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On the March again "Better Dey Come" Goodluck to Nigerians" the use of Marketing and Advertising Strategies in Political Marketing

By Ayozie Daniel Ogechukwu
The Federal Polytechnic Ilaro, Nigeria

Abstract - Favour, Ebele and Blessing my little kids wakes me up in the morning with their favourite political jingles "ATIKU DEY COME OO, BETTER DEY COME, OR GOODLUCK TO EVERYBODY, GOODLUCK TO NIGERIA. In the past it was popular to hear on the march again, M.K.O. is our choice oo. With precision, the adverts of the Nigerian Republican Congress State "One wrong vote, takes us 100 steps back" free has a price" Beware there is a trap somewhere, or the social Democratic Party's slogan "Enough is Enough, Don't allow, the nations wealth to be flown away again, vote SDP. Should Education be so expensive, should Housing be this indecent? vote SDP. In politics as in advertising, Nigeria seems to have adopted the United states of America and the united kingdom as a model. The marriage of Advertising and Politics is becoming more pronounced in Nigeria (Moemeke 1992). The Nigerian electorate is getting more politically enlightened and those seeking elective offices are also becoming more sophisticated (Oyovbare 1992). There is then the need for a proper education on political marketing and Advertising. Marketing, public relations and Advertising are very important tools in packaging of politicians, their parties and programmes from the perspective of the electorate.

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A friend facebooked and twittered me of recent, and in response to my Question on political marketing has his answer which was as revealing as ever. He said politicians promise of building bridges, even where there are no rivers, and building air or seaports where there are no aeroplanes or ships. Political campaigns in Nigeria, either in the first, second, third and fourth republics are not new. It has been with Nigeria and Nigerians before and after independence. Onetime US presidential hopeful, Alexander Haig Jr noted in an optimistic moment of his aborted campaign "I have learnt the secret of life…….it is in marketing. Former US president Richard M. Nixon is reported to have said that political advertising is to politics what bumper stickers are to philosophy.

Political marketing is a social and managerial process by which candidates and parties obtained Election goals through creating, offering and securing approval of ideas of value with the voter. (Kotler 2000).

Author : Senior Lecturer, Department of Marketing, the Federal Polytechnic Ilaro, Ogun State Nigeria.
E-mail : danayo2001@yahoo.com

I. Introduction

Politicians of recent send their messages to the Electorate through various means. The most recent is the role the internet especially the social networking blogs of facebook and Twitter are playing in the various electioneering campaigns of the candidates of the various political parties in Nigeria, especially the presidential and governorship candidates. The implycations is that marketing, advertising and other promotional mix elements, have tremendous roles to play in political electioneering campaigns in Nigeria. In the past and present political dispensations in Nigeria, politicians strive to acquire power, either at the local, state or national level. Politics is about power. The need to acquire the power leads to agreements, conflicts, consensus and competition. The struggle to acquire power leads to competitions, rancour, disagreements, agreements, conflicts and conflict resolutions.

Nzimiro (1992) stated that politics is about policy. Policy is a matter of either the desire for change or the desire to protect something against changes. This can lead to disagreements, agreements, conflicts and conflict resolution.

Politics in Nigeria has always been expressed through political parties, which are created to achieve political power, goals of the originators and goals of the society. Political parties are organized around specific ideologies and ideas of human societies. In the past this conflict benefited from the disproportionate ownership of land, and capital. Presently it is expressed in the control of the local, state, federal, other state apparatus and the mass media. Every class uses communication as a tool in the ideological war of politics. Now political parties have become platforms for rearing leaders who are interested in the contest for power through the electoral process.

Now, politics gets involved in the struggle to control the power base, as the local, state and federal base establishes its machinery for controlling the

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populace. Political control is disguised when the winning group controls political power, and its constituent members and operatives become the ultimate beneficiaries. Nowadays the electoral process has become the expression of the democratic form of struggle within a given class system. The power is a useful barometer for measuring all political activities.

II. Political Party System in Nigeria

Political party system in Nigeria have developed in different forms. Each party is either a mass party or an elite party. An understanding of the political party system in Nigeria, will determine how marketing, advertising, and their strategies will be used effectively to market the political system and campaigns in Nigeria.

a) Feudal System

Nzimiro (1972) started that Nigeria was a feudal society. The feudal system was sustained by the myths of the origin of the traditional rulers and kings. With the advent of colonialism, party politics was introduced into Nigeria and its development involved in stages. A brief history will be helpful in determining the role of marketing strategies.

The Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) established by Herbert Macaulay was the first political party in Nigeria between (1923-34). The was the era of conservatism in Nigerian politics.

Between 1931-1944 the liberal party, under the youth movements were established. It consisted of progressives, educated and professional. People who acquired the liberal philosophy of those years.

1944 – 1950 gave birth to the National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns (NCNC) and the Zikist movement which was the militant Youth front. This was an age of militant nationalism. The Nigerian youth movement disintegrated due to internal crisis. While the NNDP persisted, but later fizzled out after if allied with the NCNC and the labour party to form the Demo labour Alliance (Nzimiro 1992).

The NCNC later became the National Council of Nigerian Citizens when the Camerounss broke out of Nigeria. At that time modern Advertising and marketing strategies were hardly used as militant nationalism and oratorical process were greatly used.

b) First Republic

The political parties managed the political party organization in the first Republic. The post independence period, brought about the coalition between the northern Peoples Congress (NPC) and the NCNC, with the Action Congress (AC) forming the opposition at the centre. With this, the NPC controlled the northern Nigeria, the NCNC controlled the East, while the AC controlled the west. The rank and file at all levels of the party mattered very little as the party notables (elites) only recruited them as their personal clientele who owed allegiance to them. With this corruption flourished, as the parties showed elitists tendencies with their members enjoying privileged status and authority within the social order. The regional power base of this parties gave rise to ethnic politics. The expectation that the elites would be immune to ethnicity was dealt a fatal blow as both the educated and illiterate members of the parties resorted to the massaging of ethnic feeling (Nzimiro 1992). The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) reflected the structure of Northern Nigeria Northern Sokoto caliphate. The lack of a tightly knit structure of the party is seen from the traditional structure of northern Nigeria which derived its support mainly from the village heads, native authority officials and chiefs, rather than from the masses. There existed a master-servant relationship. A party that was structured and rooted in traditional ideology with such structured organization cannot afford the luxury of mass ideology normally expressed in election.

Ethnicity encouraged nepotism especially in the selection of relatives into the services of the native authority. In the western Nigeria the Egbe Omo Oduduwa as founded as a result of Ethnic nationalism and tribal renaissance. One of the major objectives was to study the economic potentials and resources of the Yorubaland, advise on how best to utilize natural wealth in order to ensure abundance and prosperity. The Action Group (AG) emerged from the Egbe Omo Oduduwa which based its principle on the unity of the Yoruba ruling class, comprising of the Obas, merchants, professionals etc. The AG therefore relied organizationally on unifying the various sub ethnic groups within the entire Yoruba nation. Ideology thus marked the foundation of the Action Group.

The NCNC according to Nzimiro (1992) was initially organized as a party of eastern and western regions while operating in the north through its alliances with NEPU (Northern elements people anun, the idoma state union and the UMBC (United Middle Belt Congress).

One peculiar fact was that the first Republic politics lacked a National Consicience and corruption was built into the party apparatus, as no clear lines could be drawn between party structure and the government activities, some of which had trading and commercial import.

The leaders and rulers of the First Republic Championed Capitalism, but it was at the expense of the Nigerian nation and the masses, while Regionalism pervaded their philosophy of life. These rulers refused to let the common masses known the realities of their lives.

In the first Republic the British found alliance with the political traders who forged a link with the ruling class to share and loot the wealth of Nigeria. The country was regarded as a trading company. The

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sentiments of national patriotism was absent. Some of the specific features of the first Republic are (Nzimiro (1992).

i. Corruption, nepotism, political thuggery looting and plundering of the national wealth.
ii. Exploitation of the masses by the ruling class.
iii. Lack of commitment to the concept of nationhood.
iv. Indiscipline in the national life due to the ugly life of the rulling class displayed by excessive, squandermania of the peoples wealth.
v. There were coups, counter coups, attacks and reprisal attacks which cultiminated into the Nigerian civil war.

c) The Second Republic

There were the ruling parties such as the National Party of Nigerian (NPN) which was seen as the reincarnation of the former (NPC), Northern Peoples Congress. The NPN was a party of the Hausa Fulani's who formed coalition with the elites of the minorities. The Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) was Igbo based with recruitment from the elite of some small ethnic groups. The UPN Unity Party of Nigeria was dominant in the west and was seen as the reincarnation of the Action Group, the GNPP (Greet Nigeria People Party) controlled some states in the North, while the Aminu Kano lead People's Redemption Party (PRP) controlled few states again in the North, while the NPN was the dominant ruling party and formed alliance with the NPP to form a government, while the UPN was seen at the party on opposition.

The politics of the second Republic was characterized by some of the ugly features of the first Republic. The politicians did not learn much lesson from their predecessors in the first Republic and the after effects were military coups and counter coups. That the experiment of Parties of the second Republic failed was not in doubt, for the members of the political class were of the same character and ambition as their predecessors of the first Republic.

d) The Third Republic

The Babangida Military Administration took cognizance of the failure of democratic experiments in the first and second Republics. The Government employed people's opinion as the foundation of the new political structures. It set up the cooker Commission, mandated to collect, analyse and synthesise the views at the political groups. After series of debates and symposia, it collected several documents which discussed the birth of Nigeria, the process of building the Nigerian state, structure of the political parties, the ethnic national question and state creation, the brand of political ideology the people want etc. it opened the door for the lifting of Ban on political parties. Old politicians wre banned and unbanned. With the banning of the initial thirteen political parties recognised by NEC National Electoral Commission), two political parties, the (SDP) Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention (NRC) were formed by the military Government with the mandate that its membership shall grow from the grassroots and wards, and that all individuals are equals in the parties, as there were no God fathers or kingpins. It recruited individuals from the grassroots to develop a new political order of Nigerian unity and holds specific rules to safeguard their grassroots bases.

The Annulment of the June 12 1993 Elections and the subsequent death of the acclaimed winner MKO Abiola, followed by violence, and death of some political actors neccessitated the military to take over government again. The political actors and actions of the third Republic and their military collaborators did not fully learn any lesson from the mistakes of their predecessors in the first and second Republics. The problems enumerated in the first and second Republic came up again in the third Republic, hence there were coups and counter coups.

e) Fourth Republic

The fourth republic gave birth to some major political parties like the (PDP) The Peoples Democratic Party) which is the dominant party that won majority of the seats at the federal and state legislative houses and controlled the federal executive government. Other ethnic based parties includes the Alliance for Democracy (AD) later called Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) which controlled the government in the western Nigeria, the (PPA), the Progressive People's Alliance and the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) and the PDP controlled the States in the East, while the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), was in control of some state in the Northern Nigeria.

Some of the basic problems which characterized the first, second, and third Republics are still very rampant, even with the introduction of more dangerous crimes which were not common in Nigeria political system. In addition there are now rampant cases of kidnapping, rape, assassinations, militancy, indiscipline, large scale corruption, lack of commitment to nationhood, nepotism, political thuggery and large scale exploitation of the masses by the elites. Advertising and marketing strategies especially as it concerns bill Board, Radio and Television messages were used.

Advertising and marketing of politics were not providing solutions to the failure of the political parties and political systems in all the Republics marketing was not used.

Bulter and Collins (1961) stated that "there appears to be little appreciation of marketing especially in Nigeria. Most writers of political marketing simply applied general marketing principles to the area of

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election campaigning (Baines et al 2000) most people believed that the old political parties do not need marketing and advertising strategies, because the requirement for active members to carry the party message meant that election campaigning was labour intensive. (Achumba, Ogbechi 2004) Most actors simple believed their campaign was largely about reinforcing ethnic or regional beliefs and ideas, reinforcing partnership and mobilizing the masses with some exaggerated promises.

Because of increased sophistication of the masses, greater enlightenment, increased role of information technology, internet and the worldwide web, political marketing and advertising is becoming more pronounced. This has stimulated the development of political marketing (Kavanagh 2003).

But the idea of marketing and promoting politicians is not entirely a new phenomenon. In old Nigerian societies, promotion of leaders and politicians take place whenever a community was in search of special leadership qualities in a person.

Agbakoba (2003) (Ayozie 2010) started that attributes such as courage, meekness, philanthropy, courage, valour, eloquence, honesty, perseverance, charisma, and physical fitness enhanced the position of those who possesed them in vary degrees, and in different contexts. Just as the possession of any or all of those attributes advanced the standing of some individuals at the time. Presently it plays also an equality significant role in political marketing and practices these days.

Nevertheless the issue of promotion of politicians in contemporary societies is different from promotion/Advertising in historical perspectives.

III. What is Political Marketing and Political Advertising

In the past, Political Marketing definition stressed the exchange process arising between votes and candidate, (Achumba 2004) the use of marketing mix to promote political parties, and the use of opinion research and environmental analysis (Wrong 1977).

One definition of political marketing would draw reference from Kotler's Definition of Marketing "political campaign marketing is a social and managerial process by which candidates and parties obtain election goals through creating, offering and securing approval of ideas of value with the voter.

Some other definition sees political marketing as being concerned more with the communication process between parties and or candidates.

Harris and Wards (2000) views political marketing as being synonymous with the use of persuasive technique in campaigns, to promote the politicians, their parties and policies.

Butler and Kavanagh (1999) advocated that the borrowing of professional communication tools such as Advertising and public relations, epitomized the concept of political marketing.

Maarek (1992) in Achumba and Ogbechi (2004) suggests that political marketing is a broader concept. He stated that political marketing includes the evaluation and redesign of policy and electoral strategy in the light of studies of the electoral concerns. He claims that political communications no longer means merely designing and printing a message in posters without consideration of whom they are addressed to. To them it encompasses the entire marketing process from preliminary market study to testing and targeting.

On the other hand political Advertising employs the explicit use of language to propose solutions (Marketing) based on perceived needs and deficiencies (political philosophy). Politics being largely a verbal profession. Political Advertising has to be an exercise in the use of words and images (communication) Elections are won and lost largely on the ability of campaign managers to use communication effectively. As Gerber (1981) noted.

> "politics is largely a word game politicians rise to power because they can talk persuasively to voters and political elites. Once in power their daily activities are largely verbal – commands, dialogues, debates, formulation of proposals, laws, orders, decisions, and legal opinion. The skill with which they wield the tools of political discourse, adapting them to the needs of various audiences and the goals to be achieved determines their success."

As in campaign times and during the various election dates, the voter is exposed to many communication message about the various candidates, political parties, their philosophics and ideas, the electoral umpires and the electoral processes. Politics and political advertising and marketing would be impossible without communication. Political Advertising in a communication series "is a war for the minds of the electorate" (Okigbo 1992). The battle is fought not only in the fields of paid advertisements, but also in all the compounds and allays for peddling influences, especially when the audiences is unsuspecting. It is necessary to show how the managers of Jimmy carter campaign infiltrated all media shows with Mr carter's admirers. To Malcolm MacDougall who ran the Jerry ford campaign, it was a sheer genius. To him.

> "Jimmy carter was in every talk show, every panel show, every game show, every quiz show. It hadn't cost a nickel to bring "the real" jimmy carter into every living room. He was part of the furniture before Ronald Reagan or Jerry ford entered the flight.

Whatsoever is the exact definitions of political marketing and political Advertising, it is clear that the use of policies and communication to position

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candidates to gain more votes and sympathy explains the two concepts. In fact in the views of Harris and Ward (2000), political marketing and political Advertising concepts includes a broader consideration of the needs of the electorate so that policies as well as promotional messages are centered on the desires of the voter.

Marketing, Advertising, political philosophy and communication complements one another and roll up into one vital force, which when directed at the promotion of the political candidates can yield fantastic results. Such results are possible only when the elements are employed energetically. This calls for the adoption of wholly integrated approaches rather than disparate methods and tactics. The ultimate target is the selling of the candidate, but it has to be achieved through proper positioning and the employment of appropriate strategies and tactics.

By synergy in political marketing/Advertising, we mean the realized effects of the four elements that is marketing, advertising, political philosophy and communication working together as necessary partners rather than individually. Political marketing and Advertising requires a wholistic approach that employs all the elements at once. By employing a synergetic approach, the political marketing and advertising consultant uses integrated marketing communications and various marketing strategies that accommodates all aspects of Advertising, public relations, events marketing, tele marketing, sales promotion, publicity and talk shows all directed at achieving maximum persuasive impact for the purpose of winning votes and candidates. Integrated marketing communications is the protease of managing all sources of direct and indirect information about a candidate or party to which a voter is exposed, and which can track their behavior and reliable attitudes overtime relating to the candidate and party.

To MacDougall (1992) when you write an advertising strategy for a soap or soft drink, "you usually try to zero in to one sales message, for example, Longer lasting deodorant people need only one good reason to choose one product over another. But when you are selling a President, Governor or Senator (or for any other political candidate) one strategy just wont do.

IV. Some basic Hindrances to Political Marketing and Advertising

As enumerated in the brief political History of Nigeria above, the Basic problems of ethnicity, corruption, bribery, political rascalism, thurgery, assassinations, coups, counter cups, falsification of voters, snatching of electoral materials, killings, bomb blasts and terrorisms, electoral frauds, judicial racialism and fraud, rigging and political and ethnic militancy have assumed a cyclical trend. These problems have manifested in all the republics in Nigeria. Politics as observed in Nigeria is a very dangerous game played in murkey waters. Infact it in like war, if not a real war, as bombs, guns, acids, killings and other war strategies are used, thus making it, a do or die affair. The words used for simple electoral practice are, capture, defeat maim, hurricane, etc. This has severe implications the way political marketing and Advertising strategies are used and practiced.

Some of the basic problems are that Nigerians are totally insensitive to political advertising, marketing and communication. In reality it does not fully influence their voting patterns and general political behaviour. Communication nor matter how powerful now and in the past has not fully influenced voting behaviour in the past, does not in the present and has not shown any likely change in the future. This is not the practice in the developed countries of united kingdom, Italy, United States of America or even India.

Violence and Rigging is a norm in nigeria. Infact most politicians believe that elections cannot be won without the two terms. There are acid baths, killings, assassinations, and shoots out by the various political parties and their candidates. Politicians are usually caught with fake and real ballot papers purely used for rigging purposes. Infact votes do not count not minding the electoral process used. Electoral officers often announce results in the private homes of candidates, and in such cases, it has nothing to do with the voting or voting processes.

Electoral officers and materials often disappear to reappear in the houses of favoured politicians. There is an assumption in politics that votes count, and that elections are supposed to be free and fair. But the reverse is the case in Nigeria. Violence and rigging are not common denominators of the democratic norms, or for democratic societies.

Politics in Nigeria is a do or die affair, hence people are assassinated with reckless abandon, and the culprits not found. Politics is full of bitterness, hatred, rancour intimidation and violence. (Doghudje (1992) People vote mainly for members of their tribe, ethnic area, or religion. Issues and images do not count. The ideal candidate is always that person from one's tribe, religious or ethnic background regardless of the qualities of other candidates from other tribes or religious background. The voting patterns in the first, second, third and even the fourth Republic explains the roles that religion and tribe plays in Nigerian politics. A candidate in the second Republic promoted Nigerian free education at some levels, free health services, full employment and integrated rural development, yet he lost the presidential election, and these are full powerful promises of what an average Nigerian needs. Another candidate of immense personal integrity, excellent ideas on how Nigeria will be corrupt free contested and yet he lost. Things have really not fully changed. Nigerians go into politics for the wrong reasons, the electorate vote

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for the wronging reasons and in most cases advertises for thewrong reasons. Campaigns are not fully issues based, not minding the promises of politicians. In the states and local government areas, the situation is the same (certain zones or areas of the states have long dominated governance that the other zones are crying aloud for a share in the governance. In some instances some families have dominated governance in certain states and local government areas.

Money plays a negative role as the electorate and the electoral officers are often bribed to either vote against their conscience or to declare false results, and to declare the wrong candidates as winners.

In Achumb and Ogbechi (2004), it quoted lock And Harris (1991) on the differences between political and commercial marketing and Advertising. It was their observation that winning parties do not continue to dominate the share of the vote in the same way that Brand leaders hold their market share. They defined a political brand as the party name, term and symbol, which becomes attached to different policies and politicians.

Kavanagah (2003) clearly stated that a political party is different from a commercial operation in these relevant aspect.

- A party claims to be internally democratic. This is not the same as in a commercial organization.
- Unlike commercial marketing, political marketing tends to be more oriented towards competitive position. This competitive nature dominates the political communication, especially in the United States where political speech is protected under the first amendment, resulting in the more usage of the media management techniques, such as rapid rebuttal, opposition research and political advertisements which many contain an element of dialogue between the parties and candidates. This is contrary to traditional commercial communications; which rarely mentions other companies products except in the most vague and of ways.
- Also in political marketing and political advertising, it is imperative that the political product would be contrasted with that of its competitors, and that the candidates, must seek to demonstrate their credibility and capability before the electorate will approve them for office through voting. This concept is inherent in the U.S., and is the pattern between two candidates seeking to be nominated by the Peoples Democratic Party as their presidential candidates in the 2011 elections (Goodluck Jonathan and Abubakar Atiku media campaigns).
- Also because a political party usually campaigns to form the government of a country or state, the scale of its ambition dwarfs that of commercial organization.

a) What Roles Can Advertising and Marketing Public Relations and Integrated Marketing Communication Play in the Political Transformation In Nigeria

When one studies the influence of pre-colonial norms on contemporary Nigeria, one is bewildered by the absence of rationality and intellectual inquiry, hence the importance that politicians attach to the rituals of the institutions, religions dogmas, materialism, ethnic values or our inability to escape from old norms that are retrogressive. Political marketing and Advertising has a role to playing in the new political trajectory that Nigeria is chatting. Marketing and Advertising offers a lot to politicians. Every politician dreams, whether incumbent or new aspirant is to be in government and remain in power, and be part of the system making laws, directing and shaping the process of economic and social development (Ohiwerei 1992). The ultimate ambition is to be the president and commander in chief or the prime minister as seen in the United Kingdom. To get to that position, the candidates relies greatly on marketing and public relations, integrated marketing communication and advertising strategies so as to market his/her person, and the party's manifestoes. He tries to convince the electorate that his party's progammes are the best and more relevant to the needs of the masses than that of the competitors. S/he must convincible electorate that S/He can represent them and ensure that the party's programme is implemented.

The political party can be likened to a company or firm, the party ideology to a company's mission statements, the party manifestoes to a company's marketing strategy/plans, and the party's candidate to a Brand. So for a political party to be effective, and successful, win votes and be in power (profitably) it should operate like a business or a company. With this analogy, marketing, public relations and Advertising are very relevant in politics.

b) Branding As A Strategy In Political Marketing

Boone and Kurtz (1996) Ayozie (1999) and Kotler (2006) opines that a brand is a name, term, sign, symbol, design or some combination that identities the products of one firm and differentiates them from competitors offerings. Brand marketing is becoming important in political marketing because as a result of information clutter, people are becoming more independent in deciding whom to believe. A candidate who sees himself or herself as a brand can cut through the information and communication clutter and achieve the message discipline essential to a successful campaign. In developing brand the political marketer has to ensure that the candidate communicates something that the voters can understand and identify to the emotional appeal of candidate. It is the personality (brand) believability and an appealing story that persuades voters. Also since the electorate craves something out of the ordinary, Creating a brand

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destination is important for challengers, and for the opposition and minority party candidates. Branding is about communicating a message that is rooted in emotion (Achumba et al 2004) Every successful brand has some emotional appeal. Emotion is the human element that gets our attentions (Jackson Jr 2004). This unique emotional component is the foundation of the candidate's brand. Development a good brand message involves soul searching. Before the campaign gets under well the politician should inventory his assets. The inventory includes. every positive thing he has ever done that may seem compelling, everything good any one has ever said about him, every unique experience in his life, anything that sets him apart from the rest of the crowd. What is unique about him. What makes him different and why should the masses listen and vote for him/her. If a candidate is not believable S/he might not win any sympathy. The candidate's task is to prove this uniqueness, and why he/she stands out. Like 7up soft drink advert "the difference is clear".

In Brand Marketing a successful key is a thorough understanding of the market, the consumer, the competition, and the use of marketing research. This helps in having a clear vision of the role the brand will play in the market. The brand must meet a particular need better than competing products and brands. In this marketing research will be useful to the politicians and their parties. What we think people need is different from what they actually need. You can satisfy them by actually asking them and researching on their needs. The politician must streamline the party's programmes with the needs of the electorate and masses. Find out what it is that matter to the masses in specific areas of the north, south, east and west of Nigeria. The needs varies although there might be the similarity in some basic areas. The political parties need to offer a benchmark to determine what to offer, where to offer and how to offer them to the electorate. This might be expensive, but it helps to win votes. So it is important to commission and conduct a research at various levels into societies values, political expectations and societal needs. This should be incorporated into political campaign strategies. To be successful a product is transformed into a brand. This is made possible by giving and acquiring a definite image for the product either through its unique name, mark, term, symbol, packaging or advertising. Together these factors create in the consumer's mind some perceived benefits. If a politician is to be successful, the mention of the name should evoke a positive perception (e. g being humble, strong, resolute, anti corruption, a man of unity, accessible, reliability, strong positive character, a good fighter for the masses cause, a man who cares and understands the masses). A positive image is a very valuable asset. Branding helps to bring about this. There is a of importance attached to names i.e Awo, Zik, Ahmadu Bello, Buhari OBJ, Goodluck e.t.c Every Nigerian name tells story. We choose names and acronyms that has no negative connotations, that are easy to pronounce and remember eg IBB, Buhari, Goodluck, OBJ. Politicians these days shortten their very long names, while many have adopted pet names. Some have adopted a sobriquet. But names alone do not sell a brand. The brand has to be of excellent quality, and good enough to be believed. Your name most have an advantage over competing brands. There must be uniqueness to guarantee repeat voting and purchase. Your uniqueness most be an a positive way (e.g humility, strong character, anti corruption, iron lady, tough, resolute). You must give something that has an advantage over the competitors. The politician most smoothen his rough edges so to as to meet the expectation of the masses. The politician must discover something wrong about his character and mannerisms and find positive answers to them. The politicians must discover major events or achievements that can enhance their credibility, emphasize and use those positivities.

c) Packaging the Politician and Political Activities

Packaging helps to whet the appetite and heighten the desire. (Ohiwerei 1992).Packing involves the development of a container and a graphic design for a product (Pride and Ferrel 1991). A package can be a vital part of a product, making it more versatile, safer, or easier to use. Like a brand and as discussed above, a package can influence customers attitudes towards a product and definitely affect their purchase decisions. The same strategy is applicable in political packaging of aspirants. The politician must dress and appear well. The total physical appearance is very important i. e you hair cuts, beards, clothes, shoes, voice etc. The speech, voice and diction must be good. It is not out of place to have a special beautician, voice expert, hair stylists and fashion designers to work on the politician. But politics is not a beauty contest either. Before a public appearance, mannerism, carriage, and comportment most be practiced.

d) Innovativeness As A Brading Strategy

The Nigerian politician must be unique. They can be unique in their way of dressing or appearance. A specific fashion designer can create a special style to increase excellent visibility. If one remains consistent in using that style it will become one's property and identification mark. Awo emphsised this in his glasses, Mbony Ojike did not wear western clothes "He was known for the statement" Boycotting all boycottables". Shagar has a unique cap, while Goodluck Jonathan has the Niger Delta dress and cap. Fidel castro dresses in Safari Suits, and Obama has a uniqueness in his smart suits. Wiston Churchill was known for his king size cigars. The emphasise is that the politician should be confident with the role he wants to play and most evoke a positive response from the electorate. They must

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create an image of uniqueness, strong character, reliability and humility. By his unique speeches John F. Kennedy, Obama, and to an extent David Cameron in the UK have hard strong effects on young and old people around the world, and in their respective constituencies. Kennedy's popular speech "think not of what your country will do for you, but think of what you can do for your country" is as relevant today as it was in the past.

The politician must be innovative in relating with his constituency and the masses. Personal contact with the masses is brightly rewarding and excellent. Door to Door contact, personal visits and contacts have excellent effects on both the high and lowly placed members of the society. It gives the politician first hand knowledge of the problems of the masses. It gives them the confidence to vote for a candidate whom they believe relates well with the electorate/masses and understands their problems. A dinner with masses will build confidence and reliability on them. The politician should build their foundation on the masses, as they will never fail at the moment of need, especially when they are needed (Ayozie 2009).

e) Distribution of Political Materials

The politician that starts early has a better chance of getting the best result and in reaching out early to the electorates "Early to bed, early to rise". Plan well ahead of time how to distribute your campaign materials posters, leaflets and banners. Early and repetitive messages on the internet and in the websites has excellent and positive influences. The politician should employ well trained sales people and campaign strategist/managers as they help in delivering his/her political messages. Who ever you are employing most be well trained, hold excellent ethical and moral standards and most understand the politician, the political party, their programmes and actions. They must be unique as the politician and must uphold the excellent unique image. Just like as in products, the political/candidate must be seen by the electorate as capable of delivery the campaign promises and benefits more effectively than the competitors. Like in the 7up and Omo adverts, "7" up the Difference is clear" or Omo washes brighter and it shows. A politician should base his appeal on rational and clearly measurable goals. He must not make false and empty promises in building bridges where there are no rivers and seas. He must fully and practically demonstrate the ability to deliver the campaign promises by his party or future performances. Have an emotion appeal which must be sustained. The campaign objectives and the actual campaign programmes must sell and popularize the party, the politician, the party symbols, and project the party as a disciplined and democratic party with a dedicated leadership capable of turning the affairs of the nation around, ensuring security of lives and property, and guaranteeing prosperity. It should guarantee the electorate an active participation in the affairs of the nation, functional and affordable education, good healthcare, cheap and efficient transportation, good roads, alternative transportation systems, affordable food, better life for the masses, better opportunities for the youths, women, children, disabled, decent housing with water and electricity and rural development and employment.

f) Opinion/Issues Polls

Just as it is obtainable in consumer marketing, marketers first identify the consumer's needs and wants and try to satisfy them. In political marketing, politicians has to identify the wishes and aspiration of the electorate and masses. Opinion and issues polling is a survey of issues of interests to the populace, their attitudes to these issues, and the reasons for holding such issues. It could be politically suicidal for a candidate to take a rigid stand on some issues without knowing how important such issues are to the electorate or how strongly or otherwise they feel about such issues, for the lives of the electorate revolves around issues (Odusi 1992).

Such issues might be on abortion, minimum wage, lesbianism, gay, religion, diplomatic ties with some nations, security and terrorism. The electorate needs to know the candidate's stand before the voting date. Politicians will find issues polls useful in sorting out specific campaign issues and positions, establishing a broad based strategy on both issues and image, thus leading to basic decisions on policy and advertising strategies. Issues polls are best conducted before elections. The aim being to ascertain which of the issues is most important to the electorate.

g) Targeting and Trackng Polls

Most times polls are conducted and limited to certain groups of people in the society such as mothers, men, youth, women, opinion and religious leaders. Here it is necessary to keep track of how opinions change from time to time among the electorate or interest groups. Targeting and tracking polls solves such problems. While targeting refers to a deliberate attempt to locate a group of relevant voters within the general voting population, tracking is the continuous measuring of changes in the political behavour of the people (Odusi 1992). Both tracking and targeting complements each other and are important elements in information management system for political campaigns. For example, tracking might reveal the popularity of a party, candidate, or group, and this might lead to identification of new target. To enhance effective targeting, there is the need to segment the population, and to stratify them according to social, demographic or even geographic variables, in order to obtain the most pertinent information for campaign strategy which will enable a

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candidate to make specialized appeals to bolt actual and potential supporters.

Generally both targeting and tracking make possible continuous and sensitive monitoring of communications, so that strategy and tactics can be finetuned responsively to the opportunities and importunities of events.

h) Image Study/Research

An image research is an important step in planning political advertising efforts. Odusi (1992) stated that it helps to identify areas of candidates reputations and character that the voters might be unaware or confused about. This will become the focus of a candidates communications programme. Odusi (1992) defined image "as the net result of interaction of an experience, impressions, beliefs, feelings and knowledge people have about an entity. For any candidate contesting an elective position, it is important to consider two types of images. First the image of the candidate as opposed to that of the opponent contesting for the same post, and the image of the party that stands behind the candidate.

In general, image research is geared towards finding out gaps between the facts about a political entity as it is, and as people believe it to be, and pointing out the way forward.

It can be carried out, on or before nomination of a candidate for a political office and penodically before elections.

i) Campaign Research Approach

Opinion research which is relevant to campaign can be ad-hoc survey, omnibus project and syndicated projects. However, the most useful to political marketing is adhoc research. Adhoc research is designed to address issues of importance that arise from time to time and to meet specific needs of the party or an aspirant. The research could also be useful in selecting the most relevant media to a particular segment of the voting population, to find out the effect of message disseminated to the target audience, to feel the pulse of the public on a number of election issues and a quick device for measuring public reaction to a newly introduced political idea by a political party.

j) Promoting The Political Products

The political product is mainly issues based (political policies, messages and ideologies) rather than the physical products. Achumba and Ogbechi (2004) advocated that for political products to appeal to the electorate, it needs to be credible and retain some measure of ideology. In recreating their policies, and messages, political candidates needs to link it to their ideology.

Human interaction forms part of the product at the point of consumption. Hence political marketing techniques can be used to change opinion, and to follow and document public opion, as this makes it different from physical product marketing where manufacturer may try to alter people's buying habits and attitudes. Techniques such as opinion research and focus groups are used to measure public opinion and then the communications are modified to convey and stress the message statements which approximate the position of the electorate or specific voter groups taking into account the ideological ethos of the political party and the candidate.

Political marketing strategy is also seen in the various processes by which the politicians convey that messages to the electorate. From studies in the United States, political campaigns are generally shorter than commercial campaigns, while in Nigeria from observations, they almost have the same duration. But basically there are rules from both the Nigerian Broadcasting commission, APCON and other relevant Agencies on the campaign message. The intense competition surrounding the election and the ultimate desire to be the absolute winner produces a highly charged and negative form of compaigning. This situation often leads to outright elimination of political challenges.

Achumba and Ogbechi (2004) opined that the highly complex nature of the political product has led to a high degree of specialization interms of services that could be offered. For example in the United States of America, political consultants offer services in areas such as general consulting, Direct mail, Media consultants, opinion polling, opposition research and fund raising.

k) The Role of Brand Position

To position means to place a product in a unique certain position in the minds of the prospective or present buyers, as in the one of politics, in the minds of the electorates/masses. Positioning as an effective marketing strategy places its emphasise on serving a particular market segment by achieving a certain position in the buyers minds. Positioning is used by marketing companies to distinguish their company's products or services from that of competiting once, and also to create promotions that communicate that desired position.

This strategy involves emphazing a product's unique advantages and differentiating it from those of the competitors (Boone and Kurtz 1998). In political marketing, a party and its candidate stands unique and connects with the voters. It consists of developing a campaign theme that consists of convergent policy stance on issues (Achumba and Ogbechi 2004). Party brand positioning is important in that the strategists uses it to set out the policies which the party and the candidates uses to persuade the voters to vote for the party and the candidates of the party. The candidates then select a slogan/theme on major national issues like

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employment, security, Niger Delta, minimum wage and than connect it to the voters. Bradshaw (1995) Defines the theme as "the rational for your candidates election, and your opponents defeat. It is the single central idea that the campaign communicates to voters to sum up the candidates connection with the voters and their concerns, and the contrast between your candidate and the opponents (Achumba and Ogbechi (2004). The selection of the theme/slogan is important because the party cannot later attempt to use a theme which is not consistent with their original policies and statements since this may be picked up by the opposition parties spokesperson in a process known as rapid rebuttal.

I) Integrated Marketing Communication As A Strategy

The American Association of Advertising Agencies for research offered this definition of Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC).

> "It is a concept of marketing communications planning that recognizes the added value of a comprehensive plan, evaluates the strategic roles of variety of communications disciplines e.g Advertising, Direct Responses, Sales Promotion and Public Relations and combines these disciplines to provide clarity, consistency, and maximum communications impact.

IMC is the process of developing and implementing various forms of persuasive communications programs with customers and prospects over time. The goal is to influence or directly affect the behavior of the selected communications audience. IMC considers all sources of brand or company contacts which a customer or prospect has with the product or service as potential delivery channels for future messages. It makes use of all forms of communication which are relevant to the customer and prospect and to which they might be receptive. In sum the IMC process starts with the customer or prospect and then works back to customer or prospect and then works back to determine and define the forms and methods through which persuasive communications programs should be developed.

In both Definitions, the crucial elements are first the integration reconnects the campaign with the voter by building a detailed data base of past and current actions taken by the voter that may help to predict his or her future behaviour e.g. if the voter is registered, has voted in primaries, and votes regularly, the campaign can develop specific communications targeted to this type of voter. (Cayword 1992) Other behavioural data might include, political involvement including party membership, donations, use of campaign literature, response to literature voluntary activities, willingness to drive others to the polls, attendance of meetings, etc.

When survey data can be completed on a household or specific voter without violation of confidence and privacy, the database becomes a useful tool to develop specific communication tactics to reach the voter with a timely and relevant message, especially with an email in the internet or direct mail messages at home.

In addition the campaigns knowledge of where the voter might come into direct or in direct contact with the candidate (TV viewing habits, use of cable television, radio usage, newspapers and editorial sections read and others) will permit a more specific interception of the voter.

In summary, the knowledge of the voter, their behaviour and attributes, permits a more conversational marketing and advertising dialogue with the voter.

Stockwell (2004) Defined political campaign as the rush of media items leading up to polling day. Campaigns are multi-disciplinary entities that are of interest to, and draw methods from political science, media theory and marketing. Political campaign originated because the political function of language is embedded deeply in the evolution of human society. Notwithstanding the evolution policies campaign uses techniques derived from Advertising, public relations, mass marketing and game theory. (Blumenthai 1980) Election campaigns have some stages. Strategy (from candidate/issue analysis, to developing the game plan), communication (day- to-day development of the message and its distribution through mass and direct media) and high gear (locking down commitment and getting out the vote).

While money is key determinant of the impact of the campaign, good organization, innovative use of new technologies, skillful volunteer and resources management and accurate reading of the political terrain can be useful. Today's governments uses campaign techniques to manage their interactions with the public via the mass media, to ensure their re-election, and to perform their daily functions.

All forms of political campaign seek to persuade target audiences by managing the message communicated to them through the media. Political campaigns seek to communicate their messages via all channels consumed by the target audience/electorates. (Stockwell 2004), Achumba and Ogbechi 2004) (e.g in newspapers, radio, television, billboard, transportation, handbills, posters and the internet). In seeking free coverage in the editions portions of the media, the campaign monitors the media, prepares press releases, hold press conferences, produces web pages, runs media events, run launches and debates and talks to the editors and journalists.

Paid advertising allows the campaign people to bond together the matrix of ideas, images, policies and arguments that make up the message into a moment of emotional exchange directly with the audience. Though direct contact is a very persuasive form of political communications, interpersonal contact at meetings, debates, launches, events and in the doorway develop a

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personal relationship. Finally audience segmentation and canvassing can generate lists of targeted individuals who can be engaged in interactive communication by direct mail, social networking sites, (face book, twitter, my years book) email, door knock visits or special purpose meetings (Stock well 2004).

Achumba and Ogbechi (2004) opined that political campaign therefore use the obvious marketing techniques of advertising, internet messages, in targeting and in segmentation. Political campaigns are therefore marketing driven.

In Anderson's (2004) view, election campaign is more about marketing than about politics. It involves making a connection with the masses, electorates, and voting publics, and ensuring delivery of excellent reasons, so as to encourage the electorate to vote in a particular format.

It is worth nothing that unlike what is obtainable in Europe, America and in the UK, Nigeria campaigns are still non-issue centred, party oriented, labour and financially intensive and uses a lot of deceptive messages. In the US, UK and Europe, campaigns are candidate and issue oriented, capital intensive, money and media driven, and based on external professional consultancy. In the UK political campaigns are party centred, stressing the building of competence, trust and identification with the parties as collective actors in government or the opposition (Achumba et al 2004).

m) The Roles of Advertising in Party Politics

In politics, advertising is intended to present the candidate or the party as the best of the options available in the market place of political goods. In a political terrain characterized by ignorance of the political options available, the task of advertisement (soap box appearance, jingles in electronic media) is to advance the awareness of the electorate. Advertising is any supervised and controlled form of non personel presentation and promotion of ideas and services by an identified sponsor which is used to inform, educate and persuade and potential target market (Ayozie 1988). Advertising calls for the best skills in salesmanship i.e presentation of facts in the most persuasive manner, without shopping into an exercise in mass deception (Gana A. 1992). Facts such as the candidates past achievements, his/her integrity, his/her vision for the electorate readily comes to mind.

Advertising in a pavlovian sense is meant to stimulate the public to accept ideas or personalities not really meant for their own good but for the good of the owners of the advertising firms and their clients. According to Nzimiro (1992) the greatest danger done by advertising is that it incessantly demonstrates the prostitution of men and women who lend their intellects, voices and artistic skills to purposes in which they themselves do not believe and it reaches the emotional meaninglessness of all the creation of the mind image and ideas.

Nevertheless Advertising must be made to serve the people in a wider sense of conscienisation – making them aware of political options amenable to desirable political changes and actively supportive of the new politics of grassroots democracy. Nzimiro (1992) stated that political Advertisements, should be a tool for pointing out the dangers of ethnicity in politics.

- It should emphasise on the development of a true nationalist ideology which should be the unifying creed of a nation.
- It should promote ideas which will help to mould the political conscience towards an indivisible entity called Nigeria.
- It should provide correct information necessary for engendering patriotic feelings.
- It should direct attention away from negative political attitudes and deposition.
- It should hold firm to the ideals of democratic politics so that their advertising campaigns will reflect their true beliefs.
- It should promote clean adverting practices.
- It should appropriately manage the crises and conflicts in politics.
- It should instill in Nigerians the love for Nigeria and humanity, by being the conscience of the oppressed masses. Whatever political advertisements to be used most be an attention getter and unique. It most stand out of the clutter. It must be relevant to the electorate and incorporate some classic innovativeness. The message and the politician can be innovative in relating with the electorate, through the dressing, way of speech, music or salutations.

n) Public Relations in Politics

Public relations is seen as the deliberate planned and sustained effort to establish and sustain an excellent relationship between the organization and the public (Ayozie 2000).

Public relations is simply doing good and getting aught or getting credit while doing good. It is the winning of Public acceptance by acceptable performances. It is communication truth i.e. good works well told (Ayozie 2005).

It is simply a distinctive management function which helps to establish and maintain mutual lines of communication, understanding and cooperation between an organisation and its publics. It involved the management of problems or issues, helps management to serve the Public interest and effectively utilise change, serving as an early warning system, to help anticipate trends and uses research and sound and ethical communications techniques as its principal tool. It is a tool widely used in political marketing and it is very effective.

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Public relations has to carefully secure third party credibility through news and editorial coverage of a product, service or candidate for a promotional outcome. In politics the credible third parties that may enhance the candidate's credibility through internal and external communications, are the newspapers and magazines, through their editorials, stories, cartoons, opinions and comments, broadcast programmes in the Electronic media, comments by prominent religions bodies, schools, organizations, labour, professional groups, families and even friends. In all, public relations messages should show the candidate as credible, newsworthy, the view the candidate takes on known national and policy matters. The tactics can includes participation in Awards where the candidates and the political groups receive awards that generate Positive press, donate books and booklets written (or ghost written) under the candidate's name, attending contests, competitions and charity events, paying courtesy calls, participating in protest and marches for reasonable causes, participating in formal and informal debates, being part of exhibitions, musical programmes, public gatherings, participating in fan clubs, public rallies, supporting professional groups, taking credit for store, and other economic openings which may receive media coverage, opening telephone hotlines to speak with the masses, attending luncheons, breakfasts, dinners and press parties which will fasten excellent press relations and provide news materials from speeches and discussions, give out free Newsletters to the public and the press, engaging in talk shows, grant print media interviews, engaging in radio show or being a regular commentator in national issues, support good societal causes, producing for free excellent national symbols (e.g family Photos, symbols of success in Nigeria), or visiting some notable leaders or monuments that will generate news coverage, visiting the schools, polytechnics, colleges and universities that afford you forum for speeches, attending important programmes, producing video news releases to be distributed to media houses who are unable to cover a speech or event, working in various industries, which will generate good press releases.

V. Conclusion

The implications is that a broader and integrated marketing communications and advertising strategies will contribute to the effectiveness of a political campaign. A synergy will be essential. Political advertising and marketing is become a widely used strategy now in political engineering. The present Nigeria political actors have recognized the increasing importance of marketing and advertising in political campaigns. Politicians are of the opinion that they, like products and services needs to be marketed and advertised property. Various marketing and advertising tools have proved very useful for politicians not only in the developed contries of American, Europe and Australia, but also in Nigeria, especially in securing votes and endorsements that will enable them to govern the nation.

As marketing and Advertising is increasingly adopted in politics, it will assist in increasing voter turnouts, reduce voter turn offs by offering alternative and constructive messages, increase efficiency by gaining greater press coverage based on news worthy items, increase loyalty and repeat voting, by building long-term relationships with the voters, demonstrate the full range of the candidate's communications ability and capacity. The ongoing campaigns by politicians in the fourth republic shows that many politicians and parties are making greater use of marketing, integrated marketing communications and Advertising. In general the new age of Nigerian politics have found a supportive partner in marketing, advertising and integrated marketing of communications because of the numerous benefits.

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