennial issue of their opinion not counting since the electoral process is usually fraught with irregularities. Other problems include but not limited to the character of the political parties in an election, lack of confidence in the electoral processes; elites' overwhelming dominance; electoral violence; voters' apathy and poverty; godfatherism; monetary inducement; insecurity of lives and properties and the power of incumbency (Mustapha & Ebomoyi,2017; Ogah, Alidu.&Ali, 2018).

Achumba, Ogbechi and Bolajoko (2004) and much later Ayozie (2013) opine that an understanding and adoption of marketing principles would enhance the chances of politicians in dealing with emerging issues in the political environment. It is commonly canvassed that political parties that desire to reach out to their customers (electorates) with their products (party manifesto and candidates) and seeks to secure a greater share of the market (total eligible votes) need to embrace the tenets of political marketing.

This study focuses on the September 28th 2016 governorship election in Edo State, with Godwin Nogheghase Obaseki of the All Progressive Congress (APC) and Ize Iyamu Osagie Andrew of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) as the major candidates. This study is informed by the need to examine the activities of political parties and their

deployment of marketing principles with the intent of emerging a leader in the electoral marketplace. The objective of this study is to ascertain the extent of the candidates and political party's deployment of marketing principles that could translate into electoral success.

2. Literature Review

Concept of Political Marketing

According to Kavanagh (1996) as cited in Ijewere (2009), political marketing is seen as a set of strategies and tools that are employed to trace and study public opinion before and during election. It is also concerned with the development of campaign communication and assessment of party positioning in the electoral market. Similarly, Wring (1997) conceives political marketing as the application of marketing principles and practices to the theory and practice of politics.

Political marketing as an aspect of marketing of ideas and persons has its correspondence as political communication in political science. In short Maarek (2003) sees political marketing as the introduction of marketing into politics. It is his contention that political marketing is an outcome of the elaboration of policy of political communication. Similarly, Lock and Harris (1996) see political marketing as concerned with communicating with party members, media, prospective source of funding and the electorates. It is heartening to note that the rate at which present day political parties embrace the tenets of marketing underscores its relevance in a democratic setting. This is more so as political parties have come to recognize the fact that massive support is significantly important to securing and sustaining power. In fact the adoption of political marketing principles are not restricted to democratic setting only, rather military regimes are noted to have also embraced the principles espoused in strategic marketing to build their image.(Ogah,Alidu&Ali,2018). In this regard, political parties engage opinion research and environmental monitoring intended to produce and promote competition that help to realize organizational goals and ultimately satisfy the electorates in exchange for votes.

The use of marketing principles afford political parties the opportunities to address diverse voters' concerns and needs through analysis, planning, implementation and control of political parties activities and electoral campaigns(O'Case,1996). This suggests that political marketing enables candidates, political parties and voters make a well-reasoned and satisfactory decision. In a similar vein, Scammel (1999) notes that due to the rapid expansion and diversity of the field of politics, political marketing shares some themes with history. This commonness is the desire to explain political leaders' behaviour Also common with political science is the desire to understand the political processes and with political communication an interest in the act of persuasion.

Political Marketing Mix Variables

Political science, just like marketing, recognizes political products as party platforms, past records, party manifestos and personal characteristics while political price includes the economic cost, psychological cost and party image. Similarly, political place (distribution)

consists of marketing and volunteer programs in the form of visit to towns, villages, market, motor parks and in some cases worship centers and political promotion (campaign) exposure in print and electric media. This includes advertising, publications and vote getters (canvassers) (Niffenegger, 1989). Here after we intend to review some extant literature along these marketing mix variables.

Product: According to Niffenegger (1989), political products consist of party platforms, past records and personal characteristics. Another important constituent of political product is party manifesto. The unique selling proposition of a political party and candidate serves as distinguishing features of political products Common among these issues are to the candidate's academic, social, work life, the candidate's knowledge of the people. Others are the party's manifesto and or party/candidate people oriented programs. The understanding of the unique attributes of political products is premised on the advocacy of several scholars assertions that it is better to analyse consumers' satisfaction at attribute level rather than at product level (Agbonifoh, Isibor, &Okere, 2016. Gray&Dennis, 2010, Mittal, Ross & Baldasare, 1998). This position is hinged on the realization that assessing a product attributes confer several benefits to consumers researchers. First, consumers in most cases evaluate their post purchase experiences. Second, consumers sometimes experience mixed feelings towards a product as such consumers overall product expectation do not entirely reflect the true nature of consumer satisfaction. It is generally accepted that it is more preferable to derive optimal satisfaction when consumers combine the product and attributes levels of diagnosis. On this basis, a holistic assessment of candidates profile and party antecedence should provide an indication of electorates' expectations from the candidates when elected into offices. The implication is that when the expectation is high it serves as a drive for intention to purchase.

Promotion: This marketing mix variable espouses the place of campaign rallies, use of social media, TV, radio, and newspaper adverts in political marketing. The essence of using promotion tools in electioneering is premised on the realization that campaign planning has become systematic as such the process is expected to be efficient. A holistic adoption of prom tools confers on the entire process the advantage of effective utilization of resources as well as generates invaluable information for both the candidate and the electorates.

Electoral campaigns are one of the main expressions of political marketing as candidates set out to convince the public of particular point of view. Political campaigning closely relates with public relations. Political campaign is an organized effort with the intent of influencing the decision making process. It is often seen as an administrative function that evaluates and identifies the policies and procedures of government. The relevance of political party/candidate promotion can also be inferred when an individual or an organization with public interest plans and executes a program of action with the intent to earn public understanding and acceptance.

Recently, political advertising has taking a frontal role in Nigeria's political discourse. This is more so as Nigerian electorates are getting more politically enlightened and those seeking elective offices are also becoming more sophisticated. Arising from this sophistication, the electorates also need proper education. Ijewere (2009) identified political promotion activities to include political advertising, political party broadcast, electoral speeches and the entire activity of party positioning. This party positioning activity can be done through the use of bill board, radio and television

In their quest for more political enlightenment, politicians in Nigeria have discovered the place of establishing contact with the electorate through various means. The social media especially Facebook and Twitter among other platforms have become the most patronized medium. In fact, the place of social media in electioneering campaigns of the various political parties in Nigeria is now non-negotiable. The motivation for the use of these social media platforms is in the recognition that it has the capacity to reach a wider audience at less cost.

Place: Evidence has shown that the common place that political parties often sell their candidates is in both print and electronic media. This is true for the urban residents. In the case of the rural populations that constitute the majority of voters, political parties often take their products to the electroate in the villages. This they accomplish through rallies in these villages. In some cases town hall meetings are organized that enable the party leaders meet with the opinion leaders in the community.

Furthermore, political parties and their candidates can also attempt to reach a wider voting population as they organize rallies in motor parks and public schools with the intent of establishing contact with the electorates. Arising from the religious inclination of Nigerians some desperate politicians are reportedly seen in worship centers abstemiously fanning the amber of religion as a means of winning voters support.

According to Niffenegger (1989) canvassing is another place concept in political marketing. Canvassing involves contacting specific individuals in a particular geographical area with the intent to identifying party supporters, dissemination of information, signing up new members and encouraging people to vote for their candidates. Canvassers (veto getters) could be appointed prior to or during election.

Price: Widagdo, Armanu, Noermijati, and Rofiaty (2014) assert that some scholars often argue from economic perspective that there are long term individual costs or regret in electoral choices. This is in the realization thatthere is no direct or indirect price attached to voting or in the choice of a political party. However, political price according to Niffenegger (1989) consist of economic costs; psychological costs; and national image. Cost economics according to the author refers to all expenses paid during the campaign period Psychological costs is deduced from the perception of price, This cost often correlates with a sense of security and comfort with ethnic background, religion, education while national image relate to whether the candidate is able to give a sense of pride or not. Furthermore, political price may not have effect on decision to vote for candidates and

political parties. However, contributors to candidate's selection can be explained by psychological indicators. This cost is in the form of a promise of safety and comfort and been able to give hope to the voters. In conclusion, price in practical terms can be inferred from votes and continuous support from the electorates in exchange for dividends of good governance and political patronage on the part of the candidate.

Theoretical Framework

For a better understanding of the contextual issues involved in political marketing, the Blau (1964) social exchange theory as cited in Inkada, Noermijati, and Rofiaty (2019) suffices. Its adoption is hinged on the fact that the theory has the capacity to explain different situations in business practices. In short, the social exchange theory has contributed to the understanding of organization-stakeholder relationships and relationship management. The principles in this theory replicate the investment model whose intent is to stabilize relationships. The theory canvasses that the greater the nontransferable investments a person has in a given relationship, the more stable the relationship is likely to be. Databases serve as the major instrument to build differentiated relationships between organisations and customers. Through the information process, companies identify the customer's own individual needs. From this perspective, a client becomes an investment. If a customer decides to choose another competitor, the investment will be lost. According to Lambe, Wittmann and Spekman (2001), firms evaluate economic and social outcomes from each transaction and compare them to what they feel they deserve. Firms also look for additional benefits provided by other potential exchange partners. The initial transaction between companies is crucial to determine if their relationship will expand, remain the same or will dissolve.

Furthermore, Williams and Davies (2005) as cited in Wang, Mather and Scifert (2018) aver that trust is an essential ingredient of any exchange relationship. It is expected to be a necessary prerequisite for mutually rewarding interaction in the face of uncertainty and vulnerability. A perplexing situation only emerges as a result of power imbalance between the electorates and political parties or candidates post-election victories. In the light of the present discourse, social exchange is evident as voters cast their votes, transaction takes place. In return for their votes, the party/ candidates promise to offer dividends of good governance and policies when elected. This in essence is as enshrined in the reciprocity principle in the social exchange theory. It is the contention of O'Case (1996) that marketing can be applied to politics as it is specifically concerned with how these transactions are created, stimulated and valued. This position is suggestive of the fact that political marketing is broad enough to accommodate everything that is conventionally consigned to political science.

3. Methodology

In this study, we adopted Ex post facto as its research design. The implication is that qualitative research methodology was adopted in this study. A combination of content analysis and structured interview serves as the tool of data collection. Mustapha and Ebomoyi (2017) recommend content analysis for a study of this nature. The primary source

of information was the analysis of campaign materials, media reports and comments from public analysts. Furthermore, Two hundred and forty (240) respondents, forty from each senatorial district for each political party were conveniently selected for personal interview. A semi structured interview list containing eight questions generated from literature was presented to the interviewees in their various homes. Conscientious effects were made in selecting the interviewees. The composition of the interviewees from each senatorial district consists of thirty members each from the two political parties, five public analysts and five nonpartisan members of the public. The responses to the questions were written down by the research assistants who serve as the recorders. For reason of confidentiality the researchers were not permitted to tape record the conversation. This study was carried out between June and December 2019.

The APC gubernatorial candidate was Godwin Nogheghase Obaseki. Mr Obaseki is an Investment Economist with several years in the private sector. He was the head of the Economic team in the Adams Oshiomhole administration. The PDP candidate is Pastor Ize Iyamu Osagie Andrew a renewed agriculturist in the state. A clergy with the Redeemed Christian Church of Nigeria. Ize Iyamu is a politician that served in several capacities in the Lucky Igbinedion administration.

4. Discussions of Findings

A review of the personal biodata of the respondents reveals that all the respondents were male. Unfortunately, the female who are the majority voting population are in most cases apolitical (INEC,2016). Also all the respondents were literate to the extent of a possession of at least a secondary school certificate. Similarly, the respondents were financially independent as a result of either being self-employed or retired early to join politics. Thematic approach was adopted in this discussion.

Unethical Political Conducts

The respondents were unanimous in acknowledging that acid baths, killings, assassinations, and shoots out by the various political parties and their candidates characterized electioneering activities in Nigeria. It reported that in some extreme cases desperate politicians would resort to printing fake ballot papers, purchase real ballot papers and original result sheets from dishonest electoral officers intended to be used for rigging purposes. The possible explanation for this finding could be found in the politician's character. This character trait is exemplified by their inordinate quest for power and position.

Vote Buying

The respondents also report that vote buying is another important strategy adopted to emerge dominant in Nigeria electoral marketplace. Majority of the respondents assert that vote buying does not only happen in the wee hours of election days. Rather, it starts from parties primaries. In fact, it begins at the ward level. The amount involved may be minimal ranging from buying snacks and soft drinks. The stake goes higher as the position progresses in importance. To some of them, vote buying starts from the application fee

charged by political parties. The extremely high fee could discourage intending aspirants. The most probable reason for vote buying in the Nigeria's electoral market is poverty. Poverty in this respect could be monetary, moral and mental. Due to apparent state of poverty in the country, many electorates would rather prefer to get a meal for the day instead of nothing. A respondent was quoted as saying "I better get any amount from the politicians today, tomorrow they will forget me". Another reportedly said "I must get as much as I can today or I would wait for another four years" The consequence of vote buying to Nigeria political market are grievous. In the first instance, vote buying leads to outsmarting highly credible aspirants which Bamgboye, (n,d) considers as subsided products as well as the popular will of the people are also subverted.

It is our contention that vote buying is similar to sales promotion initiative that stimulates the purchase of a product or a service at a specific time. The money voters and electoral officers collect are bonuses that encourage patronage. To Bamgboye (n,d) bonuses are sales promotion incentive that is most suitable for discounted brands. The marketing implication is that political parties as well as their candidates have conceded that their products are inferior compare with consumers' expectation.

Money Bags or Godfatherism

The role of money and godfathers was another thread in the discourse. It was commonly reported the very important role money and moneybags plays in the electoral market. This finding affirms Mustapha and Ebomoyi, (2017) reports that conclude money and the activities of moneybags should be of great concern to any nation that desire to adhere to democratic tenets. The most possible explanation for the unique role money and money bags plays may not be unconnected with high expenses incurred in acquiring party nomination, campaign expenditure and vote buying and other associated costs. In Nigeria, any candidate with little budget or lack persons that would support financially might up losing an election.

Similarly the position of money in Nigeria political landscape is so elevated that issues contained in a party manifestos are not sufficient to emerge victorious in an election. The situation is almost becoming the bigger the budget, the higher the chances of electoral victory. To this end, those who seek elective positions, search for a god father to nurture their candidacy.

Perceived bias of Electoral Umpire

The electoral umpire is a regulatory agency saddle with the responsibility of the conduct of elections. The agency is also expected to provide enabling environment and provide a level playing field to all political parties. In this study, the independence of the electoral commission was sought from the respondents. The respondents in majority affirm that the electoral processes and empires can be compromised. They contend that government being the sole financer of electoral processes could influence the outcome of an election. In fact, majority of the respondents buttress the extent of government interference with the electoral process. Specifically, some reports that not all votes counts. This findinglead

credence to the common experiences in the past that have shown electoral officers can be compromised. The extent to which electoral empires can compromise as seen in the past where electoral officers announce results in the private homes of candidates.

Ethno-Religious Bigotry

Nigeria as a nation is multi ethnic. Its religious inclination is secular. However, ethnicity and religion are the twin issues that shape discourse and decision making in the country. Consequently, this study sought to ascertain the extent of ethno- religious issues in electoral victory. As expected, all the respondents upheld the place of tribe and religion of the candidates in an election. In the opinion of respondents, the ideal candidate is always that person from one's tribe, religion or ethnic background regardless of the qualities of other candidates. Experience has shown in Nigeria, that majority of electorates patronize political parties on the basis of ethnicity and religion. This finding lay credence to the fact that consumers are ethnocentric in behaviour. This implies that any party that is better at fanning the amber of ethnicity and religion would more likely emerge as the market leader.

Zoning of Political Offices

With respect to zoning of political offices, all the respondents affirmed that zoning when properly and timely done could definitely translate to electoral victory. Zoning in this context refers to allocation of important political offices in the forthcoming government in the event the party emerges victorious. The respondents claim that the basis of such agreement is on the voting population of the zone. The essence of this practice is to ensure geographical spread of votes and positions in the elected government.

In short this was the case in the Edo state 2016 gubernatorial elections. The APC and PDP candidates were from Edo south senatorial district that commands the largest number of votes while the APC choose running mate from the zone with the second highest number of votes unlike the PDP candidate from the zone with the least number of votes. It is however expected all being things been equal that the APC candidate would emerge victorious. This outcome share resemblance to conventional marketing practice where organisations employ target marketing to launch its products. An organization that is able to obtain a higher market share in the target market ultimately becomes the market leader. The same applies in the political market. The political party that is able to obtain more votes in the zones with high voters' population would ultimately emerge victorious.

Past and Present Performances of the Parties

In the course of this research, majority of the interviewees were unanimous in their opinion that one of the underlying reasons for the success of the APC candidate was the outstanding performance of the incumbent governor. This is when compared with the PDP candidate that was closely associated with a regime whose performance left much to be desired. As a result, it became easier for the electorates to be persuaded to trust the APC candidate the more. Marketing practice tend to support this position. A common marketing explanation is that customers patronize a product they have pleasant usage experience compared with a competing brand whose performance is unpredictable.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The outcomes of buyers (electorates) decision shape the destiny of organistions. Firms that desire to excel in the marketplace need to win the confidence of the buyers. This can be done through meeting or in some cases exceeding the buyers' expectation. This should be the case in the political marketplace. The strategy that enable political parties fuse the tenets of marketing into political science scholars coined as political marketing. This simply means that political marketing refers to the application of marketing principles and practice to the theory and practice of politics. Political marketing is an aspect of marketing that is concerned with marketing of ideas and persons. The rate at which political parties embrace the tenets of marketing underscores its relevance in modern day democratic setting. This realization is hinged on the fact that mass support is significantly important in securing and sustaining power.

Apart from political science, political marketing shares some themes with history. This commonness is the desire to explain political leaders' behaviour. In the present era, political marketing is also closely related to strategic marketing. It activities are not just short term in nature, but take into consideration longer term with political parties primary purpose to ensure continuity in governance. From the foregoing, this paper investigated the extent of political parties' adaptation of marketing principles with the intent of obtaining electoral victory.

A review of extant literature reveals that candidates of political parties organize their activities around the marketing mix variables. Politicians recognize political products as party platforms, past performance, party pedigrees, manifestos and personal(candidates) characteristics while political price include the economic cost, psychological cost and image. Similarly, political place (distribution) consists of marketing and volunteer programs in the form of visits to towns, villages, motor parks and in some cases worship centers and political promotion (campaign) in print and electronic media in the form of advertising, publications and vote getters.

This study found out political parties activities in Ego state are organized around the traditional marketing mix variables of product, price, place and promotion. Furthermore this study also reports that political parties also adopt other strategies that would account for political parties' outstanding performance in the electoral marketplace. These activities include vote buying, unethical political behaviour, past and present performance of the political parties. Others are zoning of political offices, godfatherism/money bags, bias of electoral umpires and ethno-religious bigotry. Although some respondents ascribe electoral victory to incumbency factor this study was unable to establish the validity of this assertion Finally,this paper conclude that political parties desirous to continually dominate the electoral marketplace should constantly review its political strategic marketing activities taking into cognize the changes in the taste of the electorates.

Arising from these findings, we wish to make the following recommendations. First, any political party that desire to emerge victorious should pay serious attention to the selection

of credible candidates. The party must of necessity conduct a thorough integrity cheek with the intent of nominating only persons that score high in any public opinion poll. This implies that only persons that are transparent in character are elected into public governance. This demand that political party should inculcate ingredients required for a new brand development in their selection process. This paper advocate that a reputable marketing research group that has cognate experience in product development should coordinate this exercise

Secondly, electorates should vote only political parties that are performance driven. This implies that only such parties should be given the opportunity to govern the people. In simple terms, the basis for governance should be people focus and development centered policies. In short, political governance should not be an all commoner's affairs. Only political parties that have the track records of performance should be voted into office. On the basis of consistency is political service delivery, the electorates should not hesitate to vote out any political party that has derailed from the glorious path of performance. This notwithstanding, electorates should also avoid ethnocentrism in their choice of political parties.

Finally, in order to avoid instituting a seat tight government, the electorates should cultivate an insatiable taste for change in the choice of the political party for governance. This insatiable quest for new products is a common expectation in a conventional marketplace. However, this suggestion should not be mismanaged to the extent that it negates the benefits inherent in brand loyalty and customer retention. The consequence of continuously voting a particular political party and their candidates could breed despotic leaders. This could portend great danger to the development of the people.

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