



ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNICATION SCHOLARS & PROFESSIONALS OF NIGERIA

Nigerian Media and the 2015 Presidential Election: A Research Report Draft

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By:

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Executive Summary

This document presents the outcome of a research undertaken by the **Association of Communication Scholars & Professionals of Nigeria (ACSPN)** in association with ORBICOM/UNESCO, North Dakota State University (NDSU), the Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON) and other partners. The research was funded by the Ford Foundation, (Nigeria office).

The research was carried out against the background that in all previous presidential elections since the beginning of current fourth democratic republic in 1999, the PDP maintained its domineering stature and had won all four presidential elections in a row. This translates to 16 years of un-broken hegemony of the PDP in the country. But during the March 28th, 2015 presidential election in Nigeria, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) of the PDP was defeated by All Progressives Congress (APC) party, led by General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB).

The research investigated uses of traditional and new media, (including newspapers, television, radio, social media, advertising and public relations messages during the presidential campaigns in the presidential election in Nigeria. It also carried out a perception survey of electorates on media campaign effectiveness and influences of hate campaign and messages on voting behaviours during the election. In like manner, the research examines the level of involvement of local and foreign advertising agencies and public relations consultants in the design and execution of advertising messages during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria and the extent to which contents of political messages and media execution strategies conform to existing ethical codes of political.

This research was carried out in the following locations in Nigeria:

- Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja,
- Kano State (**North-West Zone**)
- Maiduguri, Borno State (**North-East Zone**) and
- Kwara State (**North-Central Zone**).
- Lagos and Ibadan (**South West zone**);
- Anambra State (**South East**); and
- Warri, Calabar, and Port Harcourt (**South-South**).

The targeted population (for questionnaire and interview instruments) were: electorates, leaders and members of political parties; members of professional groups, university undergraduates and postgraduate students, academics, market women/men/, leaders of community-based organizations (CBOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), political interest groups, traditional rulers, employees in public and private sector organizations in Nigeria.

Although 1,800 respondents were targeted for the study, a total of 1,140 (or 63%) respondents were successfully surveyed. The breakdown is as follows:

- South-West - 16.5%;
- South-East - 18.7%;
- South-South - 19.7%
- North-West - 11%;

- North-East - 10.3%; and
- North-Central - 23.9%.

There was a total of 98 respondents drawn for the survey as follows: North-West (30.6%); North-Central (16.32%); South-West (20.40%); South-East (16.3%) and South-South (16.3%).

Content analysis of newspapers advertisements, television commercials and social media were also carried out. Selected newspapers are: *The Punch*, *The Guardian*; *Vanguard newspapers*, *This Day*, *The Nation*, *New Nigerian newspaper*, and *Daily Trust*. Television commercials and radio spots on the 2015 presidential elections were also content analysed.

The advertisements were purchased from Media Monitoring Services Nigeria Limited (an independent company that monitors commercial broadcast in the media.), through the depositories and Library of the Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON), *Nigerian Tribune* Library and Internet sources. The design involved a triangulated approach involving a qualitative interpretive analysis, quantitative content analysis, in-depth personal interviews, ethnographic observation, document analysis, and various surveys, all implemented in five main phases.

The study finds as follows:

Audience Perceptions

1. Of the total 1,140 subjects who responded to the questionnaire for the survey, a majority were younger than 40 years (76.1%). Two thirds (66.0%) admitted to voting during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Similarly, 68 of the 98 respondents admitted to voting during the election;
2. The voting pattern is along the North-South dichotomy as the available data show that interviewees from the South-South and South East admitted to voting predominantly in support of President GEJ; another majority from the North-West and North-Central claimed that they voted for the APC; the number in the South-West for the PDP and APC was even;
3. More than half of the respondents (55.30%) voted for GMB while 40.3% voted for GEJ. This data is similar to the results of the Presidential election by the Independent National Electoral Commission which returned GMB of the APC as the winner of the 2015 presidential election;
4. More than half of the respondents (58.50%) agreed that messages in the 2015 election campaigns were more personality focused;
5. About 6 in 10 respondents (or 69.2%) agreed that **"Ads from APC were more hate focused than ads from PDP"**. A majority of respondents from South West (84%) believed that ads from APC were more hate focused than the PDP; followed by South East (64.8%) and South-South (58.9%). A greater number of respondents from the North Central (55.4%) perceived that the APC ads contained more hate messages than the PDP, but respondents from the North-West (55%) and the North-East (54%), perceived that the PDP ads are were more laced with hate messages

- than the APC. Consequently, 53 per cent of the respondents considered much of the presidential campaign messages quite unwholesome and unethical.
6. Although a majority of respondents (62.80%) believed that campaign messages by the APC were designed to bring down former President Goodluck Jonathan and his administration, this perception was relatively low in South West (47.8%) and North East (48.6%) but it was highest in South East (78.9%), followed by North West (67%), South-South (66.4%) and North Central (61%);
 7. Respondents identified the following as issues generated during the presidential campaigns: housing and general infrastructure, the problem of poor electricity supply, the missing Chibok girls, and the parlous nature of the nation's economy. About 48.7 per cent of the respondents voted for their preferred candidate because of the issues the candidates addressed in the campaign;
 8. Results of the thematic presentation of qualitative data from interview sessions are revealing;
 9. A majority of our interviewees agreed that hate speech was pervasive during the 2015 presidential election; opinions are divided regarding the heavier user of hate speech between GEJ and GMB;
 10. Interviewees agreed that hate speech is inimical to the growth and development of any democracy.
 11. Interview subjects agreed that the over-concentration on negative speech and personality promotion robbed the electioneering campaign of the opportunity to disseminate or witness issue-based campaigns.
 12. Television was widely recognised as the most effective tool during the 2015 presidential campaigns followed by the social media; the APC was more visible on the social media than the PDP. Consequently, interviewees identified the following as effective communication channels of political campaign messages: Television, Social media, radio, newspapers and magazines, billboards and flyers, announcements in places of worship (or word of mouth), and political rallies

Content Analysis of Newspaper Ads

Results of the quantitative content analysis of newspaper advertisements (December 2014 – March, 2015) are as follows:

1. A total of 309 copies of Print advertisements of presidential campaigns were analysed. Result shows that the month of December 2014 witnessed the lowest level (5.5%) of political advertisement placements by the two leading presidential candidates. The tempo increased by January 2015 (31.3 %) to 41.1 per cent in February (the month initially slated for the Presidential election), and significantly declined to 19.21percent in the month of March.
2. For both candidates (GEJ and GMB) more than two- thirds of the ads were personality-based (67.2%) while others were issues-based (32.8%).
3. The presidential candidate of the PDP had about 57 per cent of the personality-focused ads against that of GMB (33%), the presidential candidate of the APC.

4. A majority of the advertisements (62.7%) attacked the opponent party or candidate. A breakdown shows that 45.6 percent of the ads attacked the personality of the opponent (image attenuation), followed by ads that boosted the personality of preferred candidate (26.7%). Therefore, about 6 in 10 ads were in negative tone.
5. About two thirds of the ads were sponsored by interest groups (65.7%); 21percent of the ads were sponsored by political parties, and the rest by un-identifiable persons or groups.
6. Almost all the presidential campaign ads were published in full page (93.2%); available data indicate that the PDP spent more on media advert campaigns (77%) than the APC (23%) during the 2015 Presidential election.

Content Analysis of Television Commercials/Radio Spots

1. Content analysis shows that out of the 89 political advertisements collected on the two leading presidential candidates, 47 (52.8%) were radio jingles while 42 (47.19%) were TV commercials. In all, APC had over two-third of all the commercials and jingles. This is based on the materials the research team accessed through APCON (the advertising regulatory agency in Nigeria) and Media Monitoring Services Nigeria Limited.
2. Data analysis shows that a majority of the political adverts (49.43%) were issue based while 22.47% adverts were personality based. Of this the APC had more issue-based adverts (40.44%) than the PDP (8.9%); the PDP sponsored more personality-based ads (14.6%) than the APC (7.86%).
3. The image of GMB received higher level of boost (19.1%) than that of GEJ (14.6%), while the personality of GMB was more frequently attacked than that of GEJ.
4. Various issues such as infrastructure, economy, agriculture, unemployment and social welfare were often addressed in a single commercial. Furthermore, corruption (13.63%), the economy (11.36%) and social welfare (9.09%) topped the major issues featured by the APC while economy (4.54%) and agriculture (2.27%) were the issues that were predominantly featured by the PDP.
5. For both the APC and PDP, emotional/psychological appeal was the predominant strategy used in most of the adverts (40.44%); there was more of emotional appeal for the APC (30.33%) than the PDP (10.11%); while APC also featured fun/escape appeal (26.96%) the PDP also adopted the logical appeal (6.74%).
6. Almost two-thirds of the adverts (61.77%) focused on the two candidate's personalities. However, a majority of the commercials sponsored by the PDP were personality based, while those of the APC were issues-based. This indicates that the PDP employed more of the attack strategy against the then opposition (APC) while the APC focused more on issues and image boosting of the party and its candidate.
7. Hate speeches also featured in some of the commercials, but the PDP disseminated more hate messages through television and radio spots than the APC.

Social Media Messages

1. During the 2015 Presidential campaign in Nigeria, the main actors on social media were: Muhammadu Buhari and Yemi Osinbajo (APC Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates respectively; Bola Tinubu and Babatunde Fashola (APC stalwarts); Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Namadi Sambo (PDP Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates respectively); Ayodele Fayose and Femi Fani-Kayode (PDP stalwarts).
2. Data demonstrate that the APC was more visible on Facebook, Twitter and Blog sites during the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria than the PDP.
3. General Muhammadu Buhari joined Twitter in December 2014. Until March 26, 2015, he had 1,784 tweets, he followed 22 users while 683,000 followed him. However, of his 1,784 tweets, only 49 originated from him. Between December 2014 and April 6, 2015, Professor Osinbajo had 937 tweets, he followed 55 users and 687,000 users followed him. Only 25 of his tweets enjoyed "Like".
4. Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP had tweets, but the dates were conflicting and as such, could not be analysed; he joined after the election. The former Vice President, Namadi Sambo, joined Twitter on February 2010. As at 13th of March 2015, had 71 tweets, he followed 447 users and 4, 775 users followed him. Ayodele Fayose had no tweets of his own. He retweeted what others tweeted.
5. A total of 18 perceived hate-focused tweets were sent by five of the key players during the campaign as follows: Fashola and Buhari (once each); Osinbajo (four times); Fani-Kayode (four times) and Tinubu (eight times).
6. Religion was a campaign subject on social media only eight times. In those times, only Namadi Sambo and Prof. Osinbajo campaigned with it. Namadi Sambo did once while Professor Osinbajo did seven times. In both cases, the tone was positive.
7. The following themes emerged from the social media posts of APC and PDP during the 2015 presidential election campaigns: education, election, electricity and general infrastructure. Others were: health, economy, unemployment, political party, poverty, presidential candidates, religion, security, terrorism and voter mobilization.

Involvement of Foreign Consultants

1. Both local and foreign advertising and public relations firms were involved in the campaigns of the two presidential candidates during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Local communication firms were also patronized.
2. AKPD Message and Media, founded by former Obama campaign manager David Axelrod, was hired by the APC while the PDP initially hired Levick Strategic Communications.
3. The PDP for instance spent USD1.2 million for hiring LEVICK, a U.S. public relations firm. In terms of number of consultants, both parties utilised the services of local communication consultants more than their foreign counterparts. The CMC-Connect, an indigenous public relations firm is one of the local agencies that worked with PDP/GEJ.

Tentative Conclusions & Preliminary Recommendations

1. Political parties and their supporters should concentrate more on issues-based campaigns than hate campaign messages capable of demeaning personalities, religious/ethnic beliefs as well as ethnicity.
2. Political parties and their candidates should focus more on issues of importance to national development than mere image projection.
3. The Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties, civil society groups and other stakeholders should be responsible for media and information literacy to enable better deployment of user generated contents which promote democracy and democracratization process.
4. Political parties and candidates should optimise the numerous opportunities (of cost-effectiveness, reach, immediacy, citizens' engagement, etc.) offered by the rising popularity of new media
5. Continuous voter education is crucial for the citizens to be more critical in the electoral choices.
6. The federal government should put in place appropriate mechanism that would hold regulatory agencies that fail in their responsibility to sanction electoral breach in the media.
7. The codes of these regulatory agencies such as APCON, National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Press Council, should be reviewed to achieve the following among others:
 8. That any sanction given to erring political party, individual or media organisation is enforceable.
 9. The fine contained in the codes should be such that it would reasonably serve as a deterrent to committing the breach.
 10. There is a need to ensure that the operations of these regulatory agencies are insulated from unnecessary interference from the party in power.
 11. As is obtainable with consumer advertising rights in some societies, the electorate or the general public should be able to flag what he considered an offensive campaign material, and compel the relevant regulatory agency to act on the complaint within a given time space.

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

Nigerian elections do not usually present good opportunities for researching the value and uses of media because of rampant rigging, chaotic advertising, and many unprofessional communication practices that make systematic data collection impossible.

The 2015 presidential election was different in many respects, especially the orderliness in the campaigns and the engagement of professional communication consultants. Not surprisingly, there have been some ad hoc studies and assessments of the uses of advertising by the two political parties. However, is a paucity of systematic large scale empirical studies of the uses of the various forms of media including advertising, public relations, broadcast, print and social media and other related communication methods in the election campaigns.

Political communication in Nigeria began in the era of colonialism through political independence and continues to rise in importance in tandem with global developments. The use of media during elections increased in relevance during the Second Republic (1979-1983) as well as during the aborted Third Republic when late Chief M. K. O, Abiola perceived winner of 1992 general elections; and up until the on-going Fourth Republic. This has produced democratically elected presidents including Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), late Umaru Yar'adua (2007); and Dr. Goodluck Jonathan (2007-2015). The scale of engagement of the media for campaign purposes by dominant political parties during the 2015 Presidential election in Nigeria was however, unprecedented.

Nigeria is a multi-party democracy, although the trend has been evolving towards two dominant political parties at every particular presidential election. In 1999, the two dominant political parties that contested the presidential elections were the People's Democratic Party (PDP) led by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and a merger alliance of All People's Party (APP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD). Chief Olu Falae of the AD contested the presidency under the banner of the APP, against Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the PDP. A similar trend followed in 2003 presidential election.

But in the 2007 presidential election, there were three dominant political parties, the PDP (with Umaru Yar'adua as its presidential candidate); Alhaji Abubakar Atiku contested under the banner of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN); and General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB) was the presidential candidate of the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP). In 2011, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) represented the PDP; GMB was the presidential candidate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), while Nuhu Ribadu contested on the platform of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN).

In all previous presidential elections since the beginning of the current dispensation, the PDP maintained a domineering stature and had won all four presidential elections in a row. Thus, the PDP enjoyed un-broken 16 years domination in the country. The March 28th, 2015 presidential election was therefore significant because, for the first time in

Nigeria, a ruling party at the centre was defeated, and an opposition party, All Progressives Congress (APC) led by General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB), who then was contesting the presidency for the fourth time, defeated the then president, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) of the PDP. It was against the above backdrop that this study examines key issues around uses of the media in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria.

1.2. Situation Analysis

Presidential elections in Nigeria have often produced political tensions, owing largely to the divisive political culture arising from the inability to harness the potentials of the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural compositions of the country. The PDP produced the nation's president in 1999, with the understanding that it was the turn of South West (Yoruba ethnic group) to rule the nation at the time, arguably to placate the South-West over perceived injustices surrounding the demise of Chief M. K. O, Abiola perceived winner of 1992 general elections. The emergence of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as President in 1999 was the first time that Nigeria produced a democratically elected president from outside the dominant Northern part of the country (1999-2007).

Dr. Goodluck Jonathan served as Vice to President Musa Yar'adua, who died in office, almost a year after assuming office as president. Therefore, by constitutional arrangement, Dr. Jonathan became the nation's president. Thus, political power at the federal level in Nigeria oscillated back (from the North) to the southern part of the country, particularly the South-South minority group, a group that is perceived to have been shut out of corridors of political leadership at the centre, owing largely to its perceived minority status.

Constitutionally, President Goodluck Jonathan had only been elected once and was qualified for a re-election as president in the 2015 election. But in real terms, he had served as president for a period of seven years in a row, (he completed the tenure of the late President Yar'adua). The PDP experienced a gale of defections of its top leadership from the Northern part of Nigeria, as a result of self-inflicted internal crisis. In spite of this, Dr. Goodluck contested the 2015 presidential election; with much of the PDP factions from the Northern part of the country already decamped to the then main opposition party, the APC. The above situation served as background to the electioneering campaigns that began mid- 2014 through to the March 28, 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Electioneering processes are aimed at providing avenues to provide electorates with alternatives, in terms of political parties, candidates and programmes. In Nigeria, contests for power since the colonial era, democratically or otherwise, have often been virulent, vicious, contentious and divisive. But more than in the previous elections, engagement of traditional and new media in the 28 March 2015 presidential elections was both phenomenal and unprecedented. Farha and Hamdar (2008, p.2) observe that ***“modern political campaigns have depended heavily on both electronic and print media channels, where many have complained that candidates do not run based on issues.”***

Other studies in Nigeria, (Philips, Roberts and Benjamin, 1999; Albert and Marco, 2007; and Olatunji & Akinjogbi, 2011) have confirmed that past political advertisements in Nigeria have paid little attention to issues, compared to other aspects of electioneering. The following questions are therefore pertinent:

- To what extent, therefore, were the contents of advertising and public relations materials in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria issues-based?
- What really were the dominant issues featured in the political advertisements and public relations messages in the build-up to the elections?
- Which of the candidates focused more on issues than the others?
- What is the frequency with which issues received campaign attention?
- Between attention to party manifestoes and personalities of presidential candidates in the March presidential election in Nigeria, which party fared better on each of these two variables?
- In previous elections in Nigeria, Phillips, et al, (1999); Albert & Macho (2007); and Olatunji and Akinjogbin, (2011) have shown that opposition political parties tended towards attack advertisements than the party in power, and that electoral fortune goes more to a party that employs a combination of issue-based and image boosting advertisements than otherwise.
- In the electoral contest between President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) of the PDP and his closest challenger, General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB), which type of political advertisements public relations and other communication messages were more dominant in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria: image boosting or image attenuating advertisements and public relations messages?
- How much of hate political messages are embedded in the political advertisements during the 2015 presidential election and from which sources?
- What are the influences of competing advertising messages, be it positive, negative or hate campaigns, on the Nigerian electorates generally?
- What then is the level of involvement/engagement of local and foreign advertising agencies/consultants in the design and execution of advertising messages during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria?

1.4. Research Goal & Purpose

This examines uses of advertising, public relations and social media messages in the promotion of presidential candidates during elections, with special focus on the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria. It also investigates dominant issues in the public relations, advertising and social media campaign messages in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria so as to deepen democratic gains and culture in the Nigerian polity.

The research also investigates the perception of electorates on and influences of hate campaigns messages on voting behaviours during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Moreover, the research examines the level of involvement of local and foreign advertising agencies and public relations consultants in the design and execution of advertising messages during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria; including the extent to which contents of political messages and media execution strategies conform to existing ethical codes of political

1.5. Research Objectives

The specific objectives of the research are:

1. To examine dominant issues featured in political campaign messages during the 2015 presidential election campaign in Nigeria;
2. To find out the strategies adopted in projecting the image of the presidential candidate of the two leading political parties (PDP and APC) during the presidential election campaigns in Nigeria
3. To examine the perception of electorates on hate political messages during the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria.
4. To investigate the influence of tone of media messages on behaviours of electorates during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria;
5. To find out the extent to which contents of political messages and media execution strategies conform to existing media ethical codes in Nigeria;
6. To examine the level of involvement/engagement of local and foreign advertising agencies/ public relations/communication consultants in the design and execution of advertising messages during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria;
7. To find out the creative communication strategies deployed for the promotion of presidential candidates of leading political parties (PDP and APC) during the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria

1.6. Research Questions

The specific questions interrogated in this study are as follows:

- RQ1. What are dominant issues featured in the media campaign messages during the 2015 presidential election campaign in Nigeria?
- RQ2: Between image-boosting and image attenuation, what is the strategy adopted in projecting the image of the presidential candidate of the two leading political parties (PDP and APC) during the presidential election campaigns in Nigeria?
- RQ 3: What is the perception of electorates on hate political messages during the 2015 presidential election media campaigns in Nigeria?

- RQ 4: What is the influence of tone of campaign messages on behaviours of electorates during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria?
- RQ5: To what extent do contents of political messages and media execution strategies conform to existing media ethical codes in Nigeria?
- RQ 6: What is the level of involvement/engagement of local and foreign advertising agencies/public relations/communication consultants in the design and execution of advertising messages during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria?
- RQ 7: What are creative advertising strategies deployed for the promotion of presidential candidates of leading political parties (PDP and APC) during the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria?

1.7. Significance of the Study

This study has both the theoretical and practical significance. This study will expand current state of knowledge on contributions of advertising and public relations in the enhancement of electoral success in contemporary democracy:

- 1 Political actors including political parties, campaign directors, communications consultants and others involved in the design of political messages will benefit from the outcome of the research;
- 2 Regulatory agencies, particularly the Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON), Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC), Nigerian Press Council, and other groups responsible for electoral monitoring and enforcement of electoral codes will be able to determine the extent to which political parties complied with guidelines during the elections; Multilateral organizations and electoral monitors, including the African Union, European Union, Commonwealth of Nations, Nigerian Election Monitoring Group will benefit from the outcome of the research as it will provide data on the contributions of political advertising and public relations messages to electoral fortunes of candidates.

1.8. Connection to Core Mandate of Ford Foundation

The research provides opportunities for youths and budding researchers, journalists and other media-related professionals to gain deeper understanding of the Nigerian Media and Elections through Research. Moreover, data emanating from this research will prove useful to multilateral organizations and electoral monitors such as the Ford Foundation, African Union, European Union, Nigerian Election Monitoring Group in launching future campaigns against hate speeches and unethical communications in emerging democracies. The premium on dissemination of the research output aligns with Ford Foundation's commitment to the advancement of democracy through the promotion of the inclusiveness of critical stakeholders in value-added knowledge. #

1.9. Presentation of Report

Chapter one presents general Introduction. In the second Chapter, a review of the literature and the Historical perspective of Elections in Nigeria are presented. Chapter Three addresses issues around research method. Data presentation on uses of newspaper advertisements, television commercials and social media messages during the 2015 presidential election follow in subsequent chapters, along with survey data; discussion of findings; summary, conclusions and recommendations in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter undertakes a review of the literature that provides the background for understanding numerous uses of media in elections, across cultures and societies. It presents conceptual clarifications on political communication/ advertising, along with the concept of hate speech, against the background of the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. The chapter offers a comprehensive review of historical backgrounds of political parties and campaigns during general elections in Nigeria, since the commencement of party politics in Nigeria. This is followed by a review of previous studies on media and elections in national and global contexts. The chapter situates the study within the theoretical frameworks of propaganda; elaboration likelihood model; and persuasion.

2.2. Conceptual Review

2.2.1 Political Communication/Advertising

The advertising institution operates within, influences and is subject to the influences of other institutions within the micro-and macro-political, economic, social and technological environments (Olatunji, 2010). Advertising and public relations messages (about products, ideas, programmes, institutions, political parties and the like) are channelled to relevant audiences through available media at any particular time. It is in awareness of the strategic importance of advertising and public relations that powerful and not so powerful individuals, groups, institutions, societies and nations have often employed such promotional tools to sell or buy, advocate acceptance or rejection, of ideas, products, services, or other offerings at the economic, social, political, and technological spheres of life.

Accordingly, advertising and public relations have, over the years, become fundamental tools in the hands of the political class to create awareness for candidates or political parties before, during and after elections to influence the electorates to support, accept, reject, or have a change of attitude towards or against a particular political party or its opponents. Hence, Nzimiro (1992, p. 21) posits that “there can be no role for political advertising better than using it to show how one politician or party is different from (or better than) another”.

While political communication is a more holistic and interactive process that involves the transmission and exchange of information and messages between political actors and their publics, political advertising is skewed as it “creates awareness, persuades, informs, and urges the electorates to be favourably (or un-favourably) disposed to, accept, vote for, (or reject) a candidate, (political) party, or proposition” (Olatunji and Akinjogbin 2011).

It is noteworthy that while political communication is often a two-way process, political advertising is more propagandist and one-sided in nature. The advertising institution is therefore a critical socializing agent for educating, informing, entertaining and inducing

change in voters' behaviour regarding candidates' choices at elections. Hence, Farha and Hamdar (2008, p.2) argue that although political advertising may not ensure victory for a political candidate, it influences voters' judgment, based on perception about the credibility and truthfulness of the candidate.

2.2.2 Concept of Hate Speech

The term 'hate speech' remains widely contested. According to UNESCO (2015), multilateral treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) have sought to clarify the concept. Yet, "hate speech continues largely to be used in everyday discourse as a generic term, mixing concrete threats to individuals' and groups' security with cases in which people may be simply venting their anger against authority" (UNESCO, 2015, p. 7).

Even though hate speech is popularly used to mean all speech acts that incite or condone violence against others, Jibrin *et al.* (2017) explain that scholars interested in the deployment of speech for violent purposes have found the term "hate speech" too broad and difficult to be useful in monitoring the phenomenon. For instance, Benesch (2014) noted that the word might refer to the speaker/author's hatred, or his/her desire to make the targets of the speech feel hated, or desire to make others hate the target(s), or the apparent capacity of the speech to increase hatred.

In common parlance, however, definitions of hate speech tend to be broader, sometimes even extending to encompass words that are insulting those in power, or derogatory of individuals who are particularly visible. Especially at critical times, hate speech lies in a complex nexus with freedom of expression, individual, group and minority rights, as well as concepts of dignity, liberty and equality. Its definition is often contested. In national and international legislation, hate speech refers to expressions that advocate incitement to harm (particularly, discrimination, hostility or violence) based upon the target's being identified with a such as during elections, the concept of hate speech may be prone to manipulation: accusations of fomenting hate speech may be traded among political opponents or used by those in power to curb dissent and criticism.

The phenomenon of hate speech calls into question some of the most fundamental principles on which societies are built. The answers each society has developed to balance between freedom of expression and respect for equality and dignity have created unique rifts and alliances at the international level. Much comparative research on hate speech, for example, has focused on the divide that exists between the American and European approaches to regulating hate speech (Rosenfeld 2012; Bleich 2013).

The United States has protection of freedom of expression that stretches well beyond the boundaries of speech that is tolerated in Europe. Its emphasis on the clear and present danger that is necessary to be identified in order to ban or punish certain forms of speech has emerged as the defining characteristic of this approach. Numerous European countries, including Germany and France, have adopted instead an approach that not only bans forms of speech because of their likelihood to lead to harm, but also for their intrinsic content.

Three distinct classes of hate speech identified by the Institute for Human Rights and Business (2013) include those expressions that offend International laws and require criminal prosecution (such as hate speech); expressions that are criminally punishable but may justify restrictions and a civil suit (such as libel); and expressions that do not give rise to criminal or civil sanctions with regards to tolerance, civility and respect for others (such as political jibes, etc.). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) places no restrictions on freedom of expression. Without a clear definition of hate speech, the fundamental rights of humans to free speech may be compromised.

The Institute for Human Rights and Business (2013, p. 2) cautions:

‘Hate speech’ has become a catch-all term that often encompasses both illegitimate expressions that can be banned under international law, and legitimate, if offensive, expression. Mixing these two kinds of expression under the same heading is problematic”¹

As an aftermath of the 2007 Presidential elections in Kenya, some politicians were arrested for engaging in hate speech and inciting electorates to violence. Specifically, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto (currently serving as President and Deputy President respectively, were indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for crimes against humanity for their alleged roles in orchestrating the 2007 post-election violence which led to the death of over 1000 people with other 600,000 people displaced.

According to Institute for Human Rights and Business (2013, p. 8), the Kenyan National Commission on Human Rights concludes that:

“The entire electioneering period (in 2007) was characterised by hate speech and incitement to violence... One thing that is memorable about the 2007 election is the role played by all manner of information sources unsolicited and solicited-SMS, blogs, emails, newsletter, leaflets, not to mention the newspapers, TV and radio sources.”

As a result of the need to prevent future occurrence of such crises, policy and constitutional measures were taken by the Kenyan authorities, including the 2010 Constitutional Amendments which clearly specifies exemptions to the freedom of expression clause. Section 33 (2) specifies that

“The right to Freedom of Expression does not extend to: propaganda for war, incitement to violence, hate speech, or advocacy of hatred that constitutes ethnic incitement, vilification of others or incitement to cause harm; or based on any group of discrimination specified or contemplated in Article 27 (4).”

Rosenfeld (2012) observed that much comparative research on hate speech has focused on the divide that exists between the American and European approaches to regulating

¹ Corporate Responses to Hate Speech in the 2013 Kenya Presidential Elections (Case Study: Safaricom). London, UK: Institute for Human Rights and Business

hate speech. While the United States has protection of freedom of expression that stretches well beyond the boundaries of speech that is tolerated in Europe, numerous European countries, including Germany and France, have adopted instead an approach that not only bans forms of speech because of their likelihood to lead to harm, but also for their intrinsic content.

Organizations that mediate online communication such as Facebook, Twitter, and Google – have advanced distinct definitions of hate speech that bind users to a set of rules and allow companies to limit certain forms of expression. National and regional bodies have sought to promote understanding of the term that is more rooted in local traditions. Against this backdrop, the possibility of reaching a universally shared definition seems unlikely, a shared interest to avoid violence and protect human dignity has made debates on hate speech a moment for different stakeholders to come together in original ways and seek locally relevant solutions. It may include, but is not limited to, speech that advocates, threatens, or encourages violent acts.

For some, the concept extends also to expressions that foster a climate of prejudice and intolerance on the assumption that this may fuel targeted discrimination, hostility and violent attacks. Important research has emerged from the study of the role hate speech had in atrocities or major outburst of violence (Yanagizawa-Drott 2010). But systematic research examining the phenomenon of hate speech and its regulation beyond the United States and Europe is still marginal.

Hate speech as a concept has also been contested as too wide-ranging and open to manipulation, and narrower conceptions, including “dangerous speech” and “fear speech”, have been advanced to focus on the ability of speech to cause harm and lead to violent outcomes. While hate speech is found – in some form or guise – in almost all societies, including those where the risk of violence is limited, the concept of dangerous speech aims at isolating acts that have a significant probability of “catalysing or amplifying violence by one group against another” (Benesch 2012).

Other societies have developed unique mechanisms to identify and counter hate speech, which may variously combine customary law and formal law. In Somalia for example, where poetry constitutes a popular vehicle for the dissemination of information and ideas, poets who are seen as repeatedly composing poems which community elders consider to be derogatory of individuals or groups, can be banned from composing new work (Stremlau, 2012).

In Nigeria, the National Broadcasting Commission has a general guideline on political reportage. Article 3.5.2 of the NBC code for example states that: ***“A media organization shall not publish or air political adverts; advertorials and sponsored political news that seek to create hatred or incite violence”***.

Article 4.3 of the same guideline states that, ***“A media organization shall reject any material intended for publication or airing by parties, candidates and other interests that contains hateful or inciting words and messages”*** while Article 4.4 expects that ***“A media organization shall refrain from publishing or airing abusive editorial comments or opinions that denigrate individuals or groups on account of disability, race, ethnicity, tribe, gender or belief.”***

The Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD, 2016:17) defined hate speech as:

“Any speech act that is aimed at inciting the audience to denigrate people on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender, geography and any other socially conceived parameter with the purpose of marginalizing them or placing them at some disadvantage that is contrary to the provisions of the universal declaration on human rights as well as the international covenants on rights of the people.”

According to CITAD (2016), the dimensions of hate speech include insults of people for their religion, ethnic or linguistic affiliation, contempt against people's place of origin, discrimination on gender and disability basis, abuses or desecration of symbols of cultural or religious practices, ridiculing of traditional or cultural institutions of other people and the spread of falsehood or rumours that demean or malign or ostracize other people on the basis of religion, ethnicity, gender or place of origin and disability.

2.3. Elections in Nigeria: Historical Perspective

Traditional political institutions held sway in the over 500 ethnic groups in several parts of the territory that later constituted Nigeria. According to a report by the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) and United Nations Development programme (UNDP) (IPCR, 2014, p. 17), although inter-ethnic group relationships existed in Nigeria prior to formal colonialism, each of the distinct ethnic groups had ***“long, enviable histories of advanced political, legal, religious and other forms of institutions”***.

Nigeria is made up of nearly 170 million people, who live in the 36 states of the Federation, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja. There is a total of 774 local government areas (LGAs) in the country. The country is also constituted along six geo-political zones that include the South- West, South-East and South-South, North-West, North-Central and North-East. There are over 510 ethnic groups in Nigeria, including Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, Ijaw, Edo, Ibibio, Tiv, and Nupe. (Simson and Oyetade, 2007).

Others are Esan, Isoko, Urhobo, Kwale, Ahoda, Annang, Kalabari, Akoko- Edo, Oron, and Ikwere to the South-South; and Kataf, Birom, Fulfude, Bachama, Mbula, Gude, Lunguda, Yandand, Batta, Kilba, among others to the North. In addition to indigenous religious practices, the two dominant religions in Nigeria are Christianity (dominant in the South) and Islam (dominant in the Northern part of the country). Thus, the nation's linguistic, religious, ethnic multiplicity, along with its multi-party system impact significantly on the political history and elections in Nigeria.

Starting out with the creation of the Bights of Benin and Biafra in 1849, the British colonial intervention in Nigeria later consummated into the creation of the Oil Rivers Protectorate in 1885, later the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893. The entirety of the territory later known as Eastern Nigeria, including the Niger Delta, was a product of these colonial endeavours (Uwais, 2008). Similar efforts by the same imperial power led to the creation of the Crown Colony in Lagos (in 1861) and later expanded to the entire Yorubaland, which by 1897

came under the British rule. Moreover, beginning with 1888, the British efforts in the Northern part of Nigeria culminated into the creation of the Northern colony, later the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Eventually, the British colonies to the South of Nigeria (later known as Southern Protectorate) and the Northern Protectorate were amalgamated in 1914 into a single nation, later called "Nigeria", by Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard, the first Governor General of Nigeria (Crowder, 1978).

The Western-type democratic practices that allow for periodic election of political leaders were alien to the different geographical enclave. It was the Electoral Principle introduced in the 1922 Clifford's Constitution of Nigeria that made it possible, for the first time, that led to the election of three (3) unofficial representatives (from Lagos Colony) and one (1) representative (from Calabar) into the British Legislative Council in 1923. The sole criterion to determine franchise was the ability of residents of the two towns to earn a minimum of 100 British Pounds per annum. It was in response to the provisions of the 1922 Constitution, particularly, for the need to contest the election slated for 1923 that the first political party, Nigerian Democratic Party (NDP) was formed in 1922 by Herbert Macaulay. It was about the only political party that was pan-Nigerian in outlook, right from its inception.

Subsequent events in Nigeria altered the national orientation of the NDP; a majority of other political parties formed during the colonial era were out rightly ethno-centric at formation. Some of them were national Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC, later National Council of Nigeria Citizens), Action Group (AG) (Western Nigeria), Northern People's Congress (NPC, and Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) to the North) and a host of others (Uwais, 2008).

Other constitutional changes in Nigeria, from Richard's 1946 Constitution, through the 1952 McPherson's Constitution, the 1954 Littleton's Constitution, to the 1958 Independence Constitution expanded the space for political participation of Nigerians in the electoral processes, although the ethnic nature of politics was predominant in the pre-independence and post-independence elections in Nigeria.

In an appraisal of these political antecedents, Uwais, et al (2008, p. 84) submitted that the formation of political parties during the pre-independence era and First Civilian Republic: ***"...reflected ethnic and regional cleavages to the extent that commendable strides towards forming parties with national platforms and outlook in the 1920s and 1930s, were frustrated. Thus, major Nigerian political parties of the colonial period were largely regionally based, a multi-party system not based on ideologies, but primordial platforms are thus one feature of the colonially inherited political traditions in Nigeria."***

The elections that greeted the results of the 1964 General Election in Western Region of Nigeria, the Tiv Riots, alleged electoral manipulations, victimization and incarceration of political opponents, and breakdown of law and order snowballed into the first military coup that terminated the First Republic in January 15, 1966. The military usurpation of power lasted till October 1979 when the First Democratic Republic began, following a series of elections that were contested by the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), National Peoples' Party (NPP), Great Nigeria's Peoples Party (GNPP) and Peoples Redemption Party (PRP).

But the two leading political parties at the time, along with their respective Presidential candidates were Alhaji Shehu Shagari (NPN) and Chief Obafemi Awolowo (UPN). The 1979 Presidential Election was won by Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the NPN; the same pattern played out in 1983 presidential election. Results of both elections were legally disputed up to the Supreme Court. However, the 1983 election results at both state and federal levels were allegedly marred by massive irregularities and post-election violence. Again, the Uwais (2008) report observed that the political parties during the Second Republic (1979-1983):

Were re-incarnation of the old regionally based parties of the First Republic with new names but about the same leadership and same regional outlook. As in the First Republic, allegations of rigging, electoral fraud, and other malpractices were rampant. The military regime that followed produced the aborted Third Republic during which time the then military President, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) unilaterally created two political parties, the National Republican Party (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

Two presidential candidates- Alhaji Tofa (NRC) and Alhaji Moshood Abiola (SDP)-contested the 1993 Presidential Election. Although perceived to be generally free and fair and presumably won by Alhaji Moshood Abiola of the SDP, the June 12, 1993 Presidential Election was annulled by the Military President, General Ibrahim Babangida. According to Uwais (2008, p.91), with the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election results, and the termination of the Third Republic, “most of the gains of the democratic experiments, especially the new democratic institutions, were lost.”

The current Fourth Republic was birthed with the Promulgation of 1999 Constitution by the Military regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar, who also coordinated the registration of three political parties to contest the general elections that followed. These include the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), All Peoples Party (APP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD). The PDP Presidential candidate Chief Olusegun Obasanjo won the maiden presidential election in 1999 against Chief Olu Falaye of AD; Chief Obasanjo was re-elected in 2003.

The four presidential elections in Nigeria between 1999 and 2011 were consistently won by the PDP. Also, during the same period, General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB) contested thrice and lost, twice under the platform of All Nigerian People’s Congress (ANPP) and once under the Congress for Progressives Change (CPC). The table below elucidates the narrative.

Table 1: Results of Presidential Election in Nigeria (1999-2011)²

Year	Two Leading Candidates (Party)	Results (%)
1999	Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (PDP)	62.78
	Chief Olu Falae (AD)	37.22
2003	Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (PDP)	61.94
	Muhammadu Buhari (ANPP)	32.19
2007	Umaru Yar’adua (PDP)	69.82
	Muhammadu Buhari (ANPP)	18.72
2011	Dr. Goodluck Jonathan (PDP)	58.89
	Muhammadu Buhari (CPC)	31.98

² Source: Adapted from Thurston, 2015, pp.10-11

It was against the above background that the 2015 Presidential election was held, during which, just like in all previous elections, there were two dominant political parties. The first and the ruling party at the time was the People's Democratic Party (PDP), a party formed in 1998, by such leading figures as Dr. Alex Ekwueme, (Founding Chairman), Dr Solomon Lar, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, Chief Anthony Anenih, and a host of others.

Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, then incumbent President, was the presidential candidate of the PDP during the March 2015 Presidential election. He had previously served as deputy governor in Bayelsa State (1999-2005) and later as governor of the same state (2005-2007). He was later to serve as Vice-President to Umaru Yar'adua (2007-2010). Jonathan completed the first tenure of Yar'adua after the latter's demise. Dr Jonathan was elected to serve a first full term as president in 2011. His 2015 bid was his second attempt at becoming the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The APC, which was the main opposition party and contested against Dr Jonathan was formed in February 2013 from a coalition of four individual opposition parties at the time. They included the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) and a fraction of All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA). The ACN had its major supporters from the South-West; ANPP and CPC were dominant in the North-West and North-East, while the APGA's fraction was dominant in Owerri, Imo State.

The Presidential candidate of the APC, General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB) was previously Federal Commissioner for Petroleum Resources (1976-1978); Chairman, Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC); Military Head of State in Nigeria (1983-1985); and Executive Chairman, Petroleum Trust Fund (1994-1999). As earlier mentioned, prior to the 2015 election, GMB had on three occasions contested and lost the chance to be elected as President of Nigeria.

2.4. Review of Previous Studies

Recent studies on advertising and the electoral processes in the US and Europe show a tendency towards negative image projection and a low level of focus on issues: (Doukeri & Kotzaivazoglous, 2007; Fowler & Ridout, 2012; Barnard & Kreiss, 2013; Daignault, Soroka and Giasson, 2013).

Studies from Nigeria have often focused analyses of media, particularly newspaper advertisements during elections (Phillips, et al, 1999; Albert & Co, 2009 and Olatunji and Akinjogbin, 2011; Onwuamalam, 2014; Oluwatosin 2015); on personality and rarely on influence of political advertisements on voting behaviours, (Edegoh, Ezebuonyi, and Ashema, 2013).

Similarly, researchers observed that 64 per cent of ads exposed in the 2012 presidential election in the US campaign were purely negative, compared to previous elections: ***"In 2000, it was 29%. It rose to 44% in 2004 and 51% in 2008"***, (Fowler & Ridout, 2012, p. 58).

Moreover, results of the study conducted by Phillips, et al. (1999) show that a majority of the advertisements was devoted to image boosting (47.5%), compared to image

attenuating (18%); 13.1 per cent of the 124 analysed advertisements were issue-oriented, while the balance (13.1%) utilized humorous appeal.

However, the APP employed more of attack advertising (image attenuating or negative advertisements (25%) than the PDP (17%). Both parties (PDP and APP) focused less on issues (13%), which according to Phillips et al (1999, p. 28), “signals a degeneration of presidential election campaigns in Nigeria.” But Albert and Marco (2007) found that while Umaru Yar’adua of the PDP in the 2007 presidential election concentrated more on his 5-Point election campaign manifestoes, Alhaji Abubakar Atiku of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) employed the image attenuating (or attack) advertising technique.

Adelakun (2017, p.47) opined that hate speech was a common feature of the 2015 general election in Nigeria, citing the case of the airing of a particular “Anti-Buhari” documentary on the popular African Independent Television (AIT), which the then opposition party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) dubbed as “hate speech”. But “the contents of the (cited) documentary, narrations around Buhari’s past as a dictator and a repressive leader, were mostly factual”, says Adelakun (2017, p.47). She then maintains that the documentary under reference could easily pass for “satire” or “comedic jibes” against a politician rather than being classified as hate speech. To classify every of such speech as hate speech is to “open the door to an intolerant government to clamp down on our fundamental human rights”, the author submitted.

Until 2015, there had not been any serious systematic monitoring of hate speech in elections in the country. In that year, the Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD) first monitored hate speech with respect to the 2015 general elections. However, that monitoring was hate speech expressed exclusively in the social media. There was no systematic monitoring of hate limited to and dangerous speech in the broadcast media except for some limited monitoring by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) - (CITAD, 2016 and KII with Mr Ojukwu of NHRC).

The NBC Monitoring and Compliance Department monitors broadcast stations along many operational standards including the use of language but there was no specific categorization of hate or dangerous speech. However, there has been evidence of hate and dangerous speech in our elections right from the 1960s and through to 2015. The Sheikh Ahmed Lemu Panel that was instituted following the 2011 election violence acknowledged that elections in Nigeria have experienced violence since 1922 (NHRC, 2015: 28).

Much of the violence has been in connection with the deployment of hate and dangerous speech by politicians during campaigns and in response to electoral outcomes. One of the major incidents of electoral violence in the country was instigated by the crisis of the Action Group in 1962. Although, on the surface, the 1962 crisis, which led to the crisis in the Western House of Assembly and eventually to the 1964 election crisis, were rooted in internal party crisis. Much of the undertones that raised emotions and heightened crisis were rooted in hate speech.

Onwuamalam, (2014) examined the 2015 presidential advertising from the point of view of hate speeches and propaganda. The selected political advertisements were replete with hate messages, as demonstrated with the use of Gladys Iyama 30-minute Commercial exposed through the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA). In the instant case, because Gladys Iyama was sentenced by a military tribunal for drug pushing when

General Buhari was a military Head of State, the study reports that Buhari was shown as a 'merciless' leader, contrasted with President Jonathan, presented as "compassionate". The author concludes that the political advertisements were characterized with hate speeches, name calling and propaganda that appear unparalleled in the history of presidential elections in Nigeria.

Oluwatosin (2015) wrote that a documentary transmitted on African Independent Television (AIT) during the electioneering campaign, titled "The Lion of Bourdillon" represents a concoction of falsehood to bring an individual into disrepute in the perception of the electorate. DAAR Communications Plc, the owners of the television station, have since tendered an unreserved apology to Asiwaju Ahmed Bola Tinubu, former governor of Lagos State whose person was maligned in the documentary.

A most recent study (Ibrahim, Pate, Pereira, Yau, Agbanyin and Bagu., 2017), examined the escalation of hate speech in the build up to the 2015 election in Nigeria. The research was carried out against the discovery that, in the build up to the 2015 elections in Nigeria, candidates and political parties "used clearly unethical communication content on the broadcast media and internet platforms to campaign for votes" (Ibrahim, *et al.* 2017, p. 1). The suspected unethical content was what the study refers to as "hate and dangerous speech".

These are classified as messages that insult others for their religious beliefs; express contempt against a people because of their gender or place of origin and condone discriminatory assertions against people living with disability. Other aspects of hate and dangerous speech are those messages that desecrate symbols of cultural or religious practices and deliberately spread falsehood or rumour that demeans, demonizes, maligns or otherwise ostracizes other people on the basis of religion, ethnicity, and other differences.

The aim of the Tapestry Consulting, study (Ibrahim, *et al.* 2017) was to investigate the performances of the broadcast media with regards to election reporting during the 2015 general election in Nigeria. The research adopted a survey design along with the use of content analysis, document observation, focus group and interview. The three television video clips content-analysed are: the "Almajiri Speech" delivered by Mrs. Patience Goodluck Jonathan, wife to GEJ, then presidential candidate of the PDP; the "Buhari Pull Over Song"; and a documentary on "The Real Buhari". Moreover, the research interviewed a total of 22 subjects and administered questionnaire copies of 600 respondents (or 100 respondents from each of the six geo-political zones in Nigeria) to find out about the perception of respondents on the prevalence of hate and dangerous speech in the said election.

The study (Ibrahim, *et al.* 2017) established that hate and dangerous messages were pervasive during the 2015 election in Nigeria in the form of speeches packaged as political advertisements, hate speeches uttered during political campaigns; hate speeches embedded in local languages on radio programmes; and hate speeches appearing as responses to an original hate speech. The study also reveals that hate speeches were disseminated by both politicians and other social media users in response to hate speeches they perceived offended their sensibilities. While revealing that the two leading political parties engaged hate and dangerous speech, the report finds that the PDP utilised hate speech more than the APC.

In addition to the above, the Tapestry Consulting study finds that broadcast media played diverse roles in abating, promoting and tacitly supporting the promotion of hate and dangerous speeches by deliberately accepting and airing hate-laden political advertisements because of huge revenue potentials; and media houses in the name of attribution often repeated hate speeches uttered by politicians. Finally, the study establishes that the NBC failed to effectively monitor and or penalize media organizations who disseminated hate speeches, contrary to aspects of its Code stipulating punishments for hate speech.

In a similar study, Bartlett, Krasodonsk-Jones, Daniel, Fisher and Jespersen (2015) investigated uses of social media for election communication and monitoring in Nigeria. It was an exploratory study. The purpose of the research was to gain an understanding of the effectiveness of the social media during the 2015 general election in Nigeria. The researchers collected Tweets and Facebook posts, using English language search terms. Both the automated and manual types of analysis of Tweets and Facebook posts were analysed.

The study (Bartlett, *et al.* 2015) found that Tweeters are ten times more active during the period of the elections than when there were no elections. A total of 12.4 million tweets were generated by about 1.3 million unique Twitter users; there were about 216, 000 Facebook users as well. The two dominant types of Tweets were the ones for reportage of events as well as the others describing the events. Moreover, 70 per cent of popular Twitter accounts emanated from established media. This shows increasing usage of social media outlets by traditional media in Nigeria.

Other significant findings are that: awareness and usage rate of social media was higher among the younger and more educated population than the older and less educated Nigerians; men are significantly more likely to use social media than women; and there are more social media users in the Southern part of Nigeria than in the North. In addition, of the 2.91 identifiable Tweets from Nigeria during the period, the largest concentration was found in Lagos (with 1.14 million unique Twitter users) followed by 454,000 Twitter users in Abuja, Federal capital Territory, (FCT).

The study further identified most dominant social media actors, including the citizens, citizen-journalists, media bloggers, official (traditional) news outlets, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), political campaigners and supporters, amongst others. Sequel to the forgoing findings, the study concluded that social media offer “valuable supplementary source of insight and information, alongside traditional (and better established) sources of research such as polling or focus groups. It is imperfect, but still useful if used for the right purposes”, (Bartlett, *et al.* 2015, p. 7).

The above findings (Bartlett, *et al.* 2015) are relevant to the present study, since it establishes the pervasive use of social media during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria. But it fails to establish usage of social media based on political parties, presidential candidates, campaign messages, manifestoes, and tone of political campaign messages during the 2015 presidential election. The conclusion of the study by Bartlett, *et al.* (2015) that social media are “useful if used for the right purposes” raises yet another critical question around the issue of preponderances of hate speeches in social (and established) media during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria.

It is against the above background that the present study investigates the extent to which hate speeches are embedded in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria and the implications of this on level of conformance of campaign messages to existing media ethical codes in Nigeria.

2.5. Filling the Gap in Knowledge

It is in realization of some of the weaknesses of some of the above studies, as well as the need to either confirm or refute the findings of the earlier studies; (Albert and Marco 2007; Phillips, et al., 1999; Olatunji and Akinjogbin, 2011; Fowler & Ridout, 2012; Owuamalam, 2014; Oluwatosin 2015; Bartlett, et al. 2015, and Tapestry Consulting, 2017); and the need to expand frontier of knowledge on uses and abuses of media during election campaigns in Nigeria that the present study was carried out. For instance, in spite of the comprehensive nature of the findings of the Tapestry Consulting research (2017), one area of limitation is that the three samples of selected video clips were the ones relating to the PDP campaign materials, with little or no references to any of the hate and dangerous campaign materials by the APC.

Secondly, the selection of media was limited to broadcasting (radio and TV), although understandably because the study was sponsored by or focused the activities of the NBC during the 2015 election. The sample size of 100 respondents for each of the six geo-political zones in Nigeria, although evenly drawn, seemed to have ignored vagaries and densities of population across the geo-political zones. Moreover, a total sample size of 600 respondents may not be representative enough of over 170 million population of the entire country.

Accordingly, the scope of the present study is wider in terms of selection of media for content analysis, along with interviewees and questionnaire respondents. The mixed method is also adopted to plot results of election against perceptions of subjects on the effectiveness of campaign messages during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Sequel to the foregoing, the present study finds out about tone of political campaign messages in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria, as well as the volume of commercial and not-so-commercial messages exposed during the election. Previous studies (Albert and Marco 2007; Phillips, et al., 1999; Olatunji and Akinjogbin, 2011; Fowler & Ridout, 2012) largely examined uses of newspaper advertisements in presidential elections in Nigeria.

The present research is wider in scope and deeper in orientation because it investigates: perception of audiences on the 2015 presidential campaigns and uses of new and traditional media, along content analysis of presidential campaign messages across a broad range of communications and media channels, unlike previous studies.

Chapter 3

3. Method and Materials

3.1. Introduction

The focus of this research is to examine uses of media in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Therefore, this section describes the methods employed in conducting the research as well as the different primary and secondary data sources employed. The sub-sections include a discussion on the research design, population of study and target population; sampling techniques and sample size; research instruments, validity and reliability measures; along with methods of data administration and analysis.

3.2. Research Design

The design involved a mixed-methods triangulated approach involving a qualitative interpretive analysis, quantitative content analysis, in-depth personal interviews, ethnographic observation, document analysis, and various surveys, all implemented in five main phases. All the possible election-related advertisements including print ads, radio and TV commercials, outdoor hoardings and posters and banners, as well as online postings are being assembled in hard and soft copies will be subjected to coding and analysis.

3.3. Scope of the Research

This study investigates uses of traditional and new media during Nigeria's 2015 Presidential Election Campaigns. The study was carried out in the six geo-political zones in Nigeria.: Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja; Kano State (North-West) Ilorin (**North-Central**); and Maiduguri (North-East); Lagos and Ibadan (**South West Nigeria**); Enugu (**South East**); and Port Harcourt, Calabar and Warri (**South-South**). The locations are purposively selected based on the existing six geo-political zones of Nigeria and the historical/ strategic roles played by these centres since political independence. Moreover, the study included major cities and locations in each of the existing six geo-political zones in Nigeria.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of the advertisements used during the election campaigns was carried out (December 2014 to March 2015). Although nearly 16 political parties participated in the presidential election of March 2015, media materials selected were limited to the ones sponsored by the two leading political parties of PDP and APC.

The presidential campaigns for GMB commenced after his emergence as APC presidential candidate on December 12, 2014, although GEJ had previously been selected by the PDP as its presidential candidate. The period of selection of campaign materials was therefore limited to between December 2014 and March 2015, to give equal chances to selection of presidential media campaign materials by GEJ and GMB.

The research period was delimited to six months (December 2014 to May 2015). This period was selected because the presidential campaigns were flagged off after party primaries in December 2014; the presidential election took place in March 2015; the

President that emerged sequel to the election (President Buhari of the APC) assumed office on May 29, 2015, while the national Assembly was inaugurated in June 2015. It is therefore assumed that all issues relating to the 2015 Presidential elections would have generated sufficient attention in the media and in public discourse during the proposed period of study.

3.4. Population of Study; target population

Population of study are all eligible voters in Nigeria that were 18 years and above during the period of electioneering and immediately after the presidential election, based on data published by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria. The target population includes electorates; leaders and members of political parties; members of professional groups; university undergraduates and postgraduate students; market women/men/; leaders of community-based organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); political interest groups, traditional rulers, employees in public and private sector organizations in Nigeria.

A total of 300 survey instruments were administered in each of South West; South-East; South-South; North-West, North- Central and North- East), or a total of 1,800 respondents. Qualitative data complemented survey data to ascertain their views, knowledge, attitudes, and actions relating to the uses of advertising and public relations in the election.

Media organizations also constituted part of the study population, including all newspapers, radio station; television stations; and social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter; etc. Media population is required to provide the sampling frame of media channels and vehicles required for content analysis component of the research. Five national newspapers are targeted for content analysis: *The Punch*, *The Guardian*; *Vanguard newspapers*, *This Day*, *The Nation*, *New Nigerian newspaper*, and *Daily Trust*. Private and government owned television houses targeted are *African Independent Television station (AIT)*, *Television Continental (TVC)* and *Channels TV (private)*; and *Nigeria Television Authority (NTA)*.

3.5. Sampling Procedure

First, the country will be stratified along the six geo-political zones, including the FCT. The six zones were selected, while the following states were purposively selected from the said zones: from the South-West, Lagos and Oyo/Osun States were purposively selected. Lagos was selected because it was the previous federal capital city of Nigeria; because of its huge population size (second largest, according to 1996 national population figure); also, Lagos is the commercial nerve centre of Nigeria.

In the North Western geo-political zone of Nigeria, Kano State was selected because of its huge population; it has the largest number of Local Government Areas in the country and occupies a strategic position in the political map of Nigeria. Kwara State was selected from the North-Central, along with the Federal Capital City (FCT), the current political capital of Nigeria. In the South-South, Rivers State was selected, whereas Enugu State was selected from the South-East geo-political zone.

3.6. Sample Size

To select the respondents, a combination of stratified, simple random and purposive sampling methods will be adopted. Interviewees were drawn from Abuja (FCT), Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, Enugu and Port Harcourt. However, questionnaire copies were administered as follows: 300 respondents each from Ibadan, Kano, Ilorin, Maiduguri, Enugu, and Port Harcourt, which translates to a total of 1,800 respondents for the questionnaire. In addition, a total number of 200 individuals were targeted for interviews across the six-geo-political zones in Nigeria.

3.7. Content Analysis

3.7.1 Broadcast Commercials

To access media data for content analysis, the purposive sampling procedure was adopted to select television commercials. Available television commercials (TVCs) on the presidential candidates were procured from the Advertising Practitioners' Council (APCON), the industry regulator, African Independent Television (AIT), Television Continental (TVC) and Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) Studios. In situations where we were unable to access TVCs from broadcast media organisations, the research team resorted to outright purchase from independent media monitoring firm, **Media Monitoring Services (Nigeria) Limited**. Moreover, some of the commercials were also procured from independent monitoring media consultancy firms. Presidential campaign advertisements during the study period were analysed for content.

3.7.2 Print Advertisements

For the newspapers content analysis, the team limited its selection to national newspapers published from December 2014 to March 2015 available in the depository of the Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON). These included *Business Day*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust*, *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, *The Punch*, *ThisDay* and *Vanguard*. This aspect of the study was limited to December 2014 to March 2015 to cover period from early December 2014 when the candidates of the two dominant parties emerged, up to March 27, 2015 when the general presidential election was held. A total of 752 newspaper editions were available in the depositories of both the APCON and Nigerian Tribune Newspapers for the study period. From this Total of 309 election advert copies on the two major presidential candidates were identified and adopted for use, across the eight newspapers.

3.7.3 Social Media

The first stage was data mining. Relevant social media platforms (Twitter, Facebook and Blogs) were probed to cull relevant posts by individuals. They were decided upon based on those that were pertinent to the campaigns for and the discussions about the 2015 presidential election.

3.8. Research Activities

3.8.1 Qualitative Interpretive Analysis:

The assembled advertisements were subjected to critical qualitative interpretive analysis to interpret the essential communication content to determine the nature of the messages, guided by the research questions.

3.8.2 Quantitative Content Analysis

In addition to qualitative analysis, all the assembled advertisements were subjected to quantitative content analysis, with the individual ad as the unit of analysis, and guided by content categories indicating the numerous ways the ads can be described. Coding of the ads will be undertaken by members of the research team following a coordinated orientation to familiarize them with the code book (coding guide).

3.8.3 In-depth Personal Interviews

Part of the qualitative approach was the conduct of in-depth personal interviews with the communication officers of the two political parties, the operatives of the advertising and public relations agencies which were involved in the campaign communications, and members of the political action groups such as Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN); leaders and members of political parties; members of professional groups; university undergraduates and postgraduate students; market women/men/; leaders of community based organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); traditional rulers, employees in public and private sector organizations in Nigeria.

3.8.4 Ethnographic Observation

Although the elections have come and gone, it was instructive to visit and observe the activities of the two political parties, the advertising and public relations agencies, some selected media organizations, and some political action groups to obtain first-hand information on how they conducted themselves during the elections.

Document Analysis

Many kinds of documents are needed to plan for and implement political communications. As many of these as are accessible were assembled and subject to critical analysis to determine what they would reveal about how the two political parties conducted their campaigns.

Varied Surveys

The quantitative and qualitative data were complemented with varied surveys of the distinct groups to ascertain their views, knowledge, attitudes, and actions relating to the uses of advertising and public relations in the election. The survey targeted: political action groups; leaders and members of political parties; members of professional groups; university undergraduates and postgraduate students; market women/men/; leaders of community-based organizations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); traditional rulers, employees in public and private sector organizations in Nigeria.

Plotting Communication Results Against Actual Electoral Outcomes

The last research method plotted the various campaign communication results such as advertising, public relations, and PAC activities against the actual voting outcomes (based on INEC results) to determine if there are any discernible and significant associations between them.

Research Instruments Design

Following extensive review of the literature, along with instruments used in previous researches, research instruments such as questionnaire, interview guide, focus group guide, and content coding sheet/schedule were designed by the researchers.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire sought to obtain data on perception of electorates on the effectiveness of uses of media during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. The questionnaire has two broad divisions. The first section, while guaranteeing respondents' anonymity, obtained demographical data (items 1-5). Items 6-8 obtained data on voting behaviours of electorates, to establish whether or not the respondent voted during the presidential election, geographical location during the election and preferred presidential candidate. Items 1-15 of Section B of the questionnaire designed in Likert scale format, allowed respondents to express respective opinions on levels of agreement with statements relating to hate speech, campaign issues, and possible influences of campaign messages on voting behaviours. The two other sections obtained data on ethical nature of the media campaigns and an open-ended section that allows the respondents to comment freely on the election campaign.

Interview Guide

The In-depth Interview guide (Appendix 3) was also designed comprising eight major items that probed interviewees' party preferences during the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria; media through which subjects encountered campaign messages and perceived effectiveness on each of the media; campaign messages recall; perception on hate speech and aspects of the campaigns considered interesting by interview subjects. Interview questions were largely open ended, with a few items being closed ended. The open-ended questions allowed interviewees to freely express their views on the major areas of the research.

Content Coding Sheet - Print

The content coding schedule for print advertisements was also adopted for the study. It distilled information such as name of newspaper and date of publication, ad headline, type of advertisement in terms of either issue-based or personality (image boosting or attack); tone of message; source of advertisement; use of colour, ad position in newspapers, and copy size. The code sheet also allowed coders to copy ad titles, relevant quotations and observations on the copy.

Content Coding Sheet - TV

"Coding Schedule for 2015 Election Broadcast Commercials" was also designed and utilised for the study. Information obtained relates to type of commercial (radio or television), candidate focused/promoted/attached; issues focused/promoted or attached; advertisement sponsors, tone of commercials; duration; and dominant appeals. An open-ended portion of the coding sheet allows coders to narrate the storyline, stating content of the commercial.

Social Media Coding Sheet

A Content Code Sheet was also designed for the analysis of social media messages that appeared on Facebook and Twitter. Items 1 to 4 of the Social Media Code Sheet accessed data such as source of message; Social Media Channel, date and time of post of message and date and time message was accessed. The second section of the instrument (items 5-14) obtained data such as number of unique visitors to the message site, number of views, likes, tweets and re-tweets. Other aspects deal with number of followers, tone of message, and purpose.

Specific items on each of the instruments addressed each of the research questions and or the research objectives.

Validity and Reliability

Each of the instruments was drafted by experts with the ACSPN in each of the research areas. Thus, experts in print ads designed the content coding sheet for press advertisements; ditto for experts in broadcasting, social media and questionnaire design. The initial drafts were circulated online for further inputs and amendments by members of the research team. Each of the drafts was then updated and adopted for the research. Reliability measures were taken by subjecting each of the instruments to a test re-test with an interval of two weeks.

The instruments were validated with reliability measures also taken to ensure that the instruments are standardized.

Content Analysis

The generated data by each coder (three in number) from content analysis of newspapers and television commercials (TVCs) were collated and subjected to inter-coder reliability testing. The Krippendorff's alpha (α , also KALPHA), reliability coefficient was adopted to calculate the level of inter-coder agreement among the coders. An initial sample was then taken from the one of two major social media platforms – twitter and Facebook and used to develop categories of responses for each research question and then the second social media platform was used to check the reliability of the categories and this was done by three different social media analysts which helped to ensure there were representative categories, and a proper division of the responses into the proper categories.

Method of Data Gathering

The principal researchers trained research assistants and other field staff on the objectives of the research and techniques of administration of instruments. The research assistants and field staff administered the instruments under the guidance of each of the principal officers coordinating each of the research locations.

Content Analysis of Print and Broadcast Media

The team leader and two other persons were involved in coding the newspaper advert and television commercials, respectively. For the newspaper advertisements, the first process involved flipping through the pages of each of the newspapers to identify and extract relevant ad copies across the newspapers. The identified 546 advert copies were then collated and perused to be sure of their relevance. This further reduced the number of relevant copies to be analysed for the study to 533.

The assistant coders were trained on the expected process of coding the advert copies through an interactive session with the coders coding samples of ad copies. The coders thereafter embarked on the coding process with each noting multiple publications in a

single coding sheet. A copy was coded once irrespective of the number(s) of exposure. On completion of the coding process, the team leader collated the coding and examined possible copies that were coded more than once, and collated the entries onto a single coding sheet, while discarding others. She read through the copy title and copy summary of all entries in the coding sheets to be able to identify repeated entries. The gathered data were later subjected to quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Questionnaire Administration

Senior academic staff in universities, and or journalists with several years of professional experience was involved in questionnaire administration and or interview sessions with key Interview Informants across the six geo-political zones of Nigeria. Questionnaire copies were either collected immediately they were administered or dropped and collected back a day or two after administration. Moreover, interview sessions were mostly conducted in a face-to-face manner and rarely through the telephone.

Content coding of press advertisements, television commercials, radio spots, and social media messages were conducted by a team of coders in each case. Areas of disagreement were sorted out by each of the coding teams, before items were coded. Documents were also accessed online and through published news items to secure additional materials in connection with the research.

Data Analysis and dissemination of results

Qualitative and quantitative data gathered through respective research methods were collated and analysed through the use of appropriate statistical packages, using Nudist Qualitative Software, Atlas Ti, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (SPSS), and/or the Statistical Analysis System (SAS). Data were collated and analysed through the use of relevant statistical packages such as the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). Qualitative data will be subjected to thematic data presentation and analysis, after which discussion of findings will follow.

Newspaper and Broadcast Media Content Analysis

The coding resulted in each of the measurable variables having a KALPHA coefficient ranging from 1.00 to .825. Variables like newspapers, personality promoted, and copy colour had higher reliability coefficient compared to variables on purpose of copy. The resultant KALPHA values for each of the variables examined were satisfactory to the team based on the levels of complexities in identifying appropriate options for each variable. All relevant results were utilised for the comprehensive reports that are disseminated through the popular press, professional and academic association conferences, special reports aimed at special publics who will benefit from the new knowledge of how advertising played a role in the elections.

Chapter 4

4. Newspaper Advertisements

4.1. Introduction

Advertising through the print media (of newspapers, magazines, journals, books) is a regular feature during electioneering periods, particularly in Nigeria. The same thing goes for public relations messages and political campaign messages that journalists rely on in coming up with news stories, especially during elections. While the broadcast media have instantaneous appeals and combine the benefits of sight, sound and fun, print copies are easy to document, retrieve and remain relatively permanent.

4.2. Content Analysis of Media Advertisements

In carrying out content analysis of newspaper advertisements of the 2015 Presidential elections in Nigeria, the team limited its selection to national newspapers published from December 2014 to March 2015 available in the depository of the Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON). The team also visited the libraries of Lagos State University, *The Punch* and *Tribune* newspapers.

The selected newspapers are *Business Day*, *Daily Sun*, *Daily Trust*, *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, *The Punch*, *ThisDay* and *Vanguard*. This period of selection was limited to 1st December 2014 to 31st March 2015. The two presidential candidates (GEJ and GMB) emerged their respective candidates early December 2014 while the Presidential election was held on March 27, 2015.

A total of 752 newspaper editions were available at the different depositories. From this, A 309 election advert copies on the two major presidential candidates were identified and adopted for use, across the eight newspapers. A team of research assistants, who are postgraduate students in the School of Communication, Lagos State University, carried out the content analysis; they utilized the content code sheet developed by the researchers. From the vetted newspapers copies supplied by APCON, a total of 309 ads were analysed. Data outputs are presented below:

i. Number of Ad Exposures

Chart 1: Number of Exposure of Print Advertisements

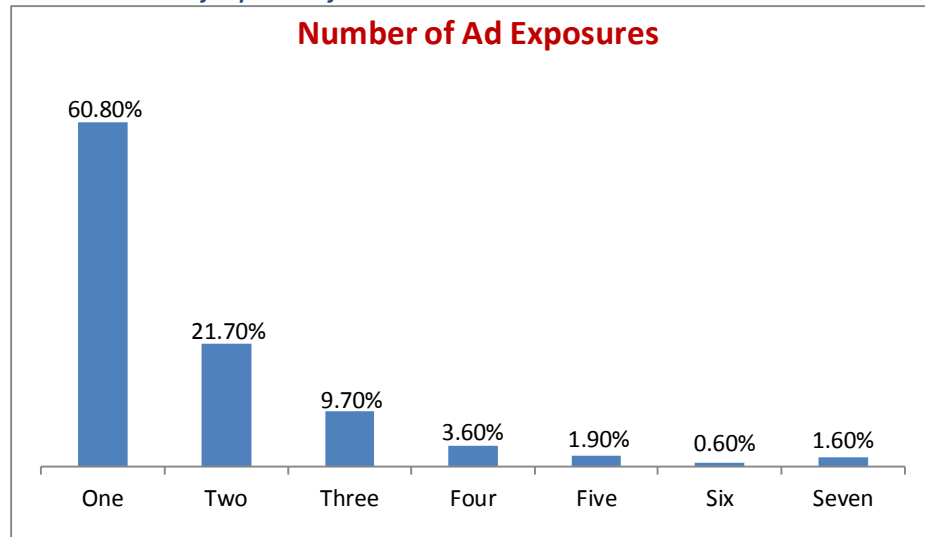
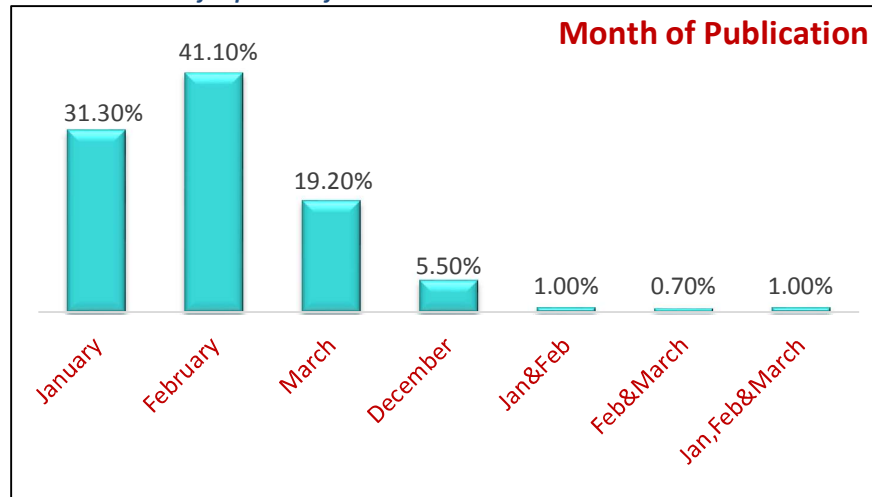


Chart 1 shows the **number of ad exposure** on the 2015 election as follows:

- About 6 in 10 ads were exposed once, followed by two-time exposures (21.7%); three-time exposure of the same message (9.7%); and four times (3.6%); and only 1.6% of the copies had seven-time exposures;
- This means that frequency of exposure of any particular advertisement was limited;
- In other words, exposure of advertisements was episodic and un-coordinated. Olatunji (2011), opines that pulsing, or the need for messages to be exposed more frequently is critical in advertising media planning, adding “a high frequency in the exposure of a particular advertising message is deemed crucial for the success of the efforts of the advertising media planner. This is based on the understanding that one-shot exposure (of messages) does not often achieve the desired advertiser’s goal” (Olatunji, 2011, p. 264).
- Data presented above do not show effectiveness in media planning by communication strategists of the two presidential candidates in Nigeria during the 2015 presidential election.

ii. Month of Publication

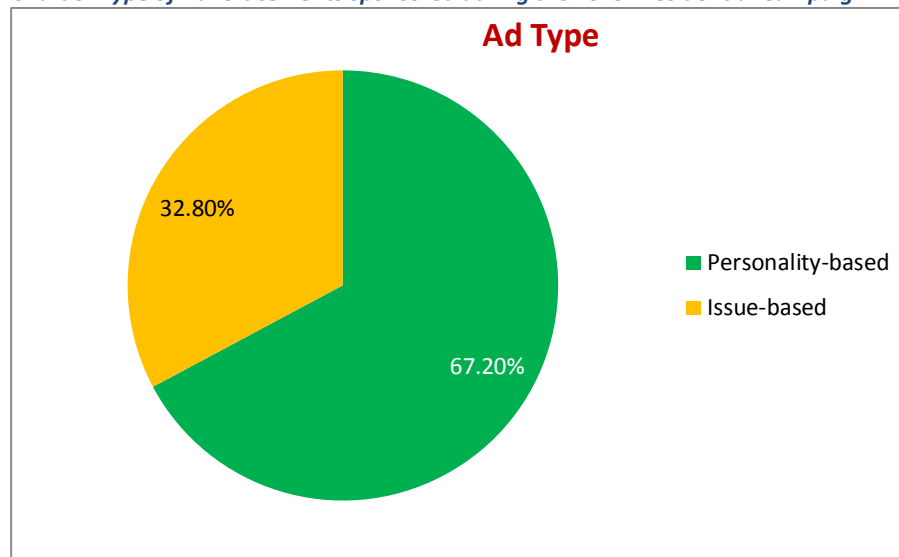
Chart 2: Months of Exposure of Print Ads



- A total of 309 copies of Print advertisements of presidential campaigns were analysed;
- Result shows that the month of December 2014 witnessed very low (5.5%) level of political advertisement placements by the two leading presidential candidates;
- The tempo increased by January 2015 (31.3 %) to 41.1 per cent in February (the month initially slated month for the Presidential election), and significantly declined (19.21%) by the month of March due to the postponement of the elections by the government, when it cited security threats by Boko Haram.

iii. Type of Ad Sponsored

Chart 3: Type of Advertisements sponsored during the 2015 Presidential Campaign

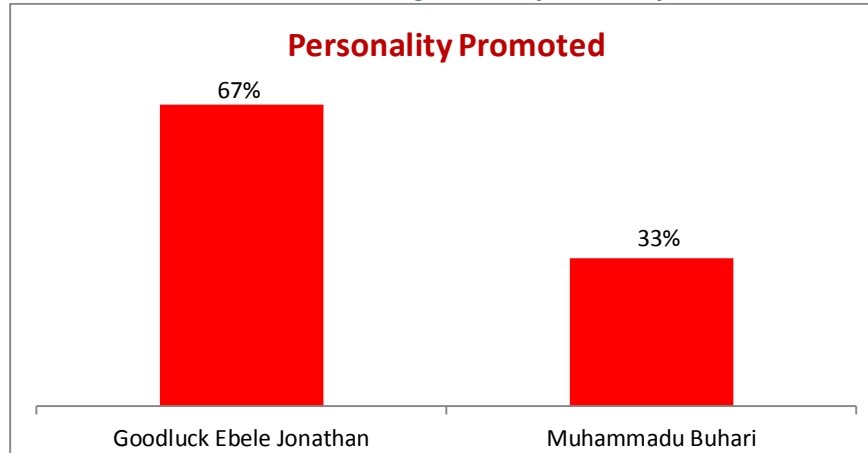


- For both candidates (GEJ and GMB) of the leading political parties, more than two-thirds of the ads were personality-based (67.2%) while others were issues-based (32.8%);

- The next chart shows the candidate whose personality was more promoted than the opponent's.

iv. Personality Promoted

Chart 4: Presidential Candidate with Higher Level of Personality Promotional Messages



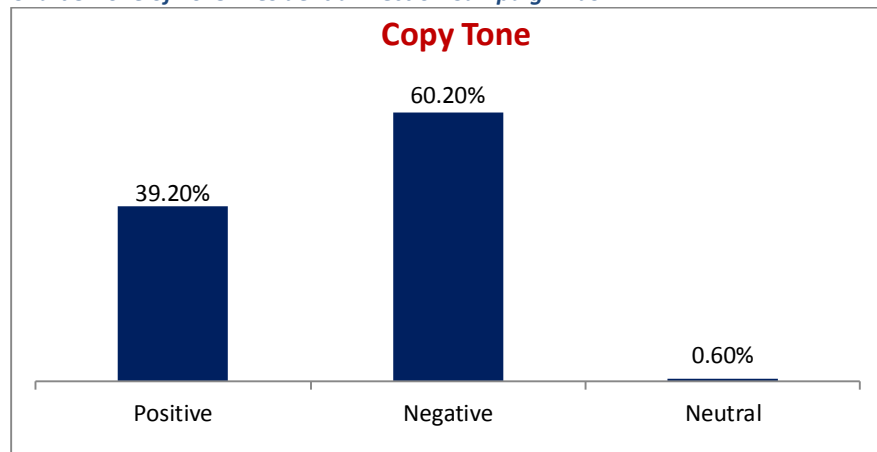
- Chart 4 shows that two-thirds of the ads (67%) promoted the personality of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, presidential candidate of the PDP, while
- The remaining ads promoted the personality of GMB (33%), the presidential candidate of the APC.

v. Classification of Ads

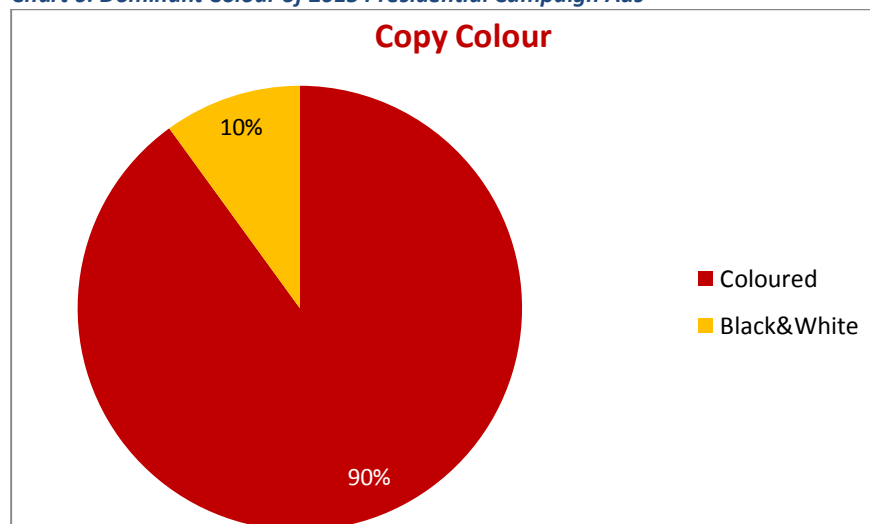
Table 2: Classification of Ads Based on Personality Projection

Purpose	Percentage
Attack personality of opposed candidate	45.6
Boost personality of preferred candidate	26.7
Attack credibility of opposing party	17.1
Attack credibility of Jega/INEC	5.1
Sell party of preferred candidate	3.2
Neutralize claims against preferred candidate	2.3
Total	100%
N	309

- Many ads (45.6%) were designed to attack the personality of the opponent, followed by ads designed to boost the personality of preferred candidate (26.7%).
- A sizeable number (17.1%) also attacked the credibility of the opposing party. This is with the result that a majority of the advertisements (62.7%) were designed to attack the opponent (either party or candidate).
- Attack ads take attention away from issues that are relevant to the needs of the electorates, although they may sometimes be fun, entertaining or out rightly achieve negative purpose.

vi. **Copy Tone***Chart 5: Tone of 2015 Presidential Election Campaign Ads*

- Chart 5 shows that about 6 in 10 ads were in negative tone (60.2%);
- Ads with negative tone are essentially targeted at attacking the personality of opponents, or sometimes to lower the reputation of a candidate in the estimation of the publics;
- This reinforces further the position of Chart 4 that a majority of was personality based; and Table 2 that shows that attack ads were dominant in the 2015 presidential election.

vii. **Copy Colour***Chart 6: Dominant Colour of 2015 Presidential Campaign Ads*

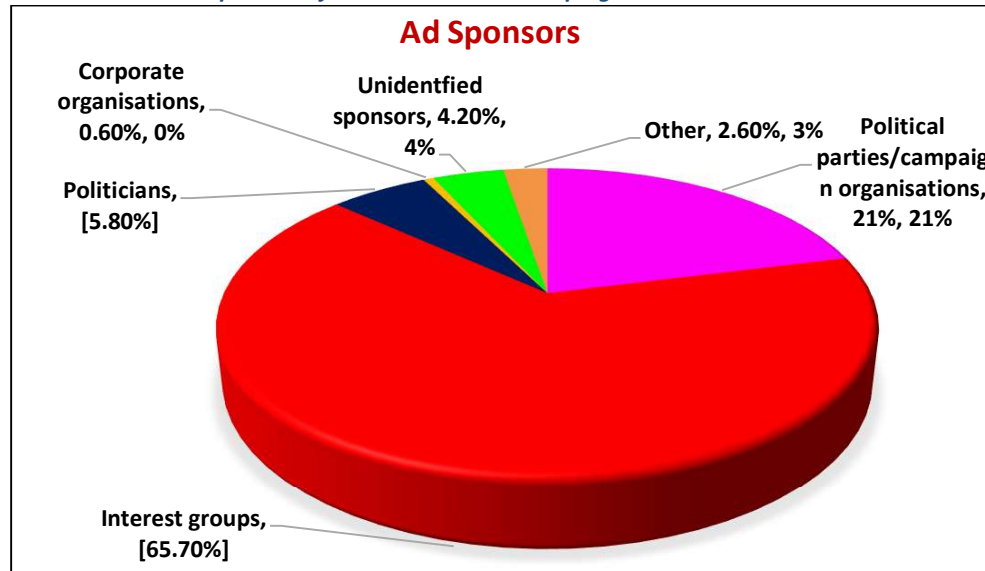
- The above chart shows that a majority of the 2015 presidential campaign advertisements appeared in colour (90%), as opposed to black and white (10%);
- This shows glamour in form or appearances of print advertisements, that political parties can invest in political campaign advertisements and a remarkable

departure from the traditional practices where many newspaper advertisements appeared in black and white, possibly owing to advancement in print technology;

- Colour based ads are the most expensive in media buying.

viii. Ad Sponsorship

Chart 7: Dominant Sponsors of 2015 Presidential Campaign Advertisements



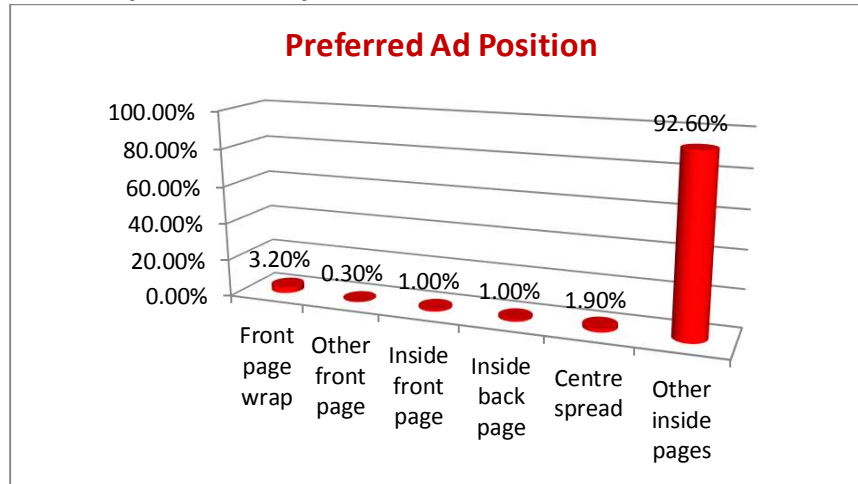
- About two thirds of the ads were sponsored by interest groups (65.7%);
- 21% of the ads were sponsored by political parties;
- Notable politicians sponsored 5.8% of the ads and
- Unidentified sponsors accounted for 4.2% of the ads;
- It is therefore not surprising that most of the ads appeared once and seemed un-coordinated.

The Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN) and Concerned Professionals of Nigeria (CPN) are two of such interest groups that sponsored series of political advertisements before and during the 2015 presidential campaigns. In fact, TAN began to rouse support for GEJ well ahead of official flag-off of electioneering campaigns by the nation's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), which then threatened to sanction the GEJ group for flouting the provisions of the Electoral Law, according to The *Premium Times* of 1st October, 2014³.

³ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/168871-inec-threatens-to-sanction-jonathan-atiku-others-over-early-campaigns.html> on 24/1/18

ix. Preferred Ad Position

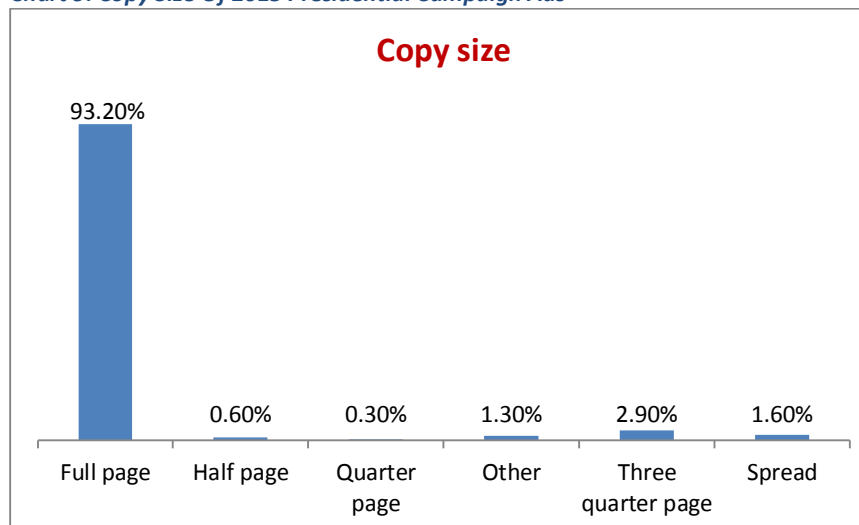
Chart 8: Preferred Position of Advertisement Placement



- A majority of the ads appeared in inside pages of newspapers (92.6%);
- However, the appearance of political advertisements as front-page wrap-arounds became a novelty during the campaigns;
- A prominent one during the period was sponsored by Ayodele Fayose, the executive governor of Ekiti State, who published the 'Obituary' of GMB', by insinuating that most past presidents of Nigeria emanating from the North-West (the same geo-political zone with GMB, APC candidate), had died in office, thus inferring the if elected, GMB may follow that trend.
- The PDP and GEJ disassociated themselves from the sponsored message, which was seen by a majority of the electorates as tantamount to hate political campaign message.

x. Copy Size

Chart 9: Copy Size Of 2015 Presidential Campaign Ads

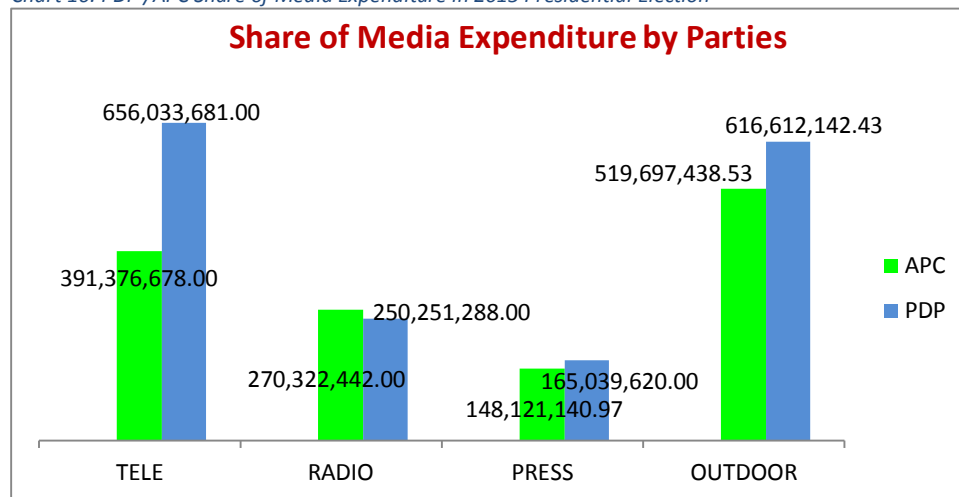


- Most of the ads were published in full page (93.2%).

- Citing data from Compliance and Content Monitoring (CCM) Limited, Ademigbuji, (2015, p. 27), reports that the PDP and APC spent a total of NGN3.23billion on political campaign advertisements during the 2015 Presidential election;
- A breakdown shows that the PDP spent more (NGN2.59 billion or 77%) than the APC (NGN728 million or 23%);
- The above figure represents ad spend on radio, television, press and billboard by the two leading political parties between December 2014 and March 2015., the four critical months leading up to the March 2015 Presidential election;

xi. Share of Media Expenditure by Parties⁴

Chart 10: PDP /APC Share of Media Expenditure in 2015 Presidential Election

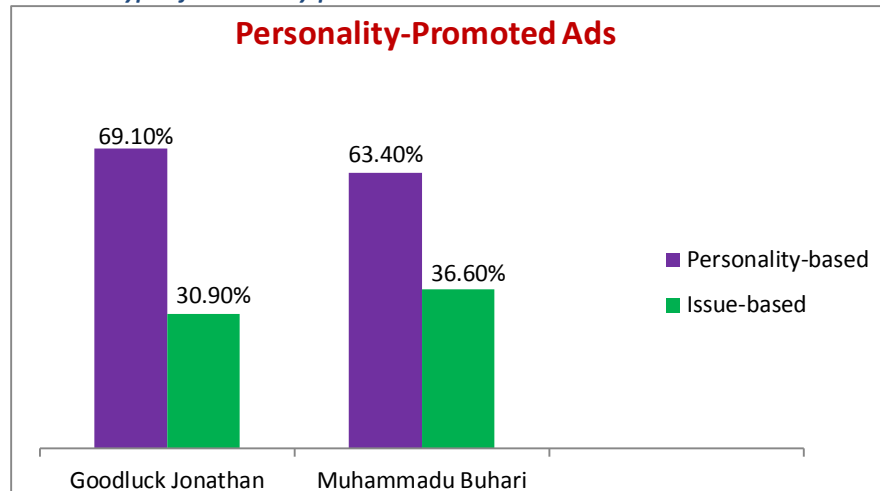


- Chart 10 is data secured from the research firm of Media Monitoring Services Nigeria Limited, which shows that the PDP out-spent the APC during the 2015 Presidential election;
- Olatunji and Akinjogbin (2011) showed that during previous elections (1999, 2003 and 2007) the PDP spent more on media campaigns than all its respective opponents and went on to win the presidential election during the stated time;
- However, data generated through the present research show that huge ad spend on media political campaigns by the PDP did not automatically translate to electoral fortune for the party;
- Thus, while the APC spent less than the PDP on media campaign, the then opposition eventually won the presidential election, which shows that huge investments in media campaigns do not automatically translate to electoral fortune.

⁴ Source: Media Monitoring Services Nigeria Limited 1/1/2015- 31/12/2015 (Date procured in 2018)

xii. Personality-Promoted Ads

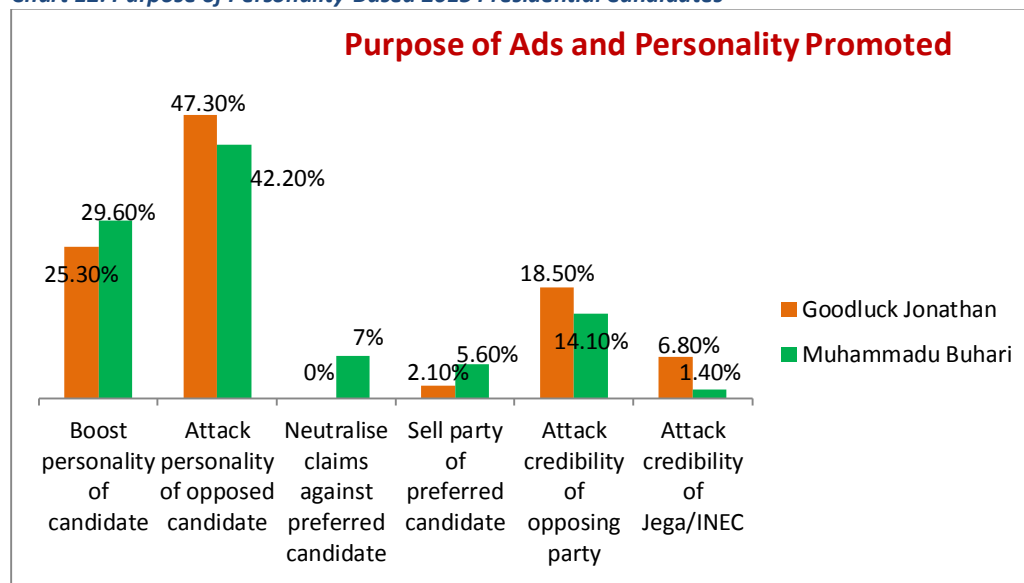
Chart 11: Type of Personality-promoted Ads Based on Presidential Candidates



- Generally, about two thirds of the ads sponsored by both GEJ and GMB were designed to promote their respective personalities.
- However, GEJ had slightly more (69.10%) personality promotion ads than GMB (64.4%);
- Similarly, GMB had slightly more issue-based campaign messages (36.6%) than GEJ (30.90%).

xiii. Purpose of Ads and Personality Promoted

Chart 12: Purpose of Personality-Based 2015 Presidential Candidates



- The chart above shows that, although both presidential candidates extensively attacked each other's personality, ads from the PDP had more of attack ads (47.30%) than ads from APC (42.20%);

- The PDP also did more (18.50%) to discredit the opponent of GEJ than the APC (14.10%);
- On the other hand, the APC's political ads boosted the image of GMB (29.60%) than did the PDP (25.30%) to soar up the image of GEJ;
- In the same vein, the APC sponsored more ads to promote its brand than the PDP;
- The credibility of the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) and its Chairman, Professor Jega was attacked more by the PDP than by the APC.

4.3. Descriptive Analysis of Select Newspaper Advertisements

This section is a descriptive analysis of the advertisements sponsored by or on behalf of the PDP and APC. The description is presented under sub-heading such as: attack advertisements, hate messages, issues and personality-based advertisements among others.

The following is a selection of descriptive ads sponsored by each of the candidates of the PDP and APC:

4.3.1 PDP: Attack Advertisements

Data presented above show that the PDP sponsored slightly more of attack campaign messages than the APC. One of such attack ads appeared in the *Vanguard* Newspaper (19/2/15), and the *Daily Trust* (11/2/15) with same headline: "Do elder statesmen speak like this?" Copy also reads: "What kind of leader constantly incites violence with his utterances? The attack was targeted at GMB.

Similarly, the personality of the candidate of opposition APC was attacked in *The Guardian* (29/1/15), with the headline: **"Please explain this!"** The text focused on allegations against GMB who **"threw Fela into prison for possession of foreign currency. And yet allowed 53 suitcases belonging to your (his) ADC's father containing some purported \$700m into the country"**. It then asked: **"where is the fairness? Nigerians are waiting for your explanations"**. Although the ad closes by urging Nigerians to **"vote wisely"**, it did not expressly campaign for GEJ. Rather, it presents a cartoonist image of Buhari sitting on piles of suitcases.

In *Daily Sun* advertisement (13/3/15) we see another personality attack (against GMB). The headline reads: **"No condition is permanent..."** In the copy is the photograph of ex-President Shehu Shagari with GMB. The text states: **"...you can seize power by force of arms, but you cannot seize the honour of great men. The elected civilian president will always laugh last! GEJ will surely laugh last!"**

Similarly, the headline of PDP-sponsored ad in *Vanguard* newspaper (29/1/15) warns Nigerians against voting for GMB: **"Do not allow this dictator take us back to the era of doom and brutality"**. The copy calls on Nigerians to reject GMB because of his obvious military dictatorship antecedents and closes by urging Nigerians to vote wisely by voting PDP.

The advertisement in *ThisDay* of 5/3/2015 was another attack on the personality of GMB and one of the leaders of the APC, that is Alhaji Bola Ahmed Tinubu. It alleges gross corrupt practices by the two leaders in and or out of office. **“See who is talking about corruption”**, is the headline. The body copy queries the academic records of the two leaders. It goes on to allege that Tinubu was to go to jail in the United States of America for drug offence but later went for a plea bargain to get off the hook.

Buhari’s certificate saga also received attention of the PDP in its advertisement in *The Guardian* of 26th March 2015. GMB was also attacked for being unfit as a result of his age: **“A septuagenarian in today’s world”** (Daily Trust 6/2/15). Other examples of attack advertisements sponsored by the PDP against GMB are (*The Guardian* 6/2/15) **“Buhari on the run”**, (from presidential debate organized by the Nigeria Electoral Debate Group (NEDG); **“Buhari promises to turn Nigeria to Sharia nation”** (*The Guardian* 27/1/15); **“Once a tyrant, always a tyrant”** (*The Punch* 30/1/15); and **“Do not allow this dictator take us back to the era of doom and brutality”** (*Daily Sun* 30/1/15);.

Others are: **“The magician Buhari said...”** of *The Guardian* (2/3/15) where GMB allegedly claimed that an APC government will make dollar equal to the Naira and also stop oil price from falling: **“WATCH OUT! Buharinomics targets civil servants and allowances”** (*Daily Trust* (12/2/15); *ThisDay* (12/2/15) and *Daily Sun* (12/2/15); **“It took Abacha 2 months to side-line Diya. How long will it take Buhari to side-line Osinbajo”** (*ThisDay* (25/1/15); *The Guardian* (25/1/15); “Let’s not go backwards to the days when inflation rocketed to 40%” (*Vanguard* newspaper 4/2/15); and a host of others.

4.3.2 APC: Attack Advertisements

The APC resulted to attack advertisement strategy, just like the PDP, although the numbered sponsored by the APC was lower than those sponsored by the ruling party at the time. With a headline, **“World’s verdict on Jonathan”** (*Daily Sun* 29/1/15), the body copy provides extensive quotes attributed to several sources around the world, including foreign media, criticizing the administration of GEJ. It also alleges that GEJ has destroyed Nigeria’s international reputation and that the country does not deserve another four years of such a candidate.

In another instance, the APC came up with another attack advertisement on the person of GEJ in *The Nation* 10/3/15, and *Daily Trust* 10/3/15. The headline warns: **“Nigerians beware! When Jonathan vows to do more, he means to do more damage”**. The copy highlights some of the alleged shortcomings of the Jonathan administration, claiming that GEJ will do more damage to the country if re-elected. The same trend was repeated in *The Guardian* (13/3/15), with the headline of the advertisement declaring: **“Nigerians need jobs, not death”**. The body copy was an obvious reference to the failed recruitment exercise of the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) during GEJ administration, where scores of Nigerian youths were stampeded to death, which the copy says was a clear indication of failure of the administration in that regard.

In *ThisDay* newspaper’s advertisement of March 6th, 2015, the APC also ridiculed the PDP’s ‘transformational’ agenda with the headline **“Is this transformation agenda?”**. *The Nation* newspaper’s advertisement (26/3/2015) described GEJ as derelict hiring **“A**

hired man is not a real shepherd, the sheep mean nothing to him", in apparent reference to the abduction of Chibok school girls.

The APC came up with another attack advertisement ***"Meet GEJ's transformation team who are destroying Nigeria"*** (*The Nation* 4/2/15). The copy presents key Ministers of the GEJ administration, (Okonjo-Iweala, Chinedu Nebo and Alison-Madueke) and alleged wrong-doings. On the photographs of these ministers was imprinted a ***"FAILED"*** notification on the country's official seal.

4.3.3 PDP: Hate Campaign Messages

Hate campaign also plays out in the advertisements sponsored by the PDP in *The Punch* (4/2/15); *Vanguard* Newspaper (5/2/15); and *Daily Sun* (4/2/15) with the claim: ***"APC wants power through violence"***; ***"Buhari: Electing APC candidate as president will be disaster for Nigeria, Africa"***, (*Vanguard* newspaper, 23/3/15); and ***"Buhari view national issues with parochial lenses, even Boko Haram"*** (*The Nation* 6/3/15).

Moreover, the PDP portrayed GMB as anti-Igbo ethnic nationality, with its advertisement of 23rd March 2015 (repeated on 23/3/15 in the same newspaper). The headline alleges that ***"Buhari's malice against Igbo – No reason whatsoever"***. The copy further alleges that Buhari as a Military Head of State imprisoned some of the Igbo leaders such as Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu and Dr. Alex Ekwueme. The copy then calls on all Igbos to reject Buhari at the poll.

Again, adverts in *ThisDay* (10/2/15), and *Daily Sun* (10/2/15) ***"Ndigbo, lest we forget"*** was a continuation of provoking ethnic chauvinism and hatred. The copy alleges the refusal of GMB in 1985 to support the candidature of a Nigerian, Dr Peter Onu of Igbo origin, as Secretary General of the then Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU), even though Onu has held the position in acting capacity for 3years. Copy notes that instead, GMB supported Alhaji Idi Omora, said to be a fellow Fulani Muslim from Niger Republic.

Another advertisement in the *Vanguard* (19/1/15) has the headline: ***"2015 election: should we reward the advocates of sectarianism for what they promote?"*** The text provides violence-inciting words attributed to GMB, followed by a list of sectarian clashes in various parts of the world. ***"Beware, agent provocateur on the loose!"*** was the headline of an advertisement that appeared in *ThisDay* (10/1/15), *Daily Sun* (10/2/15) and *Daily Trust* (10/2/15). The copy notes that with GMB ***"violence is the only language the General understands"***. It then portrays GEJ as a true democrat.

Hate speech seemed to have peaked with the popular death-wish ad sponsored by the Executive Governor of Ekiti State, Ayodele Fayose. The copy urges Nigerians to support GEJ rather than GMB who may die in office like his predecessors from the North West, Murtala Mohammed, Sani Abacha and Musa Yar'adua who all died in office (*The Punch*, 18/1/15 and *Daily Sun* 19/1/15). The headline reads: ***"Nigerians be warned! (life & death)"***.

4.3.4 APC: Hate Speech

Use of hate speech during the 2015 presidential election was also a dominant feature of the APC campaign strategies, albeit more subtle than those of the PDP. In one instance, the APC advertisement of 25th March 2015 in *The Nation* newspaper came with the headline **“GEJ hates the Yorubas”**. The copy portrays GEJ as an ethnic bigot, whose government totally neglected the Yoruba of South-West Nigeria, by allocating two (2) positions to the Yoruba nationality out of 50 federal appointees. This has potentials for inducing animosity amongst the ethnic nationalities that comprise the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

In another instance, the APC in the advertisement that appeared in *ThisDay* of 5th February 2015 alleges that GEJ and his team were trying to mastermind a military coup to subvert the democratic process. The ad urged the military high command not to succumb and be used to jeopardize Nigeria's democracy. There were however other instances where the PDP cited hate-laden statements credited to GMB, including the *Vanguard* newspaper advertisement of 19/1/2015 with the headline: **“2015 election: Should we reward the advocates of sectarianism for what they promote?”** and *ThisDay* (10/1/2015), *Daily Sun* (10/2/2015) and *Daily Trust* (10/2/2015) with the same headline **“Beware, agent provocateur on the loose!”**. The text thereafter noted that public utterances from GMB show that **“violence is the only language the General understands”**.

4.3.5 PDP: Image-Boosting Ads

The advertisement that appeared in the *Vanguard* newspaper (29/1/15) shows GEJ as a ‘master builder’. The headline calls on Nigerians: **“Let's build a solid and united Nigeria”**; a cartoon illustration of GEJ was used to drive the point home. It shows a cartoon image of GEJ as a bricklayer standing on brick formation of Nigerian (in letters) with the bricklayer's tools, indicating Nigeria's development as ‘work-in-progress’.

In another advertisement to boost the image of GEJ, (*The Vanguard*, (29/1/15), the PDP also attacked the personality of GMB. The headline of the said ad made references to former President Shehu Shagari's endorsement of President Goodluck Jonathan's performance in office. The copy provides a quote from the former president Shagari praising GEJ for achievements of his administration. It then attacked GMB whose era as military leader lacked **“development strides”**. It then canvases vote for the PDP. Yet another advertisement (*The Guardian* 28/1/15) reveals **that “Under Goodluck, Nigeria has become the biggest ever recipient of FDI in Africa”**

4.3.6 APC: Image Boosting

In what seems to be a rebuttal of allegations against GMB, the ad sponsored in the *Vanguard* (10/3/15), has the headline **“Buhari takes a stand”**. The copy provides statements of GMB reassuring Nigerians of his neutrality in matters of religion; it provides evidences of people of different religious persuasions (Christians and Muslims) working

GMB and reaffirms that GMB never has any intention of promoting any religion over another in the country.

In another instance, GMB in the advertisement that appeared in *The Punch* (7/2/15) defends his position as being a religious tolerant person. While the headline emphasizes “Unity in diversity”, the copy quotes GMB thus: **“All my life, I have expressed the belief that all Nigerians must be free to worship God according to their belief”**. Advertisements in *The Guardian* (25/3/15) and *The Punch* (23/3/15) portray GMB as the nation’s expected Messiah: **“God, give us men!”**

Another advertisement in *The Punch* (27/1/15) with the headline **“Behold Buhari’s accomplishment as Head of State”**, chronicles a list of GMB’s achievements when he was military head of state in Nigeria. *The Punch* advert (23/3/15) describes GMB and his team as **“Great men, (with) Great Vision”**

4.3.7 PDP: Programme/Issue Based Campaign Messages

In a wide departure from the attack strategy of handlers of GEJ campaigns, a *ThisDay* ad of 29 January 2015, with the headline, **“Under Goodluck, polio cases have been cut by 98%”**, was used to showcase one of the numerous achievements of the PDP presidential candidate. The rest of the body copy was a call upon the electorates to cast their vote for GEJ to keep the nation **“going forward”**, the campaign theme of the PDP.

Both the *Vanguard* newspaper ad (10/3/15) and *Daily Sun* ad (10/3/15), featured another aspect of GEJ’s programmes. Headline shows GEJ as youth-focused: **“Goodluck for Nigerian youths”**. The copy reinforced this with a **“Meet the president”** show where GEJ interacted with some Nigerian youths and highlighting the achievements of GEJ towards youth developments. The copy asserts: **“truly, the Nigerian youth have never had it so good”**.

Another aspect of GEJ’s programme/past achievements was reflected in the advertisement published through *Daily Trust* (13/3/15), headlined: **“Telecom landmarks under President Goodluck Jonathan”**. The copy further highlights achievements of the GEJ administration in the telecom sectors and urges Nigerians to vote GEJ to sustain the recorded growth. Rounding off the trail of such advertisements was the one published in the *Daily Sun* of 22 March 2015, which reinforces claims of past achievements of GEJ: **“Fact: Maternal mortality in Nigeria under Jonathan reduced by 30%”**.

4.3.8 APC: Programme/Issue Based Campaign Messages

The APC had its media election campaigns based on the “Change” mantra. This was well captured in its newspaper advertisement published in *The Guardian* (2/2/2015) with the headline “All the forces in the world are not as powerful as an idea whose time has come”. The copy then urges Nigerians to go for **“new ideas”** by voting **“voting for change (APC)”**. The *Nation* newspaper’s advert (24/1/15) reinforced the change slogan of GMB: **“When change comes, all else give way!”** *The Guardian* advertisement (25/3/15)

emphasises the APC's campaign theme: ***“Redefining our future through strategic change”***.

The visual depicts GMB within Nigerian flag and bringing about changes in various segment of the society, e.g. development, electricity, security, agriculture, commerce, education, employment, health, transportation. In *ThisDay* (25/1/15) the APC made a direct appeal to the youths: ***“The Nigerian youth have decided to vote Buhari/Osinbajo! What about you?”***

Chapter 5:

5. Television Commercials Used

5.1. Introduction

The researchers secured television commercials through two principal sources: the Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON) and Media Monitoring Nigeria Limited, (MMS) a media and research monitoring firm. A separate content code sheet was developed by the researchers and utilized. Two coders carried out the exercise, including content coding, summarization and analysis of the data.

5.2. Quantitative Analysis of TVCs on Presidential Candidates of APC and PDP

A key objective of this study is to investigate uses and abuses of political advertisements and public relations messages associated with the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria, using media messages of the two dominant political parties (PDP and APC) during the election. Prior to the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, the nation was faced with several challenges including insecurity, terrorism, massive looting by politicians, economic downturn, agitations for state creation and separation, debates over resource control, high rate of youth unemployment, gross infrastructural deficit, among others.

Those issues were expected to be the focus of political advertisements and campaigns. The study set out to measure the use of political advertisements and PR messages on radio and television by the two major political parties in Nigeria, the People Democratic Party and the All Progressives Congress in promoting their presidential candidates during the 2015 general elections. Out of the 89 political advertisements and PR messages collected on the two leading presidential candidates, 47 (52.8%) were radio jingles while 42 (47.19%) were TV commercials.

5.2.1 Ad Focus by Political Distribution

Data analysis shows that a majority of the political adverts and public relations messages (49.43%) were issue based while 22.47% adverts were personality based. Out of this number, the APC had more issue-based adverts (40.44%) than the PDP (8.9%); the PDP sponsored more personality-based ads (14.6%) than the APC (7.86%).

On the other hand, the ads from the APC concentrated more on party promotion, and voters' education than the PDP. One of such *pro bono* adverts reads:

***"The power to change Nigeria is in your hand,
Your vote na your power o my people,
Every Nigerian counts
Vote APC for change!
Collect your voter's card!
Lo gba kadi re!"***

In addition, data analysis indicates that the two political parties adopted the multiple-issue approach in most of the issue-based adverts. Various issues such as infrastructure, economy, agriculture, unemployment and social welfare were often addressed in a single commercial. On that basis, corruption (13.63%), the economy (11.36%) and social welfare (9.09%) topped the major issues featured by the APC while economy (4.54%) and agriculture (2.27%) were the issues featured by the PDP.

Similarly, the two parties addressed the issue of security and national unity; along with healthcare and agriculture. The results indicate that APC used a robust representation of key national issues to project the image of its presidential candidate more than PDP. In addition, APC presented 24 issues in support of its candidate and 12 issues against its main opposition while PDP presented seven (7) issues to support its candidate and one issue against its main opposition. This implies that APC was more active against the opposition through issue-based approach.

5.2.2 Personality/Party Promoted (Image Boosting)

The image of GMB received higher level of boost (19.1%) than that of GEJ (14.6%). Moreover, the personality of GMB was more frequently attacked than that of GEJ.

5.2.3 Type of Appeal

The type of appeals used to promote the presidential candidates of the two leading parties (PDP and APC) in the 2015 presidential election was also investigated. The APC predominantly used the emotional/psychological appeal (30.33%) and the fun/escape appeal (26.96%) while the People Democratic Party's major appeals were emotional/psychological appeal (10.11%) and logical appeal (6.74%). For both parties, emotional/psychological appeal was the predominant strategy used in most of the adverts (40.44%). In one of the commercials, one of the characters in a PDP sponsored jingle said:

***“Dey go just dey shout change! change!! change!!!
And only their family and friends dey see the change”
whereas, the ruling party at the time was PDP...”***

Another character in the same advert, a lady, said:

***“No mind this alagbari (deceptive) people with their change
wey be say na only them pocket the change.”***

The first character in the advert earlier described APC's actions against the masses like someone treating a cow. The words were used to engender public hatred for the party. In advert 19, Buhari was portrayed as a dictator and his images were manipulated in advert 20 and 30. One of the most apparent attacks on APC was in advert 30 in which Buhari and other APC chieftains were alleged as corrupt people without evidence to support the claims. In all PDP used image attenuation against the candidate of the opposition party while APC used image boosting to projects its presidential candidate.

5.2.4 Creative advertising strategies of presidential candidates of PDP and APC

Emotional/psychological appeal was the predominant strategy used by both the APC and PDP in all the adverts. While APC used the emotional/psychological and fun/escape appeals to project GMB, PDP mostly used emotional/psychological and sociological appeals.

5.2.5 Dominant issues featured in the Presidential Campaigns of APC and PDP

Prior to the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, the nation was faced with several challenges including insecurity, terrorism, massive looting by politicians, economic downturn, agitations for state creation and separation, debates over resource control, high rate of youth unemployment, gross infrastructural deficit, among others. Those issues were expected to be the focus of political advertisements and campaigns.

5.3. Qualitative Data Analysis TVCs of APC Presidential Candidate

This segment explains the core messages that both APC and PDP attempted to convey to the public as a way of winning their share of mind.

5.3.1 Voter Education

In one of the numerous TVCs sponsored by APC, (*Advert No.2*), a middle-aged lady danced to the stage with excitement. She wore a blouse and a long skirt made with local Ankara fabric. She was followed by three young Fulani dancers-two males and a lady wearing hijab in the middle. Other artistes and dancers followed, dressed in native Itsekiri, Edo and Ibibio attires. A group of male and female youths dressed in jean trousers (long pants) were also dancing to the pop music. Other groups-children, elderly men and women were seen carrying portraits of GMB, who was dressed in Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba attires. The pop music goes thus:

***“The power to change Nigeria is in your hands
Your vote na your power oo my people!
Every Nigerian counts, vote APC for change.
APC!!!! Change!!”***

The visual illustrations of models with attires that cut across major ethnic groups in Nigeria represents an appeal by GMB to nationalism and sensitivity to diverse cultural backgrounds; the appeal was also intended to endear the candidate to the youths, a new generation of voters.

The above trend played out in another TVC analysed (*Advert No. 3*), a 30 second commercial, where the pop song is rendered in Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo – the three dominant languages in the country – with a call to action, **“Vote for APC”**. The ad features groups of youths, corporate organisation employees and *Atilogwu* (local) dancers. The pay-off is consistent: **“APC! Change!!”**

5.3.2 Issue-Based Commercial

Another commercial (Advert No. 4), a 60-second jingle, featured some salient issues rapped by a young artiste. It goes thus:

***“The time for change is now.
No more unemployment, no more insecurity, no more corruption.
APC is Nigeria’s progressive and people- centred party.
APC!!!! Change!!!”***

Consistently, the APC based some of its campaigns on issues and programmes. Advert No. 9 shows the APC as a party for all Nigerians, old and young, male and female. It reads:

***“All across Nigeria, Change is coming!
You can see it on the faces of our children.
The chance for a new beginning and the promise of a brighter future for all
The All Progressives Congress is a new party for the new Nigeria.
Say goodbye to corruption, say goodbye to bad governance,
We will build a better Nigeria, a fairer Nigeria... with jobs and opportunities...”***

Thus, apart from the issue of security, corruption and bad governance, the commercial also promises that APC will ***“build a better Nigeria”***; ***“a fairer Nigeria”***; along with ***“jobs and opportunities”***.

5.3.3 Image Boosting

Some of the TVCs (Advert Nos 6 & 8) highlighted some of the achievements of GMB during his earlier tenure either as Nigerian military head of state, or as chairman of the Nigeria National Petroleum Company (NNPC). Against the chronicled achievements, the advert called on Nigerians to vote for the retired general under the platform of the APC.

Part of Advert No. 6 reads:

***“GMB...reduced corruption and restored order...
He can do it again!
Developed 20 oil depots in Nigeria and over
3, 200 kilometres of pipelines
He can do it again!!
Paid off all Nigeria’s debt
He can do it again!!!
Vote Muhammadu Buhari for change.”***

Similarly, Advert No. 8 chronicled the achievements of General Buhari in the 80s when he was Nigeria’s military head of state. It reads:

***Nigeria needs a reset. Nigeria needs change. We need
experienced hands to wipe out insurgency. In the 80s,
Muhammadu Buhari chased out Burudean Chadean rebels and***

bandits who had been ravaging Nigerian killing her citizens. Muhammadu Buhari wiped out terror and fear, and he can do it again. It's time to reset Nigeria. Vote Muhammadu Buhari to reset Nigeria.

Another TCV (Advert No. 7), projects GMB “as if” he was already elected. The commercial depicts the retired general in western black suit and bow tie. Another clip shows GMB dressed in native Hausa/Fulani Senegalese attire. The text reads:

***“...inflation goes down from 23% to 5%
Three oil refineries built in Port-Harcourt, Warri and Kaduna
Corruption stamped out, insurgency wiped out.
It is possible with the man you can trust,
Vote Muhammadu Buhari for Change.”***

Image boosting and or personality projection strategy was thus dominant in APC's .

5.4. Creative Strategies of APC

Fear appeal was another feature of the APC campaign strategies. In Advert No 15, a couple suddenly heard the scream of a neighbour whose children were just kidnapped. Terrified, the couple looked at their child playing in the sitting room and then brought out their voters' cards, indicating frustration on the ruling government's inability to protect the nation. It reads:

“You have just received news that your neighbour's children have been kidnapped. The kidnappers have threatened that their next targets are your kids and you. In your hands, you hold the power to decide who will protect you. Wouldn't you rather choose a man who has faced even bigger problems and fixed them immediately, once for all? Make no mistake..., the enemies are relentless. Vote for the man who can protect you and your children. Vote for Change.”

Appeal to religious sentiment was also a popular strategy adopted by the APC. Apart from visits to notable religious leaders (Muslim and Christians), commercials also depict GMB as a religiously tolerant candidate. Hence, GMB, a Muslim, through sponsored messages preached love and unity among all Nigerians during the 2014 Christmas festival. One of his commercials (Advert No. 10) reads:

“Fellow Nigerians, Christmas is approaching. It's a time for us to come together as one people and one nation. It is a time for us to remember that we are brothers and sisters...”

He then followed, in Advert No. 11, up with a New Year message on January 1, 2015): GMB urged Nigerians to embrace change in the new year by getting their Permanent Voter's Cards (PVCs) and vote APC. He said since he began his presidential ambition in Nigeria, nothing had changed in the country. Hence, he would continue to strive for the position in order to bring the needed change in economy, security and other areas.

Poli-tainment (a fusion of entertainment and politics) also played out, as evidenced in the use of artistes like Desmond Eliot, Funke Akindele, Alabi Pasuma, Odunlade Adekola among others, who featuring in 15-second *Advert Nos. 12- 14*, appealed to Nigerians to collect their PVCs and change the nation for good under the platform of the APC.

5.5. Campaign Strategies of TVCs sponsored by PDP

5.5.1 Hate Speech

Hate speech was a dominant feature of TCVs sponsored by or for GEJ, the PDP presidential candidate. These speeches were understandably directed against GMB, the presidential candidate of the APC.

For instance, *Advert No 17*, a radio jingle, rendered in conversational Pidgin English style, reads:

“Udo: Aliu!

Aliu: Ehnn

Udo: Dis thin don tire me oo. Dem chase we Okada people from road. Hunger come dey waya us like dream. As dem suffer us finish, na so so tax, tax dem dem dey collect from us, so tay we go dey pay tax to piss;

Aliu: Na true you talk Udo. Dis people just dey treat people like malu (cow). Dem go just dey shout change! change!! change!!! and only their family and friends dey see the change. Kai! The matter don tire everybody.

FVO: (She interrupts) Ehnn... no mind these alagbari (deceptive) people with their change wey be say na only them pocket the change. Na true change me I want o and na dis election e go happen. I go vote PDP and Jonathan!”

Advert 18 was a Yoruba of the above spot. The commercial ridicules the APC and its change mantra; it says the APC candidate is deceptive (*alagbari*). The reference to *Malu* (cow) may have some negative denotative meaning to certain ethnic groups in the country. In the same vein, *Advert No. 19* called on Nigerians to keep moving forward and not make the mistake of bringing an old military general back to power. It depicted Buhari as a dictator who should never be allowed to lead Nigeria again.

Another commercial (*Advert 20*) showed Buhari’s purported interview at the BBC, where Buhari allegedly said that publications against the government should be criminalized. The anchor expressed shock over the comment. However, the images on screen were faded, thereby looking manipulated. A notable commercial (*Advert No. 30*) featured Buhari’s pre-election hate speech during the 2011 general election. It reads:

***“Firstly, you must come out and vote. You must guard, protect, escort them to the collation centre and wait till the result is counted. Anyone who stops you, kill them”
(The crowd chant his praise).***

The PDP’s commercial then attributed the 2011 post-election violence and death of seven National Youths Service Corps (NYSC) members to the GMB hate-laden speech. However, the images appeared blurred and manipulated.

5.5.2 Attack Ads

In addition to hate speech, the PDP also employed attack strategy against the candidate of the APC by ‘exposing’ the corrupt practices of key APC leaders (GMB, Alhaji Bola Ahmed Tinubu and Professor Yemi Osinbajo, APC vice-presidential candidate) in public offices over the years. The commercial highlighted some of the key figures in APC and their roles in corruption. Their names and pictures were displayed while the following words were displayed on their screens:

Muhammadu Buhari: “Presidential candidate of the APC allegedly grossly mismanaged the Petroleum Special Trust Fund (PTF), which he chaired in the 1990s. Outsourced work to unaccountable consultancies who massively overcharged PTF, inflated prices and leaked billions of Naira.”

Bola Tinubu: “National leader of the APC. Tinubu allegedly ran the most corrupt government Lagos State has known from 1999-2007. His stint as governor turned him into one of the wealthiest men in the country.”

Yemi Osinbajo: “Served as Attorney General in Tinubu’s notoriously corrupt Lagos State administration. Drafted an agreement that ensured a steady transfer of 10% of Lagos tax payers’ money to Tinubu”

The commercial called on Buhari to start the war against corruption from his party’s chieftains like Tinubu, Amaechi, Saraki, Osinbajo and himself. The advert, like some others, was sponsored by “The Centre for Unity and Progress.”

The 55 seconds (Advert 32) depicts GMB as a sponsor of Sharia Law and the terrorist group, Boko Haram. Using graphics and newspaper cuts, the commercial partly read:

“You stand against us. Buhari faults crackdown against Boko Haram. You aim to divide us.”

The advert further quoted Buhari saying:

“God willing, we will not stop the agitation for the total implementation of the Sharia law in the country.”

The advert did not reveal the name of the newspaper that published the above statements by Buhari. Dates of publication were also omitted. The advert concludes thus:

“And now, you want to lead us, we say NO!”

The PDP commercial (*Advert 33: Forward Agric.*) highlights the achievements of the former ruling party (PDP) in the agricultural sector. Using the testimonial of a farmer from the north, the advert called on Nigerians to re-elect the ruling party in the 2015 election. In the TVC, the notable achievements of GEJ in the agricultural sector were showcased.

Chapter 6

6. Social Media Political Messages

6.1. Introduction

Data from Twitter and Facebook platforms were analysed. Tweets and Facebook posts from main political players in the 2015 presidential election were analysed. It is noteworthy that bulk of the data came from Twitter.com. Only few posts were sourced from Facebook. The qualitative analysis of this study was done using the summative approach which basically does a comprehensive analysis of the soft issues underlying the qualitative data gathered for each of the social media platforms.

This aspect of the data would give an overview of the contexts that give meaning to the quantitative data gathered. The unit of analysis are the individual responses to each of the social media posts analysed while gathering the quantitative data. This usually can come in form of a word, phrase, a complete sentence or paragraphs as well.

6.1.1 Twitter Campaign

Twitter was evaluated based on the likes in response to the different parties and their representative's comments while Facebook and the blogs were evaluated based on the pattern of responses to the comments from the different representatives. Based on the pattern of likes in responses to comments from representatives of the two main political parties, it can be inferred that Nigerians or those on twitter, mainly liked the direction of APC driven conversations which was centred on change.

The highest likes that PDP led twits including those by Fayose had 20 at the maximum throughout the posts and 0 likes at the minimum while the APC driven twits had more than 55 likes at the maximum and 0 likes at the minimum. For Twitter, tweets from eight (8) key players in the election were collated for analysis.

The players are as follows: Muhammadu Buhari and Yemi Osinbajo (APC Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates respectively); Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Namadi Sambo (PDP Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates respectively); Bola Tinubu, Babatunde Fashola (APC stalwarts); Ayodele Fayose and Femi Fani-Kayode (PDP). For Facebook, only posts from three (3) key players were collated. The post came from the following people: Muhammadu Buhari (APC); Goodluck Jonathan and Femi Fani-Kayode (PDP).

President Muhammadu Buhari joined Twitter in December 2014. Until March 26, 2015, he had 1,784 tweets, he followed 22 users while 683,000 followed him. However, out of his 1,784 tweets, only 49 originating from him were related to the 2015 presidential election. The rest were other people's tweets that he retweeted. It is these 49 tweets were analysed. Professor Osinbajo joined Twitter on December 2014, apparent on the heel of the 2015 elections. However, between December 2014 and April 6, 2015, Professor

Osinbajo had 937 tweets, he followed 55 users and 687,000 users followed him. Only 25 of his tweets enjoyed “Like”.

Babatunde Raji Fashola joined Twitter on June 2010. As of January 2015, he had 1,751 tweets, he followed 54 users and was followed by 558,000 users.

In the course of the election, the Governor Fayose had 2,011 tweets, he was following 91 users and 58, 500 users followed him. He joined Twitter on March 2014. Fayose did not tweet personally and as such, no one re-tweeted his posts. However, it is important to note that Twitter has users who activate the caveat: “re-tweets are not endorsements” disclaimer in their bios.

This is because sometimes, re-tweets give others the impression that the re-tweeter is agreeing with or supporting the original user who tweeted it, but often they simply re-tweeted it just to inform their followers of conversations and issues that are being discussed. As a result, only the original tweets are suitable for analysis in order to avoid erroneous. 127 re-tweets. It became active between March 10 and March 29, 2015.

Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP had tweets, but the dates were conflicting and as such, could not be analysed. The former Vice President, Namadi Sambo, joined Twitter on February 2010. As at 13th of March, had 71 tweets, he followed 447 users and 4,775 users followed him. Ayodele Fayose had no tweets of his own. He retweeted what others tweeted.

6.1.2 Facebook Campaign

In examining the pattern of responses, the names of the presidential aspirants for the two main political parties came up a lot. The common themes that ran through the comments include: performance; failures in office; change; corruption; infrastructure/self-governance; pollution/climate change (this was a one-off but still referring to the performance of the incumbent governor of the time).

The comment which evoked this theme is ***“when the world is turning away from instruments that propagates climate change you and your cohorts keeps dragging us behind by introducing to us 1950s locomotives that keeps polluting the atmosphere by releasing green-house gases...”***

However, the train referred to in the response, had several more comments along the same train of thought as the author of the above comment. For change, you had someone commenting ***“Our dear president you’ve really proven how active you are throughout your tenure.....let us allow another person to lead this nation to its destination”***, and there were some not so polite versions but still saying the same thing – the people wanted a change of leadership. Another version read, ***“Uncle Jonathan, abeg u don try but make we try another person b4 you go finish us. Safe journey.”***

▪ Displeasure

Contrary to expectations posts from representatives of PDP did not meet with all favourable comments and the comments were not all on the issue at play but turned to the reputation and credibility of the person who had made the comments. Femi Fani-Kayode who was one of President Jonathan's spokespersons got several negative feedbacks that used his credibility or lack of it to judge the campaign of President Goodluck Jonathan.

"...Fear of unknown is what is killing you all in People Destroying Party. Let Nigerians decide not THIEF like you. See kettle calling pot black."

"FFK has always been a double mouthed mortal. A classic noise maker, little wonder he was quick to negotiate his way out of court."

"You are a bona fide idiot! We should stay with the "bad luck" that is literally a figure head and utterly useless? Sure, that's the way to go".

▪ Campaign Issues Focused on Social Media

There were 16 themes/narratives that emerged from the posts. They include: education, election, electricity, general infrastructure, and hate-related messages. There was also focus on health, economy, unemployment, political party, poverty, presidential candidates, religion, security, terrorism and voter mobilization.

The above narratives show the specific purposes key political players used their tweets to serve during campaigns for 2015 presidential election. The breakdown shows that throughout the period, the key players tweeted 51 times to tell supporters about their campaign activities. Asiwaju Bola Tinubu and Femi Fani Kayode tweeted once each on their campaign activities while Muhammadu Buhari tweeted four times.

The bulk of campaign activity tweets came from Professor Yemi Osinbajo, who tweeted 45 times. Only former Vice President Namadi Sambo tweeted on education and what the government at the time had done to improve the education sector. President Muhammadu Buhari and former V.P Sambo tweeted three times on the election itself, where they urged people to get their PVCs and vote. President Buhari and V.P Sambo had one tweet each.

During the campaign, it was only on three occasions that the principal political actors tweeted on electricity, and the tweets came from President Buhari and Professor Osinbajo respectively. President Buhari tweeted once and Professor Osinbajo tweeted twice on the topic. It was only Professor Osinbajo that referenced the general infrastructure in the country and what would be done to solve its deficiencies. Professor Osinbajo tweeted four times in the course of the campaign.

On the general discussion on the election, five of the key players tweeted on 37 occasions. Former Governor Fashola tweeted once, Asiwaju Tinubu had five tweets, Fani-Kayode tweeted twice and President Buhari tweeted nine times. Professor Osinbajo had more tweets than all these people combined with 20 tweets.

A total of 18 hate-focused tweets were sent by five of the key players during the campaign. Fashola and Buhari made hate focused speech once each, Professor Osinbajo made hate focused speech on Twitter four times, the same number with Fani-Kayode. Surprisingly, Asiawaju Tinubu tweeted hate more than any of the first four with eight (8).

Of the key political players, only professor Osinbajo tweeted about health situation in the country. Issues on the economy were talked about seven times through tweet. As such, Fashola and Tinubu tweeted economic issues once each and President Buhari tweeted this twice. Professor Osinbajo tweeted three times on the economy. Job and unemployment was an issue during the campaign. However, president Buhari tweeted it once and Professor Osinbajo talked about it six times.

Throughout the duration of the campaign, only on five times did the key players talk about their parties on Twitter and only three of the key players did so. Bola Tinubu talked about APC once, Professor Osinbajo talked also about APC three times and Namadi Sambo talked about PDP once. President Buhari (Once) and Professor Osinbajo (Thrice) discussed poverty in their campaign on social media.

President Buhari, Professor Osinbajo, Namadi Sambo and Fani-Kayode all tweeted about the candidates representing their parties. For instance, Fani-Kayode talked about the candidacy of Goodluck Jonathan and the battle with Muhammadu Buhari, President Buhari talked five times about himself, Namadi Sambo talked about himself and Goodluck Jonathan and of course, what their administration was doing to deserve being voted for. However, Professor Osinbajo talked Buhari and their joint ticket seven times.

Even though religion was a major issue during the 2015 election, it became a campaign material on social media only eight times. In those times, only Namadi Sambo and Prof. Osinbajo campaigned with it. Namadi Sambo did once while Professor Osinbajo did seven times.

6.2. Social Media Data Descriptive Analysis

6.2.1 Social Media Messages of the PDP

Femi Olu-Kayode (FFK) was a very popular social media activist, and campaigner for GEJ during the 2015 Presidential election in Nigeria. His was a strategy based on personality attacks, verbal abuses and often hate-laden speeches. Using his tweeter handle @realFFK he once tweeted: ***“Buhari has emerged for the APC and Jonathan for the PDP. Now the battle for the soul and future of our nation begins. Let’s get it on.”***

Rahman A. Ademola (@rahamanawo) on 11 Dec 2014 re-tweeted: ***“@realFFK there is no battle here, we are only taking our vote back from GEJ & give it to GMB simple!”***

Again, on 12 Dec 2014 (@rahamanawo) followed up with: ***“(@realFFK) GEJ cannot win anything without RIGGING anywhere”***. Another online activist, Chris Vedutti (@chrisvedutti) on 12 Dec 2014 added his voice: ***“@realFFK we the entire people of***

Nigeria say #Goodluck2buhari cos you cannot wish buhari success without #wishinghimGoodluck". But a neutral commentator (IG: Emike Marian @emikemarian) on 13 Dec 2014 re-tweeted: "**(@realFFK): Both parties r nt worth my vote, one a fanatic muslim, ega 2 islamize ds country n d oda, always lukn clueless abt d issues b4 him**" loose and abbreviated English for ("Both parties are not worth my vote; one a fantastic Muslim, eager to Islamise this country and the other, always looking clueless about the issues before him").

"I will be on AIT's "Focus On Nigeria" at 10.00 a.m. tomorrow morning to discuss the President's declaration and national issues. Join us", tweeted FFK. There were 20 re-tweets on this message and only four likes. One of them (YemiC @CollinsAdeyemi 12 Nov 2014) retorted: **"@realFFK That was a wonderful one on Focus. Really enjoyed it. More grease to your wheel."** But Ahmed oluwasanjo (@ahmedrazak3) on 13 Nov 2014 countered: **"@realFFK Singing d praise of some1 u called a liar, failure and a pres. without balls few months back. Let's hope this will free u from EFCC."** When expanded, the message reads as: "FFK singing the praises of someone you (once) called a liar, failure and a President without balls few weeks back. Let us hope this will free you from the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)".

The suggestion by the Buhari Campaign Organisation that mutiny in the army can be justified is irresponsible and completely unacceptable." On 31st December 2014, @realFFK tweeted thus: **"Today marks the 31st Anniversary of Buhari's 1983 coup. He TRUNCATED democracy. Today that same Buhari wants to be democratically elected."** There were 124 re-tweets and 22 likes one of them, S. Ola Babalola (@sb2729 31 Dec 2014) wrote: **"@realFFK, I remember 1/1/84 quite right & the jubilations that greeted the coup, guess you must have been in Oxford. We locals celebrated."**

He followed up on January 1, 2015 with: **"Asking Buhari to come and lead Nigeria is like asking Count Dracula to come and lead little red riding hood. We must, and we will stop him."** A total of 120 re-tweets and 19 likes followed. One of them, Oje4gunners (@Horlarmigokay) on the same day replied: **"@realFFK even a docile n depressed Nigerian will not vote for GEJ. We will crucified Jonathan Feb 14 #GEJOUT"** (Even a docile and depressed Nigerian will not vote for GEJ. We will crucify Jonathan, February 14. #GEJOUT".)

Eze Ositadimma (@Princeosillo) on 2 Jan 2015 took issue with @Horlarmigokay with this re-tweet: **"@realFFK Am not docile neither am I depressed but I am going to vote him. We await you people when the crucifixion will come"**. The personality attack tactics of FFK is seen in the tweet of 18th March 2015 that reads: **"@realFFK The difference between Rotimi Amaechi's father n my father is that his was a peasant whilst mine moved the motion for Nigeria's independence"**. This attracted 257 re-tweets and 47 likes. The re-tweets were vociferous and equally abusive. One of the mildest ones (ada @ojonufedu 18 Mar 2015) reads: **"@realFFK like Father like son"**; and **#bringbackourgirls** (@hafsaaudu 19 Mar 2015) who wrote **"@realFFK @ChibuikeAmaechi father must be celebrated that even as a peasant, he was able 2 recognize d importance of educating his son"**.

Again, @realFFK tweeted: **"APC is a formation of hate, anger, frustration, envy and**

malice. They are the dregs of the PDP", citing Gov. Sule Lamido. One of the 95 re-tweets (Chika Jidechukwu @JChukwuka28) on 15 Mar 2015 replied **"@realFFK. no body, not APC, not ur PDP, not Nigerians can take you seriously. That's how low you have come. Sit down and listen to urself talk smtims"**

On 13 March 2015 @realFFK again tweeted: **"Fashola blamed yesterday's robbery in Lagos on Pres. Jonathan. This allegation is not just "unintelligent" but also asinine and imbecilic"**. One of the 127 re-tweets and 27 likes (@Gbemmy @GbemmySegun) states **"@realFFK What's your point? To prove that u've just learned New English words "asinine" & "imbecilic"? Congrats mr. grammercular". (@realFFK. What is the point you're making? To prove that you are learned and have a good control of the use of the English language? Congratulations! Mr Grammar")**.

In all, it is not just the grammar, but the abusive tone of the language that is worrisome.

6.2.2 Social Media Messages of the APC

The official tweeter account of Muhammadu Buhari (@MBuhari), was opened in December 2014. @MBuhari posted 1,784 tweets; he was following 22 others and had a follower base of 683,000. A social media consultant, Adebola Williams was very active campaigning for the candidacy of GMB. This was also heavily complemented with the tweets from the Vice-Presidential candidate, Professor Yemi Osinbajo (@ProfOsinbajo). Osinbajo posts began in December 2014, just after emerging the running mate to GMB. He even created a website for the campaign (<https://www.profyemiosinbajo.com>), which he announced through his tweet of 31/12/2014).

Professor Osinbajo's campaigns were more issues-based and drawing attention to the programmes of his party, the APC. For example, on 31 December 2014, Prof Yemi Osinbajo **"If we keep our eyes on the prize: a better Nigeria for our children, then think positivity, our actions will be positive. #ChangelsPossible"** (@ProfOsinbajo). This seemed to have resonated well with audiences who even volunteered to join the campaign train. For example, RT @seunakioye re-tweeted **"prof am so glaf to connect. I want to join the campaign. Prof. I am so glad to connect. I want to join the campaign."**

In a post, Osinbajo said; "My first and primary concern is the citizen. I will not be interested in politics if it does not concern the people; if it doesn't concern men and women like myself, it doesn't make sense. I am in politics to serve ordinary citizens. (Prof Yemi Osinbajo @ProfOsinbajo 31 Dec 2014 (#ChangelsPossible)). Professor Osinbajo also used the occasion of the new year to connect with the electorates and appealed to the spirituality of the people by praying thus: **"Happy New Year. 2015 will be a year of positive change for you, your family and for our nation. God bless Nigeria"**.

@ProfOsinbajo 31 Dec 2014 (#ChangelsPossible). He kept repeating the Change agenda **"We cannot start the next chapter, if we keep reading the last one. Our voices will be heard, Nigeria, because: #ChangelsPossible"** (Prof Yemi Osinbajo @ProfOsinbajo 2 Jan 2015).

Even, the Temple of God was not spared the APC campaign train: ***“Professor Osinbajo joins General Buhari and APC national chairman John Oyegun, at the Lagos state annual thanksgiving service today. #Change”*** (Prof Yemi Osinbajo @ProfOsinbajo 4 Jan 2015). And coming out from the Church, Professor Osinbajo tweeted: ***“The Church must be without walls. It must be out there, touching lives...”*** Professor Osinbajo was all out there defending GMB against diverse allegations: ***“If you look at history, nobody ever accused General Buhari of being a fundamentalist. Not till about five years ago...”*** (@ProfOsinbajo 4 Jan 2015). Moreover, Osinbajo often replied critics in subtle, polite manner: ***“What is inciting is where govt. makes statements that lead to division. When govt. says the opposition is responsible for insurgency...”*** (@ProfOsinbajo 4 Jan 2015).

▪ Image Boosting

The Presidential candidate of the APC, GMB also embarked on an image boosting strategy: ***“In our government, we fought corruption, we stabilised the naira, and we shut down insurgencies. #ThingsMustChange”*** (@MBuhari 5 January 2015); ***“We shouldn’t forget so soon that there was Maitatsine ravaging the north east and we dealt with it. We also overran the Chadian rebels”*** (@MBuhari 6 January 2015); ***“We rebuilt industries, Nigerians queued up and treated each other with respect; Nigerians took pride in our reputation for discipline”*** (@MBuhari 6 January 2015); and ***“Because they can’t attack our record, they accuse me falsely of ethnic jingoism; they accuse me falsely of religious fundamentalism”*** (@MBuhari 6 January 2015).

Other image boosting claims include: ***“Because they cannot attack our record, they accuse us falsely of calling for election violence - when we have only insisted on peace”***; ***“Even as Head of State, we never imposed Sha’riah. All my running mates have been either Igbo or Yoruba and always Christian”*** and ***“So don’t let anyone blind you with fear so they can continue to plunder our resources and keep you away from our common wealth”*** (@MBuhari 6 January 2015). He then closed with a patriotic and religious appeals ***“My dear friends, this is very important to note: It doesn’t matter if you are Igbo, Yoruba, Ijaw, Hausa, Idoma, Efik, Ekwere, Urhobo, Igala”***; ***“And, no, it does not matter if you are Christian, Muslim, animist or atheist: we need a new direction under a new leadership”***.

Prof Yemi Osinbajo took to his Tweeter handle in stout defence of his principal: ***“Buhari is a man, respected for his strong views on corruption. What we need to do today, is introduce consequences for corruption. #YO”*** (@ProfOsinbajo on 8 January 2015); ***“Buhari has consistently done the right thing, going to court every time he lost, pursuing the rule of law and legal processes. #YO”***; and ***“If the number one man is perceived as a man that will not tolerate corruption, then you have moved light years away from where we are. #YO”***. Again, on 13 January 2015, using celebrity endorsement, Osinbajo tweeted ***“General Buhari is not corrupt. Nigerians should face issues and not frivolities...”***, quoting Olusegun Obasanjo.; and ***“I’m confident that General Buhari is the man to change this country...”*** citing Awujale of Ijebu Land,

There were several forms of appeals in Professor Osinbajo’s tweets. They include gender appeal: ***“Of course, our gratitude to our wives as well. Without their support, this would be a difficult road to travel...”*** (@ProfOsinbajo 13 Jan 2015); spiritual appeal: ***“With God on our side and the people behind us, Nigeria WILL be great again. Let’s***

make it happen, Nigeria! #Change (@ProfOsinbajo 13 Jan 2015); On celebrity endorsement: ***"Chief Obafemi Awolowo called her a "Jewel of inestimable value." I call her "Mama." A stop, to see "Mama" H.I.D Awolowo in Ikenne. #Change*** (@ProfOsinbajo 13 Jan 2015); pacifistic appeal; ***"The fervour for #Change grows every day, out we must never forget: it's an election, not war... #Change"*** (@ProfOsinbajo 20 Jan 2015); and ***"No propaganda. No message of hate. Just honest interaction. We will overcome these challenging times. Together. God bless us all. #Change"***.

On APC campaign programmes , **Prof Yemi Osinbajo** (@ProfOsinbajo 8 Jan 2015) tweeted several times: ***"We're simply going to do what others have done (in successful agricultural countries) and do the same. It's not rocket science...: #Change"***; ***"We at the APC, have looked at the power problems, and when we are elected, we intend to start work from day one..." #Change.*** ***"Hello, Nigeria. With unemployment amongst Nigerian youths hitting the 80% mark, it's important to us, to get it right from the start..."*** (@ProfOsinbajo 27 Jan 2015)

Adebola Williams, Chief Executive Officer, an Social Media Consultant to GMB, was tweeting in real time on the political campaign train of GMB: ***(Adebola Williams @DebolaLagos 21 Mar 2015) "#CampaignTrail the streets litter with love as @ThisIsBuhari #HajiaSaratu proceeds to the rally grounds #Lafia4GMB"*** ***(Adebola Williams @DebolaLagos 23 Mar 2015) "#CampaignTrail @ThisIsBuhari set to go #Owerri4GMB"***; ***(Adebola Williams @DebolaLagos 24 Mar 2015) "#CampaignTrail the supporters in their trademark light up as they see @ThisIsBuhari, screaming #change #Bauchi4GMB"***;   

The official tweeter account of Muhammadu Buhari (@MBuhari). He joined in December 2014. @MBuhari posted 1, 784 tweets; he was following 22 others and had a follower base of 683K:

CAVEAT: For the purpose of this report, all connecting tweet links and hyperlinks have been removed to enable a seamless view.

"@MBuhari 26 Mar 2015: In the course of this service, I have overseen the building of refineries and protected Nigeria from aggressors, both internal /#15/ I have dedicated my life to the service and continued existence of this one Nigeria, both as a military officer and a civilian. We all, both home and abroad, hope and pray achieves its full potential. There is only one Nigeria, a country where citizens continue to forge ahead despite the challenges we face as a country. That in my experience has confirmed that there is no Muslim Nigeria or Christian Nigeria, no Northern Nigeria or Southern Nigeria.

My time as Head of State, was not perfect, mistakes were made. Some of you may not support me because of those mistakes but I assure you that I feel the pain of everyone who experienced undue hardship. Others like Lola Shoneyin and Tunde Thompson have been gracious enough to look beyond these mistakes and accept my offer of a partnership to build a new Nigeria we can all be proud of. My appeal to you is that you find it in your hearts to do the same.

As I said at Chatham House, being the leader at the time, I take responsibility for those mistakes and state again that before you are a converted democrat who has submitted to and will continue to submit himself to a true democratic process I talk about a partnership because to surmount the grave issues Nigeria will have to contend with, leading will require your commitment and cooperation.

Our country is at an all-time low. Poverty and unemployment have reached unprecedented high, and insecurity threatens the lives and wellbeing of every single person within our borders—a situation that I myself have experienced directly. Still, nothing can erode my optimism about our country Nigeria. I believe this country can be great again.

I believe that with effective and transparent leadership, the eradication of corruption and respect for the rule of law, things can change for the better. Let me be frank, Nigeria is not going to change overnight. The damage that the PDP has wrought on this country is not going to change overnight.

But if we want a country you can be proud of in the next eight years, in the next decade, then this is the time to stop the madness, this is the time to tell your leaders that they need to be afraid of you, this is the time to show that you won't be taken for granted, this is the time to show the present crop that if they fail, they will be punished. Even in voting for me, you will be sending me a clear message, that if I don't fulfil my promises, you have the power to decide who leads you and how they lead you.

I have served Nigeria with everything I have, without taking anything that I did not earn. If anyone has evidence that proves otherwise, I challenge them to present it. Many lies have been circulated about my person but like I always say, while they continue to lie, we shall continue to reinforce the truth. So, today, let me make you a promise that will not be broken.

The reason we are doing this is clear. This is about creating a Nigeria where you and your father and your mother and your children. The reason we are doing this is clear. This is about creating a Nigeria where you and your father and your mother and your children can be safe, this is about this is about creating a nation where children can go to schools where they actually learn and can compete in the world, this is about building a country where corruption and waste, and stealing and irresponsibility can be wiped out, so that government officials stop giving entrepreneurs and creative people handouts, but actually do the hard work of creating an economy that creates wealth for everyone.

This is about creating a country that is serious about competing in the global economy. This is about creating a country whose passport will not be insulted whenever you leave our country. This is about building

a nation where your child can truly be great, whether he is born in Abakaliki, or in school in Akure, or about. I would like to thank everyone who has been on this journey with us and thank Nigerians who received us with warmth everywhere we campaigned. On the 28th of March and the 11th of April, use your PVC to get the desired change that will enable..."

Chapter 7

7. Electorates' Perception of Media Campaigns

7.1. Introduction

A survey of the perception of electorates who participated in the 2015 Presidential election was conducted with the sole aim of obtaining the public's perception and opinion of their impression of the various media campaign during the presidential election in Nigeria and to determine the extent to which such media campaigns influenced voting patterns and choices that people had of the various contesting candidates.

The target population included: leaders and members of political parties; members of professional groups; university undergraduates and postgraduate students; business men and women; leaders of community-based organizations (CBOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs); political interest groups, traditional rulers and employees in public and private sector organizations in Nigeria.

About 1,800 respondents were targeted for the nationwide survey to be distributed in equal size of 300 per geopolitical zone: South-West (300), South-East (300), South-South (300), North-Central (300), North-West (300) and North-East (300), respectively.

Similarly, where quantitative survey methods were inadequate, a subset of qualitative research method – in-depth interview method – was used to gather the views of some elusive targets such opinion and community leaders among others, to discover the common knowledge, attitudes, and practices (KAP) that they think are the uses of the mass and new media during the 2015 Presidential election.

In this chapter, data secured through questionnaire administration and in-depth interviews are analysed and reported as follows.

7.2. Report of Findings – Quantitative Segment

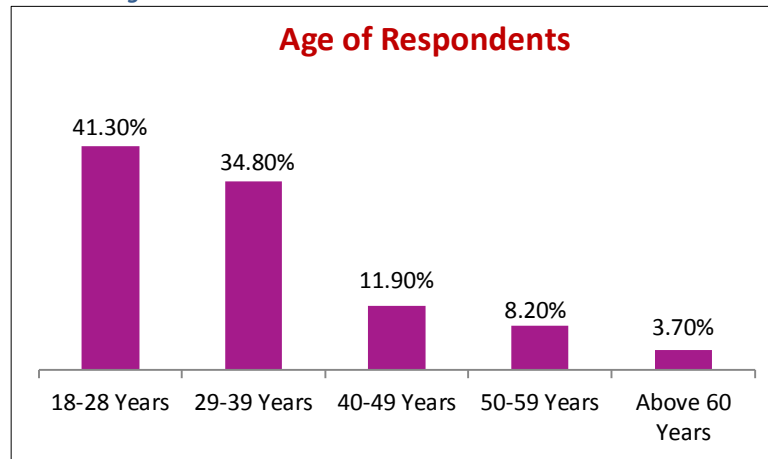
A total of 1,800 respondents were targeted. However, a total of 1,140 (or 63%) respondents were successfully completed, while the rate of attrition was 37% for refused interviews. The breakdown of the successful calls is as follows:

- South - West (188 or 16.5%);
- South - East (213 or 18.7%);
- South - South (225 or 19.7%)
- North - West (125 or 11%);
- North - East (117 or 10.3%); and
- North - Central (272 or 23.9%).

7.2.1 Respondents' Demographic Structure

i. Age Distribution of Respondents

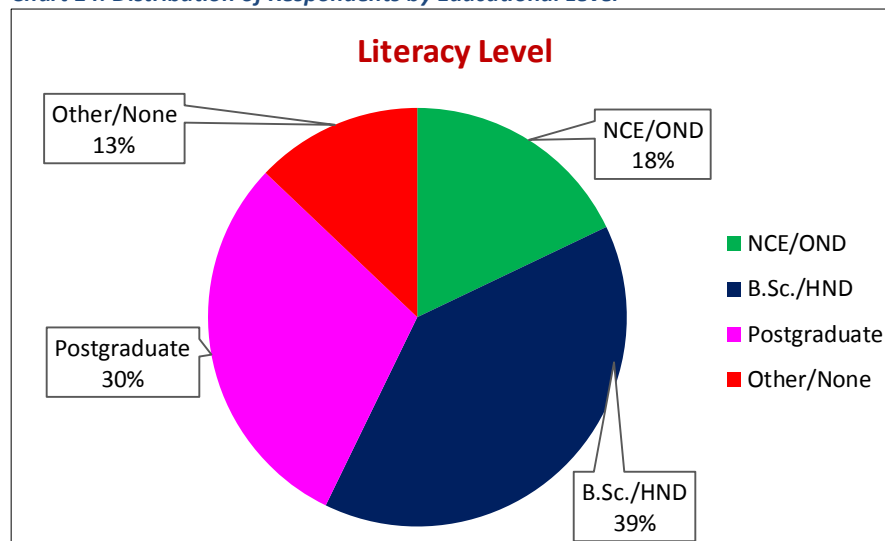
Chart 13: Age Distribution



- Overall, out of all 1,140 respondents surveyed, most of them were younger than 40 years (76.1%);
- In terms of age groupings, about 41.30% is made up of young electorates, who are also the mainstream (18 to 28 years);
- Persons aged between 29 and 39 are the next largest set of respondents (34.8%);
- The highest attrition rate in terms of respondent apathy was amongst persons aged between 50 and 59 years (8.2%) alongside older persons aged 60 years and above (3.7%), respectively.

ii. Respondents' Literacy Level

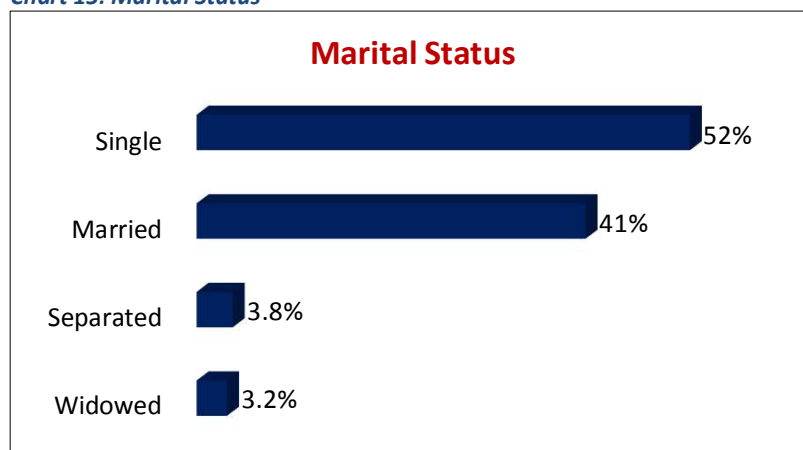
Chart 14: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Level



- The highest academic attainment of the respondents is university bachelor's BA & BSc degree or Higher National Diploma (HND) (39.3%)
- The next highest academic attainment by respondents is postgraduate certificate (29.9%);
- The third highest category of academic level attained is the Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) or Ordinary National Diploma (17.9%)
- The last rung of academic level was labelled as 'Others', which included General Certificate of Education (GCE) or Senior School Certificate Examination result (SSCE) – 12.9%⁵.

iii. Respondents' Marital Status

Chart 15: Marital Status

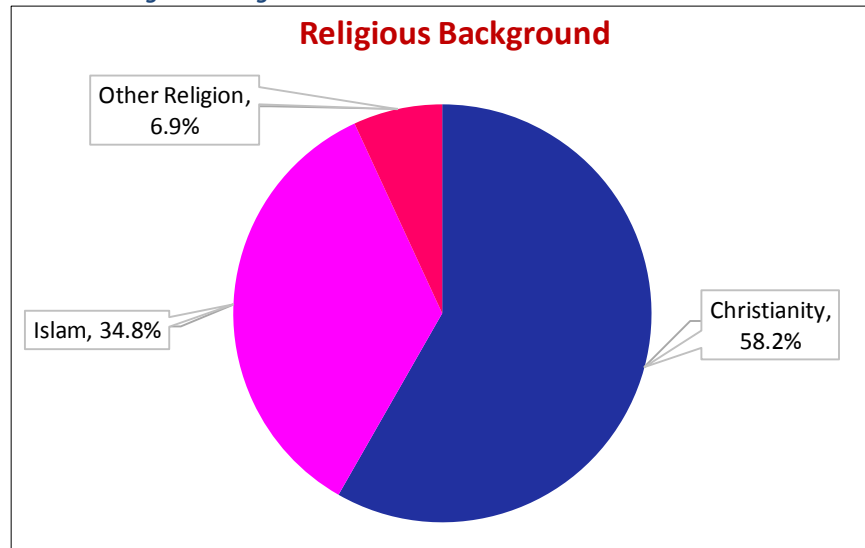


- Most of the respondents are single (52%);
- At least 41% of the respondents are married;
- About 3.20% are widowed; while
- A paltry 3.80 per cent is separated from their spouses

⁵ This educational level is included, because a level of educational attainment was a requirement to qualify as a respondent in this study.

iv. Religious Background

Chart 16: Religious Background

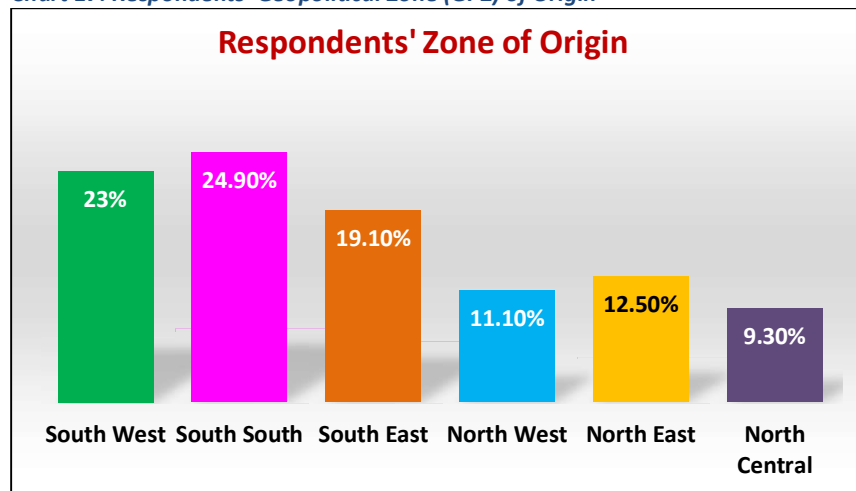


- There were more Christians – 58.2% in the sample than
- Muslims – 34.8% and
- Other religion – 6.90%

NOTE: It is important to add that the research team had a great deal of challenges in conducting this survey in the northern part of Nigeria where Islam is the predominant religion that also dictates the sociocultural lives of the people.

7.2.2 Geopolitical Zone (GPZ) of Origin

Chart 17: Respondents' Geopolitical Zone (GPZ) of Origin



- Almost a quarter of the respondents were from both South-South – 24.9%) and
- South-West – 23% respectively;
- South-East – 19.1%;

- North-East – 12.5%;
- North-West – 11.1%;
- North-Central – 9.3%.

NOTE: The security challenge in the North-East largely accounted for the low figure generated from that geopolitical zone. The field research assistant for the project, **Dr. Joseph Wilson, an Associate Professor and Head, Department of Mass Communication**, University of Maiduguri (personal Communication) reported as follows:

“Against the background of a war-ravaged zone, it has been very challenging administering questionnaire and conducting other forms of data collection since the Boko Haram insurgency started in Borno State. The challenge lately is the refusal of members of the public to complete questionnaires or make time available for interviews because of the constant demand by organizations or humanitarian missions for the same.

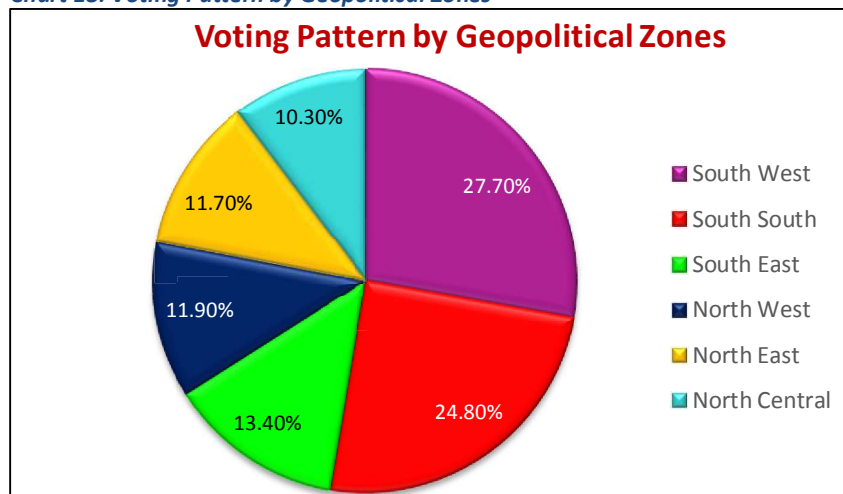
The fatigue has caused members of the public to be reluctant and the general assumption that the impact of the frequent data collection is not felt. Some targeted respondents would bluntly say that because of security reasons, they wouldn’t want to have anything to do with responding to surveys.”

7.2.3 Voting Pattern Across Geopolitical Zones

In analysing this component, it is important to indicate that respondents’ geopolitical zone of origin is different from the zone where the respondents voted.

The chart below explains the voting pattern based on geopolitical zone of origin of the respondents:

Chart 18: Voting Pattern by Geopolitical Zones



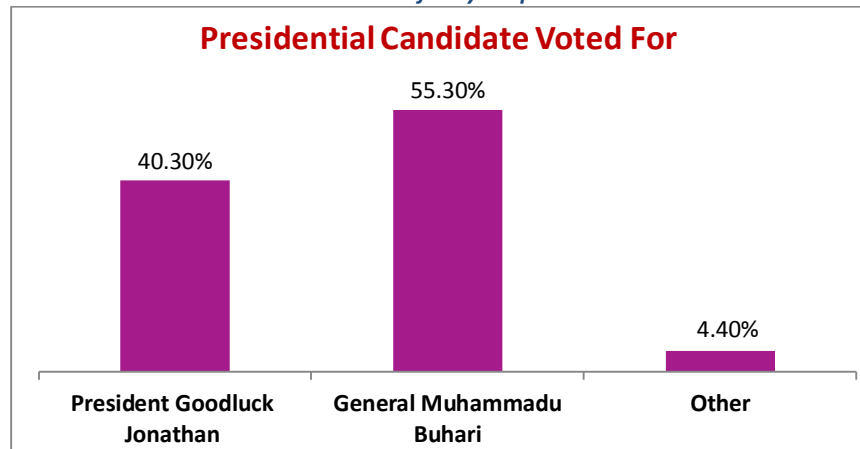
- By analysis, 27.7% voted in the South-West;

- About 24.8% voted in the South-South;
- Some 13.4% voted in the South-East; while
- About 11% voted in each of the three northern zones.

NOTE: The highest concentration recorded for the South-West may be indicative of the cosmopolitan nature of the zone, particularly helped by the inclusion of Lagos state

7.2.4 Voting Pattern by Geopolitical Zones

Chart 19: Presidential candidate Voted for by Respondents

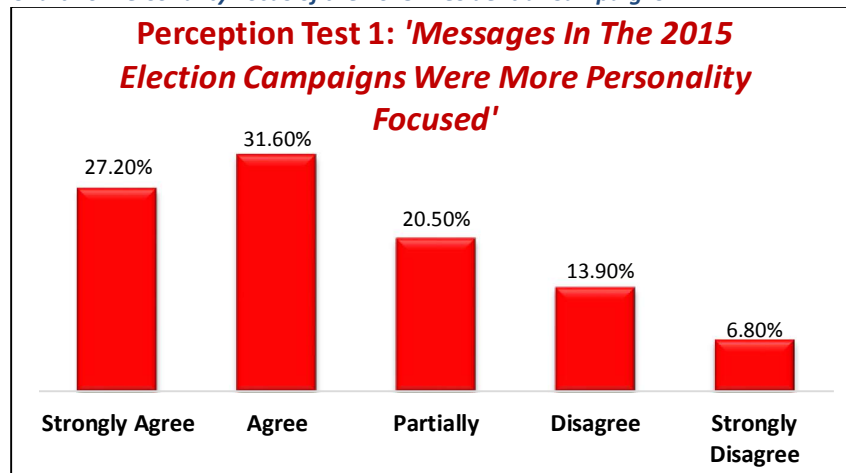


- In *Chart 19*, more than half of the respondents – 55.3% voted for GMB
- Only about 40.3% voted for GEJ.

NOTE: This data is similar to the results of the Presidential election by the Independent National Electoral Commission which returned GMB of the APC as the winner of the 2015 presidential election.

7.2.5 Perception Test 1: Personality Focus of the 2015 Presidential Campaigns

Chart 20: Personality Focus of the 2015 Presidential Campaigns



- From the above chart, more than half of all respondents (58.5%) agree that the messages in the 2015 election campaigns were more personality focused than

7.2.6 Perception Test 2: APC and Hate Speech

Table 3: Perception of APC and Hate Speech

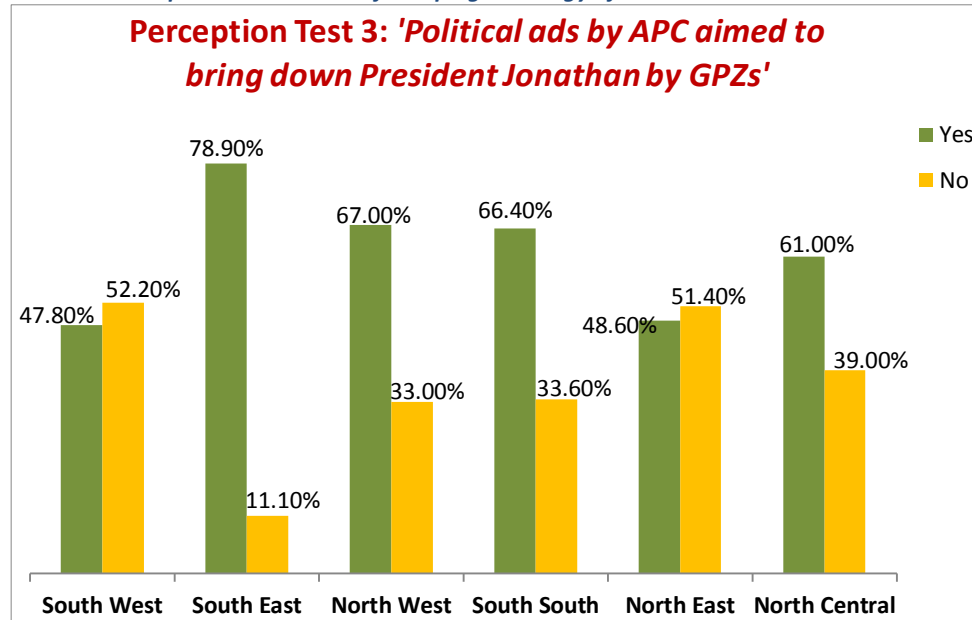
Scale of Accord	Geopolitical Zones					
	South-West	South-East	North-West	South-South	North-East	North-Central
Strongly Agree	48.7	41.1	28.9	26.3	22.8	28.5
Agree	35.3	23.7	16.5	32.6	23.7	26.9
Partially	7.5	15	12.4	17.4	7	11.5
Disagree	3.7	14.5	21.5	18.3	19.3	24.2
Strongly Disagree	4.8	5.8	20.7	5.4	27.2	8.8
F=1,113	187	207	121	224	114	260

- Results show that about 6 in 10 respondents agree that **“Ads from APC were more hate focused than ads from PDP”**.
- The overall breakdown of responses across all six geopolitical zones indicates that 69.2% are of the belief that there was a higher dose of hate speech in ads from APC than PDP's 49.1% hate speech;
- Sectorially, a majority of voters in the South-West (84%) believe that ads from APC were more hate-focused than the PDP;
- This thinking is also held by South East (64.8%) and South-South (58.9%).
- In the north, a greater number of respondents from the North Central (55.4%) perceived that the APC ads contained more hate messages than the PDP, but the situation was reversed in both the North-West (45.4%) and the North-East (46.5%), where PDP ads are perceived to be more laced with hate messages than the APC's.

7.2.7 Perception Test 3: Intention of APC's Ad Campaign

Responding to an item on the questionnaire, a majority of respondents (62.80%) believed that campaign messages by the APC were designed to bring down former President Goodluck Jonathan and his administration. See *Chart 21*:

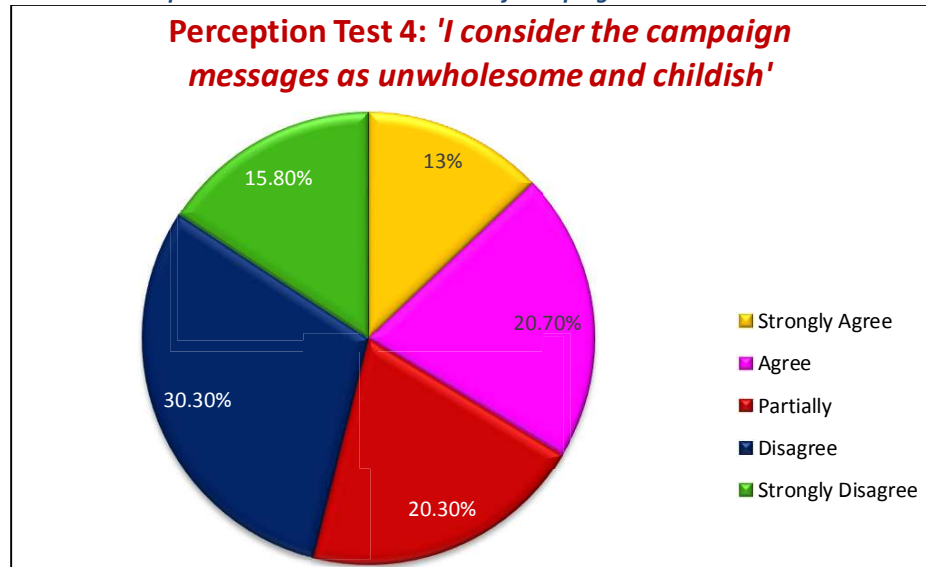
Chart 21: Perception on Intention of Campaign Strategy of APC



- Even though about two-thirds of respondents felt political ads by APC were sponsored to bring down former President Goodluck Jonathan, this perception was relatively low in the South West – 47.8%;
- It is rated by North-East as 48.6%;
- Rated highest in South-East – 78.9%;
- Followed by North West (67%), South-South (66.4%) and North Central (61%), in that order.

7.2.8 Ethical Standards of Campaign Materials

Chart 22: Perception Test 4: Ethical Standards of Campaign Materials

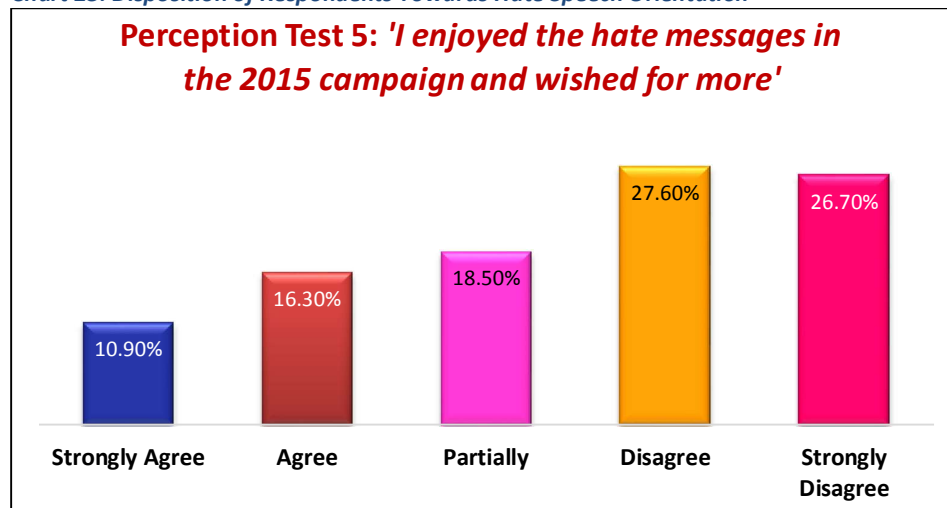


- Above chart shows that 53 per cent of the respondents considered much of the presidential campaign messages quite unwholesome.
- Similarly, about half of the respondents claimed that the campaign messages were insulting to the intelligence of the electorates

7.2.9 Disposition of Respondents Towards Hate Speech Usage

More than half of all respondents sampled say they did not enjoy the hate messages during the 2015 campaigns as reflected in the level of 'discord' as shown on the chart below:

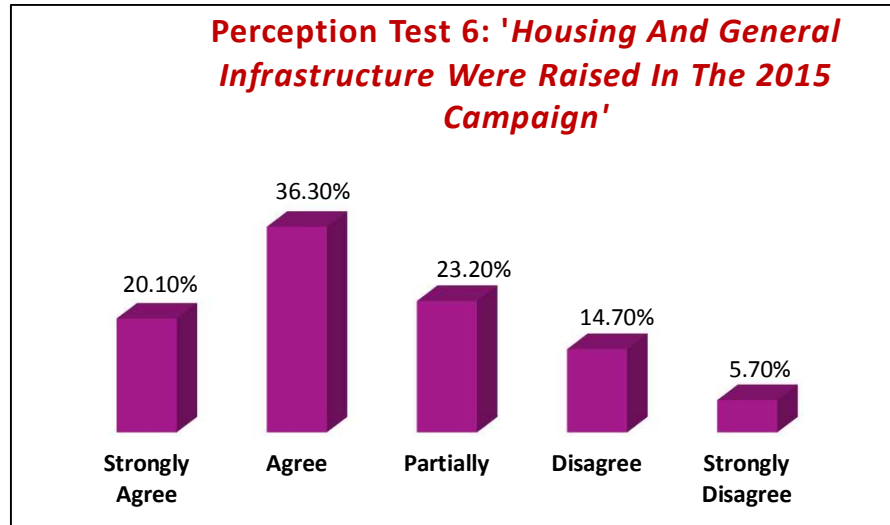
Chart 23: Disposition of Respondents Towards Hate Speech Orientation



7.2.10 Housing & Infrastructure Issues in the 2015 Presidential Election

More than half of respondents believe that issues of housing and general infrastructure were raised in the 2015 campaign.

Chart 24: Issues Associated with 2015 Presidential Election



Other issues (not reflected here) include:

- The problem of low electricity generation, housing, the missing Chibok girls, and the parlous nature of the nation's economy.
- About 48.7 per cent of the respondents voted for their preferred candidate because of the issues the candidates raised in the campaign.
- About two thirds of respondents believed that issues on the missing Chibok girls were raised in the 2015 election campaigns.

7.3. Report of Findings – Qualitative Segment

The depth-interview component of the research took place in five-different geo-political zones of Nigeria, specifically in the following locations: Enugu/Nsuka (South-East) where 16 individuals were interviewed; Porth-Harcourt (South-South) which produced 16 respondents; Ibadan/Lagos (South-West) (20 respondents); Kano (North-West) where 30 individuals were interviewed and 16 from Abuja (FCT/North-Central).

Subjects who were eventually interviewed were drawn from diversified backgrounds, including journalism, traditional political institutions, the legal profession, political party leadership, business community, civil society group, student bodies and the academia.

This section is a narrative account of interviews that were conducted on geopolitical zone basis. The opinions expressed are grouped as follows:

- Party/Presidential candidate
- Preferences of Interviewees;
- Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns;
- Prominent Media Channels;
- Hate-Speech Nature of the Campaign and their sources;
- Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns;
- Memorable Campaign Messages and
- Lessons of 2015 Election.

7.4. Summary of IDI Report in South-East

7.4.1 Preferences of Party/Presidential Candidate

The preferred candidate by some respondents in the South-East geopolitical zone is predominantly the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)'s presidential candidate. The reason often mentioned by interviewees is that the Presidential candidate of the PDP, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) was considered a kit and kin of people from the South-East. One interview subject, an Assistant Lecturer (Interviewee No 1) in one of the tertiary institutions in Enugu said ***“The reason I voted for the PDP was because the presidential candidate was a South-Southerner”***. Other responses are similar: “Because Jonathan was my brother while Buhari is not”.

Another interview subject, (Interviewee No 2), a female Senior Lecturer with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, admitted her preference for the PDP because, according to her, ***“the PDP was more focused than the APC, which was made up of people that were disgruntled”***. A businessman, (Interviewee No 3) from Anambra State, during an interview that took place in Nsukka metropolis also admitted to voting for the PDP, because as he says: ***“I believe in continuity, so I wanted PDP to continue. I look at the PDP as a party with the national spread”***.

Another Imo State -based female interview subject (Interviewee No 4) indicates that her preference as a voter was the PDP **“...because the people there (in PDP) are Christians”**, thus introducing the religious dimension to voters’ preferences during elections.

A telephone interview was conducted with a female journalist, (Interviewee No 5) based in the South-East geopolitical zone and working with the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria considers the **“Change campaign interesting”**, although her preference was for GEJ.

Interviewee No. 13 was a male, PDP ward Chairman (Amore Ward) of Nsuka, Enugu State; the interview took place via the telephone. Expectedly, this staunch member and advocate of the PDP believes that PDP is a Party of strong ideology whose method of administration under President Goodluck Jonathan **“was okay”**.

7.4.2 Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns

Some respondents considered the 2015 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria less interesting because in their opinion, campaign messages were personalised; campaign promises like sharing of free food to primary and secondary school students paying NGN5,000 to all unemployed graduates in Nigeria seemed unattainable.

In other words, interviewees considered political campaign promises, mostly of GMB/APC largely unrealistic. One of the interviewees, (Interviewee No 6) a Professor of Fine and Applied Arts at the University of Nsuka speaks further: **“What I consider interesting (about the campaigns) was that people who were unlikely to work together were working together in order to defeat the opponent”**. The female Senior Lecturer (Interviewee No 2) from University of Nigeria, Nsukka was more direct by saying that:

“I found out was that the Yoruba felt that if they had an affiliation with the Hausas, it will favour them. They felt that if Buhari is declared incompetent, the Vice -president, a Yoruba man, could take over. It was a conspiracy against the South-East and Nigeria as a whole because they knew very well that Buhari was not competent. With all the manipulations that have been done with census and electoral registers, it was very easy for them”.

But a female respondent, a librarian in a tertiary institution from Enugu State (Interviewee No 7), considered some of the 2015 radio jingles and television commercials as very interesting. She noted that the campaign activities were high. Another interesting aspect of the campaign, according to an Anambra-based businessman, was that **“It witnessed a lot of changes. It was a campaign that was based on social media”**. Another interview subject (Interviewee No 8) concurred, noting that: **“there was massive use of the social media. They carried a lot of youth along; people were aware and they aired their views”**.

An interesting slant to the campaigns, according to an Assistant Lecturer (Interviewee No 8), was that a campaign message was:

“Attaching Azikiwe to the name of Goodluck Jonathan because he wants to get votes from South-East Nigeria. The messages were trying to tell us that Goodluck Jonathan is from South-East Nigeria.”

The female freelance journalist (Interviewee No 10) in an interview in Nsukka says that one of the things she found interesting during the 2015 presidential election was that ***“the APC was new and were (sic) really gaining some ground and pulling out personalities that could talk to the public”***. She added: ***“I may not really recall word-for-word but the broom syndrome campaign was interesting”***.

Another businessman (Interviewee No 9), resident in Enugu city said: ***“I consider the campaign messages from the APC as more interesting than those from the PDP because as of that time, PDP was incumbent and APC was trying to do something different by telling us that it will be a change from what we were experiencing at that time”***. Interestingly, there was just one out of the eleven interviewees from the South-East, a male businessman from Enugu city, who had GMB as the presidential candidate of choice.

The Enugu city-based interviewee prefers GMB to GEJ because the campaign message was anchored on the need for ***“change and fighting corruption”***. Another interview subject (Interviewee No. 13) believes that the 2015 political campaigns were ***“Very, very interesting because there was aggressive campaign from both parties. In my own area, some of the campaign (s) came in form of jingles in local languages”***.

7.4.3 Prominent Media Channels

Interviewees identified the following communication media channels of political campaign messages: “Social media to be precise, Facebook”; “TV, radio and newspaper”; ***“Newspapers, magazines, TV and Social media”***. Also, through the ***“billboard and flyers”*** and ***“Announcements from the Church”*** (or word of mouth); political rallies.

7.4.4 Hate-Speech Nature, Campaigns and Their Sources

Interview subjects agreed that the APC campaign messages were predominantly laden with hatred that were ***“targeted at Jonathan”***. A Lady Librarian from Enugu, South-East Nigeria, who was interviewed, identified Alhaji Lai Mohammad as the Presidential candidate’s spokesperson, who made the most hate speech during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. She added: ***“It’s just that sometimes, the former First Lady, Patience Jonathan could be insulting”***.

One of the interviewees also noted that such hate speeches ***“created a hostile environment”***, and also considered ***“morally offensive”***. However, the Professor of Fine and Applied Arts at UNN, Nsukka observes that: ***“the two major political parties (APC & PDP) used hate speech”***. Also, some interview subjects claimed that such extreme speeches did not in any way influence their voting decisions. Interview subject No 13, a PDP ward Chairman, maintains that the APC 2015 presidential election

campaigns were dominated by extreme speech or words and expressions that promote inter-ethnic, religious or other forms of hatred amongst Nigerians and that this development greatly influenced the outcome of the presidential election.

7.4.5 Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns

A student at University of Nigeria, Nsukka said ***“PDP focused on building the Second Niger Bridge but APC did not”***. ***“APC focused on Jonathan”***, but the Professor of Fine and Applied Arts at Nsukka says that the PDP concentrated more on personalities of presidential candidates than issues of national importance than the APC. Another academic, a female Senior Lecturer says the campaign messages ***“were not interesting because the PDP focused more on the person of Buhari rather than on issues”***.

An Anambra state-based businessman, during an interview, opined that the:

“Campaign messages were not issue based. It wasn’t interesting because it was more of hate speech. APC said ‘change’, PDP said ‘consolidation’. You have to come up and tell us what you have in mind. We did not see all these so for me, it was more of attacking each other.”

A female freelance journalist who was interviewed in Nsukka township also observes as follows:

“I followed the campaign from the beginning to the end. When I try to compare the kind of politics they play in Nigeria and campaign here, aspirants are more interested in antagonizing themselves than discussing issues. PDP and APC left issues and were antagonizing themselves.”

Interviewee No 13, a PDP Ward Chairman, opines that the PDP campaigns largely focused on issues of importance to national development, while the campaigns of the APC were focused on promoting personalities.

7.4.6 Memorable Campaign Messages

The Professor of Fine and Applied Arts at UNN Nsukka was quick to identify one of the memorable political advertisements during the election, namely the one that states that ***“Once bitten twice shy. Such campaign reminded the electorate of the previous performance of some political candidates”***, referring to a campaign message by GMB. The female Senior Lecturer that was interviewed, says one of the most memorable messages during the election was sponsored by the APC. She says:

“Let us say the one (message) that I found hilarious was the way the APC presented the Nigerian economy. They made it seem as if it was a lie that Jonathan’s government developed the economy and also their promise of reducing fuel pump price to N45 per litre”

This she says, ***“does not mean that I believed them. I am taking interest in the sense that I took note of them and they made me realize that we have a very long way to go”***.

The campaign messages considered memorable by an Anambra-state based businessman during the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria was where Jonathan based his campaign on the transformation of the nation's economy ***“There was one particular one that I liked where he showed the railway he brought to Nigeria. I don't like much of the APC”***.

The uniqueness of the 2015 presidential campaign according to Interviewee No. 13 was that the leading presidential candidates “adopted the culture of the people” in different localities where the campaign took place, although the subject, a Ward Chairman of the PDP, was unable to recall some of such interesting campaign messages, even of his Party which he says mounted the most interesting media campaigns. The gap between when the election took place and the time the interview was conducted may have largely accounted for this development.

7.4.7 Lessons of 2015 Presidential Election Campaigns

One of the lessons of the 2015 electioneering campaigns is that ***“Politicians cannot be trusted”***, says the Professor of Fine and Applied Arts. On the lessons learnt sequel to the 2015 presidential media campaigns, the female Senior Lecturer said ***“there is the need for media literacy enable people understand media contents so that they cannot be easily misled”***. A lesson that another respondent claims he had learnt from the campaign is that: ***“We should learn that not everything that is promised that (can be) given”***

7.5. Summary of IDI Report in the South-South

The IDI sessions took place in Port-Harcourt, Warri (Delta State), and Cross Rivers (Calabar) in the South-South geopolitical zone. A total of 16 subjects who were eventually interviewed were drawn from diversified backgrounds, including journalism, traditional political institution, the legal profession, political party leadership, business community, civil society group, and the academia, whose varied opinions most relevant comments are presented under the following sub-themes: Party/Presidential candidate Preferences of Interviewees; Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns; Prominent Media Channels; Hate- Speech Nature of the Campaign and their sources; Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns; Memorable Campaign Messages; Lessons of 2015 Election.

7.5.2 Party/Presidential Candidate Preferences

A male subject who was drawn from Warri, Delta State (Interviewee No. 1 from S-S) admits to being a staunch supporter of the PDP, for the reason that ***“PDP has been in government for so many years and there been doing well as far as am concerned, they have done what is expected of them”***. Asked if the above represents his

opinion before the 2015 Presidential election, he replies: “Yes! Yes!! Yes!!! I hold this position because they did well all through when the president (GEJ) was in power as PDP president”. He speaks further:

“At the time of the Presidential election, (in 2015) my candidate was Goodluck Jonathan but unfortunately, it (the Presidency) had to fall to the other side (GMB) because democracy is what majority of the people want and they got it. That is politics.”

However, a member of the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), male legal practitioner (Interviewee No.2 S-S), in an interview session, disagrees:

“I did not see any difference between the two political parties if you look at the members of (APC) they were members of (PDP) who now became APC members. So, to me, I will look at the individuals not the political parties. Rather, I have a favourite individual among the political parties. I respect Muhammadu Buhari. I am not saying he is a saint, but in my own opinion, he has the interest of the nation at heart more than any other person that ruled this country and his (GMB’s) level of corruption is not as high as past leaders.”

He maintains that the above was the position he held prior to the 2015 presidential election: **“even though I am a member of (PDP) I voted for Buhari”**. A university undergraduate from Warri, (Interviewee No 3, S-S) says he had no preference for any particular candidate during the 2015 presidential election, **“because I am not interested in politics”**, that is, the subject is apolitical. Two years after the 2015 election, the subject has seen no reason to be interested in the political activities in his environment.

Based on the implication of the theory of selectivity, it was not surprising to hear from the respondent that he wasn’t listening to the campaign messages of the 2015 presidential election, and therefore was unable to determine whether or not they were interesting. But he observes that **“the unique thing (about the election) was that everybody wanted to vote for Buhari because they thought PDP was just a failure and APC would bring the positive change they desire”**

A Warri-based male journalist from a broadcast media organisation (Subject No 4, S-S), during a telephone interview session, disclosed that during the 2015 presidential election, he supported the candidacy of GEJ of the PDP, because of **“my admiration of the humble personality of its presidential candidate”**. Another journalist, a female, working with a particular newspaper organisation in the country but based in Warri, was also interviewed (Interviewee No. 5). She claims that she had no favoured party or candidate during the 2015 presidential election, because **“both parties were very bad for the country”**

A card-carrying male member of the PDP in Delta State, who is a Senior Academic Staff in a College of Education, was interviewed (Interviewee No 6, (S-S). He explains the reason for his commitment to the party:

“I am a PDP supporter since 1998, at that time there was nothing like APC. Although, there were other parties, PDP had a wider national spread cutting across the 6 geopolitical zones.

Committees were set up to deliver the PDP presidential aspiration and I served as a member of the Committee.”

A female Civil Society Activist (SCA) was also interviewed (Interviewee No 7, S-S). She notes that she was not a member or supporter of any of the presidential candidates or political parties for the reason that ***“Party activities did not reflect a collective goal but rather individual gratification”***

Interviewee No 7, S-S) opines that the election campaign rallies were most effective because candidates were able to reach both educated and non-educated, media and non-media users. A male Civil Servant was interviewed in Port-Harcourt (Interviewee No 8) admitted to being a supporter of the APC, because, according to him,

“The party’s interest is geared towards the benefit of the masses. Their political strategies were firm and highly realistic. The political strategies adhered to during the 2015 presidential campaign by the APC party was so strong and genuine that even the least educated man in Nigeria would buy their idea”

The Civil servant voted for the APC because of its agenda of “change” which ***“brought about massive crowd from the masses owing to the massive faults/bad governance of the then ruling political party (PDP)”***. The “change” envisaged was irreversible and thus the masses felt and believed that they are real for thorough governance. ***“And the concept of APC (“change”) made people like us to switch our option to a better candidate in the person of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari”***.

Another Civil Servant, a female, (also Port-Harcourt-based), (Interviewee No 9, S-S) also admitted that her preference was for the APC during the Presidential Election because:

“The party come up with a manifesto and mandate that raised my hope of a better Nigeria. It was my position. I went the extra mile of persuading others to vote this party that professed “change”. To be sure of my choice i.e. the candidate, I had to do some background checks on all candidates. My findings showed that Muhammadu Buhari would fit in perfectly. His profession of “change” caught the attention of many and was a major factor I considered in making my choice. Every Nigerian wanted a change in their standard of living and he was the man that mentioned it.”

7.5.3 Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns

Interviewee No. 1 from South-South considers the 2015 Presidential election interesting:

“Because after the PDP government for so many years, there is need for change and one constant thing in this world is change. So, when the campaign for APC came up and demanded change it was not the usual way (of electioneering),

the use of electronic media in the election (was superb and) everyone was okay with it”.

Responding to another question, Interviewee No. 1 says:

“One unique thing about the (2015) campaign compare to previous ones is the (APC) campaign that GMB will fight corruption ... another unique thing is that the system of voting was not usual; it was different from what has been happening before.

A legal practitioner (interviewee No. 2, S-S) during the interview session submits that ***“the area that attracted my interest is insecurity and corruption (component) of the APC campaign messages”***, although he notes further that there was basically no difference between various campaigns of the dominant parties, ***“the only thing was people were allowed to speak their minds”***. On the interesting aspect of the 2015 presidential campaign, the male broadcast journalist (Subject No 4, S-S) maintains that ***“I really didn’t place much relevance on the campaign message as they appear not to be different from the past, it was more of a smear campaign.”***

Another female journalist (Interviewee No. 5) feels that the 2015 presidential ***election “was really not interesting to me. I felt there was a lot of deception and sweet talking as politicians would do during elections.”*** She continues:

“The only thing I considered unique about the presidential election was the strength of the opposition which eventually proved to be too strong, for the first time ever, for the incumbent candidate.”

The Civil Servant (Interviewee No 8) remarks that the most interesting aspect of the election campaigns was the:

“Empty promises made by GMB that were never fulfilled. For instance, he promised all Nigerian youths a monthly salary of five thousand naira (N5,000) only during his reign as President. And this never came to pass. Instead, he chooses to flying from one country to another all in the name of not being well, at the detriment of the masses.”

7.5.4 Prominent Media Channels

The subject (Interviewee No 1 from S-S) easily remembers receiving the 2015 presidential campaign messages through media channels such as the television, radio and social media, including through political rallies. Nevertheless, he says, the social media was ***“the most effective because everyone had internet enable devices”***. Although the penetration of the Internet in Nigeria is massive and social media popularity is on the increase, but it will be further from the truth to assert that ***“everyone had internet enable devices”***, as the subject had claimed. Be that as it may, the effectiveness of election campaigns through the social media in the 2015 presidential campaigns cannot be over-emphasized.

Interviewee No. 2, identifies the television as the most effective media channels during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Other media channels identified by other interview subjects are newspapers, cartoon network(s) and out-of-home media. ***“I also got campaign messages on the back of recharge chards. Television, newspaper and social media were the most effective”*** (Subject No 4, S-S).

But Interviewee (No 5, S-S), a female print journalist opines ***“I thought the social media was quite effective in encouraging people to vote. The television (was crucial) because the television campaign messages came in different forms such as adverts, PSAs (Public Service Advertisements), documentaries, etc. I also got campaign messages from meeting attendance”***, claims interview subject No. 6 (S-S).

But Interviewee No 9 (S-S) recognises the importance of the informal channel of message dissemination (rather than media channels) during electioneering. She says: ***“I also had friends and families who became advocates for this party. I was first convinced by a relation then I saw reasons to make a move”***.

7.5.5 Hate-Speech Nature, Campaigns and Their Sources

On the use of hate speech during the 2015 presidential election, interview subject No. 1 from the South-South, says ***“as far as (I) am concerned there is no campaign message that was not good; it’s all about how Nigeria will move forward”***. He continues: ***“all messages (hate speeches or otherwise) are okay for election to be successful, every political party has its own style of convincing people to vote for them”***.

Responding to another aspect of uses of hate speeches during the 2015 presidential election, he says that the so-called hate speeches did not influence the outcome of the said election and concludes that:

“The truth is that what you called hate speech may not be hate speech for another person its depend on what the is seeing in the government, hate speech can emanate from a section and somebody may be telling you the truth and you read meaning to it and called it hate speech. It also depends on what you are told; only the law court can define what is hate speech, but to me there is nothing like hate speech in political campaigns.”

The 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria were dominated by extreme speech or words and expressions that promote inter-ethnic religious or other forms of hatred ***“because they were basically insulting themselves (the presidential candidates) especially PDP, they were insulting Buhari so much”***. In his response to another aspect of use of hate speeches during the election, the Lawyer from the South-South (respondent No.2 from S-S) remarks that the PDP ***“did try to paint the picture of Buhari as being tribalistic; they said that he was not qualified, that he has no (academic) certificate but is an army general who schooled in Sandust (Military College)? That was enough hate speech from the PDP”***.

He however agrees that, ***“to some extent”, the APC also used hate campaign messages in the 2015 general election campaign.*** The lawyer maintains that Ayo Fayose and Femi Fani-Kayode were the spokespersons of GEJ who made the most of hate speech during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. The resultant effect of uses of hate speech was that it led ***“it leads to court suits; people went to court to say that Buhari was not qualified”***.

Hate speeches offend moral values, according to the lawyer, although the messages did not significantly influence the voting patterns or outcomes.

The broadcast journalist, (Interviewee No 4, S-S) claims that:

“Elements of hate speech were used during the run up to the 2015 election. Both parties used hate speeches and in fact, the word “clueless” was popularly and frequently used by the APC to describe the then President. I feel it surely had influences on people’s voting for the APC especially Southerners residing in the North out of fear of violence erupting if the (APC) party does not win. Hon Chibuike Amechi was a (hate speech) vocal element for the APC and Femi Fani-Kayode for the PDP.”

In addition, another journalist, a female (Interviewee No 5, S-S), identifies the preponderances of hate speeches:

“And I think both parties were much involved in it. The impact (of hate speeches) on the election’s outcome, I would say will be difficult to measure. I would single out Ayo Fayose for his feisty advertisement in major newspapers.”

Interviewee No 6, a Lecturer from a College of Education in Delta State, (S-S) feels strongly that:

“To a very large extent, the 2015 election messages were saturated with a lot of hate messages with APC putting a lot of machineries in place to discredit the PDP. Yes, (the PDP engaged hate speeches) but only after they had been attacked by the APC. The APC were the frontrunners of the hate speeches during the elections. Lia Mohammed was the face of hate speeches for the APC, he brought hate speech into limelight”.

The female member of a Civil Society Organisation (CSO), who was interviewed (Interviewee No 7) claims that the 2015 Presidential Campaigns were quite funny because they were:

“Filled with propaganda, digging up of dirt from the time the APC candidate was Petroleum Minister, PTF Chairman and Head of State, citing mismanagement and tyranny as his best traits back then. To a very high degree, most of the campaign messages were geared towards discrediting the opposing party. The PDP was a major culprit. APC followed suit.”

She observes further that hate messages had some influences on the voting outcomes: ***“I think it led to a lot of sentiments because I can recall a friend of mine saying he would vote for Buhari because he [Buhari] got a lot of bashing from the media”.***

Similarly, the Port-Harcourt based Civil Servant (interviewee No 8) in the interview claims that the PDP employed much of hate campaign strategy to ridicule the APC party: ***“Because it remains the only route available to the party (PDP) to come on top, if at all. But the dice never went their way. The use of hate messages negatively affected the PDP. They were so self-centred; huge funds were embezzled by the so-called PDP”.***

The female Civil servant from Port-Harcourt (Interviewee No 9) says that the use of hate speech is not anathema to electioneering:

“To a great percentage, the issue of “hate speech” has long been before the 2015 election. Why is this? This is because when there is a clash of interest, ideologies, beliefs and desires it results into lies, crisis, hate speeches, etc. the first and second world wars are examples.

“So, seeing what happened during the campaigns of various political parties, I was not surprised at all. In order for a man to show one’s ability and capability over another in this context, we have people denigrating and debasing the efficiency of another, as it was done by the APC to the PDP. A major strategy (of) the APC was to highlight the flaws of the PDP and then presenting the APC a better option.”

Asked to identify the heavier user of hate speeches during the 2015 Presidential election amongst the two dominant candidates, the Port-Harcourt-based female civil servant (Interviewee No. 9) recalls:

“The person of Muhammadu Buhari was greatly involved this, looking back from now. For him to win the heart Nigerians, he felt the best way was to denigrate the leadership of Goodluck Jonathan, the former President. Also, some PDP members saw the opportunity of the religious standings of Muhammadu Buhari as his weak point.

“They proclaimed to Nigerians that his agenda was to Islamize Nigeria which brought fear to the heart of many Christians. These statements were made out of the hatred they had for each other or for their different positions. For me, any speech made to denigrate any human being to gain respect and power is a hate speech.”

On the influences of hate speech on voters’ election choices, the female civil servant (Interviewee No 9) retorts that: ***“I never made my choice on the ground of any hate speech. Like I have stated before now, the supposed “CHANGE” was what masked me and many Nigerians who voted for the APC”.***

7.5.6 Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns

The presidential campaigns mounted by the PDP addressed issues of importance to national development, according to our first interviewee from the South-South geo-political zone. On the other hand, he opines that the APC concentrated more on the personality of its presidential candidates than on issues of national importance. The Lawyer from the South-South (Interviewee No 2, S-S) believes that while the ***“PDP were paying mere lips services (to issues-based campaigns), (although) they have been in power for years without doing anything, the APC on the other hand concentrated more on personality of its presidential candidate than on issues of national importance.”***

Interviewee No 4 (S-S) notes that:

“None of the parties focused on national issues of development not even the party I supported but this was down to how the opposition party wanted the game played because they actually throw the first punch.”

He then added that both parties focused more on: ***“the personalities running for the elections, but I feel APC were the chief propagators”***. ***“The APC had a good manifesto but the elections, unfortunately, were not about focusing on issues of importance to national development. Both sides rather engaged in petty exchange of words”***, submits interviewee No 5, (S-S). The journalist continues ***“I would say both of them (focused on issues), and maybe the APC just a bit more, with Buhari being touted to some sort of ‘Jesus who would save the country from the Devil’s clutches’”***. Interviewee No 6 (from S-S) contends that:

“PDP focused more on issues of national development like infrastructure, employment and the economy. Also, at that point, the issue of the Naira to a dollar was controlled. Both parties brought the personality of their candidates to the fore at some point, but APC went for personality attacks and very unrealistic promises like one US Dollar being equal to one Naira and so on.”

A female member of a Civil Society Organisation (CSO) who was interviewed (No 7, S-S.) maintains that:

“None of the parties focused on issues, rather they employed ugly means to win. That was why we saw news reports during this period filled with reports of individuals and corporate bodies suing for label, defamation and slander. The two personalities involved in the election were not credible in my opinion even though both parties tried to present them in good light. In general, I feel both parties failed to even concentrate adequately on candidate’s personality and issues of national importance.”

The female civil servant (Interviewee No 9), during the interview notes that:

“Both parties did well by focusing on issues concerning national development, but the PDP had been given their chance for sixteen years still there were little prints. So, Nigerians felt it was time to gamble. In summary, both parties did well in projecting their manifestoes into national development and some other forms of development but I must say here that Nigerians have always gambled with whom to choose as a leader.”

7.5.7 Memorable Campaign Messages

Looking back at the 2015 presidential campaigns, the legal practitioner from South-South notes that ***“the only thing I can recall (from the campaign) were the APC’s (messages about) the fight against corruption and insecurity in the North East”***. He says these messages were memorable because ***“they promised to reduce corruption to barest minimum and the promise to also bridge gap between the poor and rich.”***

Subject No 4, S-S claims that ***“the unique thing about the 2015 campaign is that it was far reaching than previous campaigns and also very intriguing about both parties had a lot of followers”***. ***“Yes, I can remember some interesting campaign messages coming from both parties”***, he added.

Subject No 4, (S-S) notes further that:

“There was a PDP sponsored documentary on AIT, detailing Buhari’s maltreatment of Chief Alex Ekwueme, he overthrew their (National Party of Nigeria’s (NPN) government in 1983. There was also another sponsored message still on APC, detailing Tinubu’s appropriation of supposed Lagos State assets throughout (his governorship tenure in) Lagos State.

“On the part of APC, Hon. Chibuike Amaechi took many interview sessions on TVC, mauling the personality of Jonathan and his wife and why they are not fit for the office they occupied. It was more of the smear campaign than a political campaign from both parties.”

A female journalist (Interviewee No 5, S-S) maintains that ***“the change mantra message”*** from the APC was the most memorable. She speaks further ***“The change crusade was quite persuasive, touting a break from the long history of PDP bondage.”*** Similarly, one of the most memorable messages during the presidential election, according to the female Civil Servant, (Interviewee No 9, S-S) was:

“We have brought CHANGE”. This statement is indelible in the minds of many Nigerians. The APC made this a song that Nigerians danced to and maybe, now regret their steps. Many Nigerians are likely to forget other messages but this “CHANGE!”

7.5.8 Lessons of 2015 Election

On lessons learnt through exposure to the 2015 presidential campaigns, subject No 1 from the South-South enthused:

“The truth of life is that there is no time that people will not complain of a particular thing or the other, people from North will support their brother and people from South will also support their brother, so to me that is not something to worry about. After all Nigeria is one, we should forge ahead with whoever is the president we should rally round to support that person.”

Looking back at the methods employed by the political parties to carry out the 2015 presidential election campaigns, Interviewee No 1 from the South-South geo-political zone maintains that another lesson of the said election is that: ***“electronic system of voting is a welcome development and it should be maintained in the coming election.”*** Interviewee No 2, (from S-S), a legal practitioner, suggests that ***“the lesson (of the 2015 presidential campaign) is (that) no matter how much you damage someone’s (image) it doesn’t change the people’s mind (about him).”*** He then concludes that any politically compromised individual:

“...should be arrested to bring out the money he stole, they (corrupt politicians) are using our money to better the foreign nationals at the detriment of Nigerians and I also want to tell the youths not to allow themselves to be used by the political class because the political class are the problems of Nigeria.”

“I feel going forward, focus should be more on how real and attainable the agenda (manifestoes) of a party is”, rather than otherwise, suggests the Fourth interview subject from the South-South (Interviewee No. 4). ***“Political parties should be forced to focus more on issues of importance to national development”,*** suggests Interviewee No 5, (S-S).

One of our interviewees (No 6, S-S) submits that ***“Voting choice is actually hinged on a lot of things in Nigeria due to our predisposition and I don’t see messages from campaign being top 3 on the list.”*** This implies that campaign messages are perceived to be a secondary factor in the determination of election outcomes in Nigeria, according to Interviewer No 6. (S-S). The Lecturer however, laments as follows:

“Nigerian politicians have not learnt and this has retarded the growth of political parties, a messiah is still being sought to save us from this problem. Looking at Malaysia which had independence the same time with us (Nigeria), it has left the group of 3rd world countries. Mao in 1937 (sic) carried out a crusade in China; and today we all can see visible evidence of that crusade.

7.6. Summary of IDI Report in South-West

Interview sessions in the South-West took place mostly in Lagos and Ibadan and were conducted as face-to-face interviews. The interviewers were mostly journalists who are members of the ACSPN and are therefore experts. Journalists were mostly engaged for the assignment in Lagos metropolis so as to secure the buy-in of some of the 'high calibre' interview subjects who were properly briefed regarding the purpose of the research. Although interviewers assured the subjects of anonymity, a majority of them consented to their names been mentioned in this report.

Of the 30 respondents, the following respondents consented to the use of their names and organizations in this research report and include:

- i. Bako Usman, *President, Campaign for Democracy*;
- ii. *APC Spokesperson, Lagos State*, Mr. Joe Igbokwe;
- iii. Mr. Debo Adeniran, *Executive Chairman, Centre for Anti-Corruption and Open Leadership, Lagos*;
- iv. Comrade Femi Aborishade, *Human Rights and Trade Union activists, and Legal Practitioner*; and
- v. Professor Ayo Ojebode, *Head, Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan*.

Interview sessions for Comrade Aborishade took place in Ibadan, while Professor Ayo Ojebode's interview was conducted by telephone.

The report is presented under the following themes: Party/Presidential candidate Preferences of Interviewees; Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns; Prominent Media Channels; Hate- Speech Nature of the Campaign and their sources; Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns; Memorable Campaign Messages; Lessons of 2015 Election.

7.6.1 Party/Presidential candidate Preferences of Interviewees

Expectedly, the favoured political party and Presidential candidate by Mr Igbokwe, (APC Publicity Secretary for Lagos State) was and remains the APC and GMB. He considers the APC campaigns of 2015 very interesting". Bako Usman, President, Campaign for Democracy, was also interviewed. He disclosed that he had no favourite political party and presidential candidate because of the need for him "to remain objective", as a civil rights and democracy activist.

In his response to the question: "Do you have a favourite Political Party among these two parties- PDP and APC?", Comrade (Barrister) Femi Aborishade, Human Rights and Trade Union activists, disclosed:

"No, I do not have a favourite political party between the PDP and APC. The reason for not having a favourite political party between PDP and APC is that there is no fundamental difference

in the Manifesto, programme or political governance philosophy of the two political parties.”

Asked further if the above standpoint was maintained by him prior to the 2015 election, he was emphatic ***“Yes. This was the position I held during the 2015 election and up till now”***.

The Executive Chairman, Centre for Anti-Corruption and Open Leadership, Lagos, Mr. Debo Adeniran was also interviewed. He claims that he did not favour or support any of the political parties and their presidential candidates, but that he accessed campaign messages on the 2015 presidential elections through existing media.

Prof Ayo Ojebode, Head, Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan granted an interview to our research team. He was categorical about his preferences during the March 2015 presidential election in Nigeria:

“No, I do not have a favourite Political party, rather I favoured individual and the individual I favoured is Muhammadu Buhari (now President). And the reason for my preference for him is not because he is a remarkable individual in terms of contestability as at 2015 general elections, but because he was the better of the two. And, importantly, he has a record, judging from his past, of being a change maker.

“Whether or not he is making the needed change is now subject to individual interpretations. If I have to restate (my point) differently, I would have loved a Donald Duke to compete in the 2015 Presidential election. The fact is I was forced to prefer the better of the weak candidates that emerged. Another fact of the matter is that the campaign centred majorly around two candidates; then President, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari (Now President). Now on my comments on a comparative outlook of the elections...”

7.6.2 Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns

Mr Igbokwe said that one of the interesting aspects of the APC campaign was that the party's messages were truthful. But a Democracy activist, Mr Usman did not consider any of the presidential campaigns interesting, ***“because most of the campaign messages didn't really focus on issues”***. Although a Lagos-based journalist who was interviewed believes that there was nothing unique about the election, he nevertheless was in favour of GMB during the election.

Comrade Aborisade admitted to being a keen watcher of the electioneering processes, but said:

- a) ***“I did not find them interesting in any fundamental or serious sense; though I found them amusing;***
- b) ***The campaigns followed the general past patterns of electoral promises without explaining concrete measures***

that would be taken to actualise them. Thus, I perceived that the political parties and their candidates were out to deceive the electorate to vote them into power. The APC in particular made some impressive welfare related electoral promises, exploiting the failures of the then party in power at the centre – the PDP. But, its published manifesto expressly showed the APC was to continue the same neo-liberal economic policies of the PDP. This showed to me that the welfare promises being made by the APC was to hoodwink the electorate at the background of the failure of the PDP in the last one and a half decades of being in power.

- c) *I did not have a favourite presidential candidate. In fact, whilst addressing students of Obafemi Awolowo at a Symposium organised by the Students' Union in memory of Late Bamidele Aturu and the students asked for my preferred presidential candidate, I described the presidential candidates of the two parties as 'calamities'. However, between a presidential candidate of the PDP who had publicly stated that 'stealing is no corruption' and the candidate of the APC who declared he would fight corruption and that unless Nigeria killed corruption, corruption would kill Nigeria, I said the APC candidate might be better than that of the PDP on account of attitude to corruption."*

Regarding the comparative outlook of the 2015 election, Professor Ojebode says: ***"let me compare the 2015 presidential elections to the 2011. One notable thing is that the 2015 general election was keenly contested and that made it really interesting"***.

7.6.3 Memorable Campaign Messages

Ighokwe recalls that the most memorable campaign message of the APC during the 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria was that "Corruption will kill Nigeria if Nigeria doesn't kill it". When asked to comment on the memorability of the campaign messages during the 2015 presidential election, Aborisade opines:

"I found the campaign messages of the two parties, amusing for different reasons, none having to do with perspectives on governance policies. The PDP sought to capitalise on the military background of the APC Presidential candidate and the repression or denial of rights under him as a military head of state. But the more they did that, the more it worked in favour of the APC presidential candidate as the electorates were looking for a strong character who might be able to contain corruption.

"In the same manner, the Presidential candidate of the APC capitalised on the aversion of ordinary people for corruption under the PDP government at the centre. This, the APC Presidential candidate promised to stop medical tourism, which contributes to a drain of national resources, sell off the

Presidenetial fleet of aircrafts, declare assets, deal with oil cabal and subsisise internal oil production rather than reliance on importation of petroleum producmts in order to prevent increase in the prices of petroleum petroducts, etc.

“But considering the character of the forces promoting the APC Presidential candidate, it was clear to me that these promises/messages were meant to hoodwink the gullible.”

7.6.4 Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns

The Publicity Secretary Lagos State All Progressive Congress (APC), Mr. Joe Igbokwe's responses were predictable. He maintains that ***“We campaigned based on issues such as corruption and security”***. When asked: What were the dominant issues featured in the political advertisements and PR messages of your party during the 2015 presidential election campaign in Nigeria? Mr Igbokwe replied:

“We started by looking at the candidates who presented themselves for the election. Our own candidate President Muhammadu Buhari was contesting against an incumbent former President Goodluck Jonathan. Given that Buhari had contested unsuccessfully on three previous occasions, we needed to look at those things that made it impossible for him to win the elections and worked on them.

“Buhari became a case study for Nigerians because of his consistency and impeccable record as someone who does not tolerate corruption. Nigerians were already pushed to the wall because there was corruption everywhere which the last government did not take any positive steps to address. I will like to say some of the issues that dominated the political advertisement were the fight against corruption, fight against insurgency, revamping the economy and infrastructure development.

“These put together, gave the APC an edge over the sitting government because Nigerians really wanted a change from the old ways.”

Mr Igbokwe also agreed that the APC focused on the personal traits of its presidential candidate, GMB. On the strategies adopted in projecting the image of the APC presidential candidate (Muhammadu Buhari) during the campaigns, Mr Igbokwe disclosed:

“The antecedent of President Buhari defined the way we planned our strategy. We were very consistent in the way we went about projecting him. We never allowed the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to distract us from focus. We were very sure PDP was a spent force even though they rolled out all their propaganda machines to demonize Buhari.

We reached out to people at the grassroots, we organised media talk, the President and his Vice engaged the youths, whom you cannot wish away during elections. We tried as much as possible not to promise those things we cannot defend. Committees were also put in place across the country, ensuring that the people put their key into the Nigeria of our dream. The committees were manned by notable Nigerians, politicians and technocrats.”

“The (2015 presidential) campaigns were not issues-based so I didn't find them interesting”, says Mr. Bako Usman.

Another interview subject, an unemployed graduate of economics opines that the APC focused more on personality: ***“Though I wouldn't say the PDP had much substance in its manifesto, however, the party was more genuine than the APC. APC made so many promises full of lies. They (APC) made almost every Nigerian believe Buhari was a saint and a Messiah sent from God to purge evil from the land”***, he says.

Mr Usman, of CD suggests that future ***“Campaigns should be full of developmental messages rather than fake promises and trying to antagonise opponents on issues. Let it be ideologically-based, not personality”***. The journalist concurs. ***“Election campaigns should be issue-based and not just chanting party slogans.”***

On the subject matter of issue-based campaigns, Debo Adeniran says:

“I think the APC really talked about some major issues affecting the development of Nigeria, including corruption, insecurity and diversification of the economy. It's only that the method of selling the manifesto to Nigerians was pedestrian. I think the APC really did well in terms of issues-based campaign.”

7.6.5 Hate-Speech Nature, Campaigns and Their Sources

The Publicity Secretary of the APC in Lagos State, during the interview said that hate speech was rife during the 2015 Presidential election and, expectedly, that they mostly emanated from the PDP:

“We were able to gauge the feeling of the people on hate political message. But, the PDP did itself lots of damage because it made our candidate much popular. The likes of Governor Ayo Fayose, Mr. Olisa Metuh and Femi Fani-Kayode helped our candidate a lot because people did not like the doses they were being fed on Buhari.”

Responding to the question of level of conformity of campaign advertisements to ethical codes of political advertising and public relations, Mr Igbokwe said:

“There is no doubt that government threw caution to the wind. We engaged experts who advised us on the do’s and don’ts of advertisement, so we ensured that we complied, but the then government believed they were in power and could do anything. Posters were arbitrarily removed and billboards were even damaged by their agents.”

Mr Igbokwe believes that media advertisements and public relation messages during the 2015 presidential election largely influenced the behaviours of the electorates:

“Because the huge billboards, radio jingle and newspapers advertisement made appreciable impact. Lots of articles were written on the candidate and many writers voluntarily defended the president through their newspapers column. Those they spent more in term of advertisement, but ours were very punchy and really appealed to the people at the grassroots. Where they spent N100 million, we spent N5 million. They had all the money. They campaigned for Buhari indirectly as they focused on hate and other non-issues.”

Mr Usman of Campaign for Democracy (CD) believes that both the PDP and APC deployed hate message campaign strategies and that ***“the impact (of hate speech) was that it became sectional and people largely voted on that sentiment.”*** The journalist also agrees that both PDP and APC engaged hate speeches. He says that the negative implications of hate speech in the body politic was huge: ***“The election wasn’t about the content but attacking personalities, thus, some persons would have voted based on the impression the other party presented.”*** He points at the spokesperson for the APC, Lai Mohammed as one of the heaviest users of hate speeches. The unemployed university graduate says ***“Yes, the use of hate speech was too much during the (2015) electioneering, especially from the APC”.***

Comrade Aborisade defines hate speech as:

“Camapign messages (that) have to do with political messages or speeches, slogans, which directly or indirectly injure and/or threaten the other person’s religious, ethnic, sectional or geographic affiliations or interests”

He submits that:

“Hate messages were common to the two major parties. It consisted of threats that the country would burn if their candidates did not win. This prompted mass migration from region to region out of pervasive fear that Nigeria might break up, regardless of which party won at the centre. It took more of hate speeches along ethnic and regional lines, reflecting the geographic or ethnic primordial backgrounds of the presidential candidates.”

Mr. Adeniran also says that ***“the use of hate speech was massive (by both PAD and APC) during the elections. I would say the contest was not done based on fair competition, but on hatred towards each other.”***

On the consequences of hate speeches for the political process, Comrade Aborisade asserts:

“I take serious objections to hate messages. The phenomenon of hate speeches depicts a society in bondage where community members live in fear unless they live to satisfy the whims and caprices of some others. This offends my ideological disposition which favours people living in full freedom to differ from others, to hold independent opinions, make political or religious choices and live anywhere in peace without threatening others or being threatened under any guise.”

On the inherent dangers of the use of hate speeches, Comrade Aborisade concludes that ***“hate speeches encourage voter apathy on a large scale. Hate speeches are not only unnecessary for voting choices they constitute crimes under the law.”***

Professor Ojebode defines hate speeches as ***“speeches that attack a group on the basis of attributes such as gender, ethnic origin, religion, race, disability, or sexual orientation.”*** He believes that politicians use mischievous means to achieve their goal, including hate speech.

He then referred to the case of (Ayo) Fayose’s print advert on the “Obituary of GMB”, claiming that Buhari was going to die in the State House, as a clear case of hate speech. Meanwhile, the worst hate message came from individuals (the then Muhammadu Buhari) was not also spared here (remember the blood of monkey message?) Professor Ojebode speaks further:

“Of course, hate messages were employed in the 2015 general elections; like I said most came from individuals- politicians (as individuals) electorates (as individuals); I don’t enjoy hate messages because they are scary. Hate begets hate. The hate speeches made the campaign scary, there were a lot of vulgar language involved. Well, I am not in the position to answer on religious lines, but personally I think hate begets hate.”

7.6.6 Involvement of Foreign Communication Experts

We also sought to confirm from Mr. Igbokwe the level of involvement/engagement of local and foreign advertising agencies/ PR consultants in the design and execution of your party’s advertising messages during the 2015 general elections. He has this to say:

“We engaged largely local advertisement agencies. The foreign consultants we engaged equally did great job. I must say both local and foreign were involved but we patronized the local agencies more.”

The creative advertising and public relations strategies deployed by the APC for the promotion of its presidential candidate (GMB) was that:

“Buhari was (presented as) a man of character, he is disciplined and detest corruption. The records are there for verification because he held various top positions, yet he did not dip his hand into the nation’s wealth. All this was a plus for our party and we took advantage of that to hammer on his track records.”

The uniqueness of the 2015 presidential election campaigns compared to previous election campaigns, lies in the fact that ***“It was a popular candidate against a sitting government”***

7.6.7 Prominent Media Channels

The APC deployed existing media to promote its party and presidential candidate during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Although the party relied on newspapers and radio for electorates in rural communities. The journalist who was a part of our interviewees, admitted thus: “Social media, (are the most effective) because of the demographic reach of social media. It targeted a lot of young people who were the major voters”. On uses of the media during the 2015 presidential election, Comrade Aborisade submits:

“I got campaign messages of the parties through a mix of television, radio and newspapers. In addition, I consciously looked out for the parties’ manifestoes. While I got that of the APC, I did not succeed in getting that of the PDP, [if that party had any at all].”

Professor Ojebode keenly followed the presidential electioneering processes through media monitoring and other available channels. He recognises the primacy of new media in the success of the 2015 presidential election.

“Well, the 2015 general elections was in every available media; and there are numerous reasons for that. In fact, it was in the traditional media as well. But let me comment on the new media and what particularly made that interesting. You see, the cost of data in 2011 was higher than it was in 2015. The cheap access to data made individuals to have unfettered participation in the campaigns as they lended their voice to the issues raised. Also, most newspapers have migrated online and the most interesting thing is Chinese phones were plenty and cheap; forget about the durability, but this made the people participate well in the campaign process.”

7.7. Summary of IDI Report in North-West

A total of 30 individuals who voted during the 2015 presidential election were interviewed. Ten respondents were drawn from each of the three Senatorial districts in Kano state using purposive sampling techniques. The Senatorial zones are: Kano Central Senatorial zone, Kano North Senatorial zone and Kano South Senatorial zone. The report is presented under the following themes: Party/Presidential candidate Preferences of Interviewees; Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns; Prominent Media Channels; Hate-speech Nature of the Campaign and their sources; Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns; Memorable Campaign Messages; Lessons of 2015 Election.

7.7.1 Party/Presidential candidate Preferences of Interviewees

From the 30 respondents interviewed, twenty respondents (22) said All Progressive Congress Party (APC) was their favourite political party. Eight respondents admitted that their favourite party was Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). Some of them admitted that the reason for choosing APC and held their position during the 2015 election campaign was because PDP ruled for 16 years without much development. For instance, Sani Musa Kabuga stated that: ***“PDP ruled this country for 16 years, the party brought unnecessary sufferings to masses and stealing of public funds among politicians. We are therefore tired of PDP.”*** Others said their choice for APC was because of President Muhammadu Buhari. ***“I am in APC to support Muhammadu Buhari”***, said Abdussamad Hassan.

7.7.2 Interesting Aspects of the Presidential Campaigns

A majority of the respondents interviewed stated that they followed the 2015 election campaigns for the two leading contending parties – APC and PDP – and that they were not as interesting as previous campaign messages. For instance, Tukur Magaji Ungogo from Kano Central Senatorial zone lamented that the level of demeaning in the 2015 campaign messages was disturbing. He cited an example with Patience Jonathan’s offensive statements of calling Hausa people Almajiris.

Majority of the respondents were of the view that the major difference between 2015 election campaign and other campaigns in the previous elections was that unlike 2015 election which was based on personality attacks, the previous elections were issues based campaigns. Hadiza Muktar Atiku said: “all the two leading political parties – APC and PDP carried campaign adverts that attacked their presidential flagbearers”. Twenty two (22) respondents said Buhari was their favourite presidential candidate, while twelve maintained it was Jonathan.

7.7.3 Prominent Media Channels

Out of thirty (30) respondents, twenty one (21) admitted getting the campaign messages on social media platforms such as facebook, whatsapp, twitter and Youtube on their mobile phones. “I have so much interest in politics. As such, I followed all the campaign messages from the beginning to the end” said Engr. Zubairu Danladi. Seven (7)

respondents said Radio and Television were their main sources of the 2015 campaign messages. A respondent from Kano South Senatorial zone admitted viewing the messages on Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) network and African Independence Television (AIT). Only two respondents mentioned flyers and posters as the sources of their 2015 campaign messages.

7.7.4 Memorable Campaign Messages

The data revealed that few of them could remember some of the campaign messages that particularly interest them. However, majority of the respondents stated that campaigns placed by APC were more appealing than those of PDP. The reason was that the messages by APC were soft in personality attack. Mannir Shehu one of the respondents from Kano South Senatorial zone maintained that there was nothing appealing because most of the campaign messages placed by both APC and PDP were demeaning. Though he admitted PDP had more of such campaign messages especially those carried by newspapers against Buhari.

7.7.5 Hate-Speech Nature, Campaigns and Their Sources

The data established that some of the respondents do not have a clear understanding on what hate speech is. Though there are some who admitted they know. However, when asked to cite examples of hate speech they couldn't. For example, Ramatu Inuwa described it as: ***“campaign statements containing calling names etc”***. The above statement confirmed that, perhaps, Ramatu may have an idea on what hate speech is, but, she could not give specific examples. But when asked whether APC and PDP used hate campaign messages during the 2015 elections, majority of the respondents affirmed that both parties used hate campaign messages in one way or the other. A respondent from Kano Senatorial zone stated that most of the campaigns by PDP contained hate messages. On the other hand, he admitted that APC also used it but its messages were minimal.

Majority of the respondents held the view that hate messages were employed in the 2015 general election campaigns by the two leading political parties – APC and PDP. These hate messages were relayed mostly on social media as well as on radio, television and during political campaign rallies. Zakari Musa recalled reading such hate campaign messages. In his words: ***“I read a lot of them on daily newspapers as well as watched some on AIT”***. For Tukur Yerima Abdullahi,

“I have never in my life seen dirty campaign messages like during ther 2015 presidential elections. PDP was trying to demonise and stop Muhammadu Buhari from winning the election. Likewise, APC placed such kinds of messages targeting Goodluck Jonathan. All these were uncalled-for.”

The whole scenario according to Emmanuel Joseph, a business man in Kano was divided along political parties, religion, geographical location and ethnicity. The respondents maintained that they did not like the messages because they considered them as demaning to the sensitivities of other party supporters, religious belief ethnic groups, and as such they were offensive to religious and moral beliefs and they played a role in voting

decision making. For instance, a respondent from Kano South Senatorial zone confessed that her voting choice was based on religious and moral beliefs which guided her in voting a candidate irrespective of the candidate's political party.

The messages were unnecessary since they were based on sentiments rather than issues based on parties manifestos and candidate's agenda. Others stated that the hate campaign messages they heard on radio and television and those read on newspapers informed the choice of the person they voted for. For instance, one of the respondents maintained that he felt bad when reading some of the hate campaign messages placed by APC against the person of Buhari. He cited example with the documentary titled ***"The Real Buhari", sponsored by PDP and aired by AIT. Another respondent said: "the level of political manouvre by the PDP to bring down was very clear"***. An interesting dimension was the confession of another respondent from Kano North Senatorial zone who confessed that inspite of the fact that he supported and is still supporting APC, the party also had its own aspect of hate campaign messages against PDP, particularly campaign adverts on the pages of newspapers sponsored by APC supporters from the South West.

Issue vs. Personality Based Campaigns

Responses to the question of whether or not the 2015 presidential campaigns focused issues or candidates' personalities are varied. While some of the respondents admitted that with or without the campaign messages, APC focused on the personality of Buhari, who was their choice during the presidential election, they maintained that whichever political party Buhari goes to, they will certainly go with him. Thus, issue-based campaign messages did not inform their choice of the person they voted for because they already had someone in mind.

Lessons of 2015 Presidential Election

In summary of the major issues discussed with the respondents, most of them suggested that political parties and their supporters should concentrate more on issues-based campaigns than hate campaign messages capable of demeaning peoples' personality, religious/ethnic beliefs as well as ethnicity. In the words of one of Aliyu Bala Kaware:

"Political parties should communicate their manifestos to supporters and prospective voters with a view to win their hearts in supporting their movements. Hate campaign messages are threats to the continuous existence of this country as multireligious and multicultural."

Chapter 8

8. Discussion of Findings and Significant Contributions

8.1. Introduction

In previous chapters, data from content analysis of media campaign messages on the 2015 presidential election, through newspaper advertisements, radio and television commercials, social media, including public relations messages were presented and extensively analysed. Seven research questions guided the conduct of this research. Accordingly, discussion of findings is presented in this Chapter along the following sub-themes, based on guiding research questions

8.2. Dominant Issues in 2015 Presidential Media Election Campaigns

This study attempts to establish the dominant issues featured in the political advertisements and PR messages during the 2015 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. The question we attempt to answer here is: What really are dominant issues featured in the media campaign messages during the 2015 presidential election campaign in Nigeria?

According to the survey data, more than half of respondents believed that issues of housing and general infrastructure were raised in the 2015 campaign, along with electricity generation, housing, the missing Chibok girls, and the nation's economy. Respondents also found issues raised in the Presidential campaigns very useful for influencing voting in the 2015 election.

Data analysis shows that a majority of the political adverts and public relations messages (49.43%) were issue based while 22.47% adverts were personality based. Out of this number, the APC had more issue-based adverts (40.44%) than the PDP (8.9%); the PDP sponsored more personality-based ads (14.6%) than the APC (7.86%).

On the other hand, the ads from the APC concentrated more on party promotion, and voters' education than the PDP. On that basis, corruption (13.63%), the economy (11.36%) and social welfare (9.09%) topped the major issues featured by the APC while economy (4.54%) and agriculture (2.27%) were the issues featured by the PDP. Similarly, the two parties addressed the issue of security and national unity; along with healthcare and agriculture. The results indicate that APC used a robust representation of key national issues to project the image of its presidential candidate more than PDP. In addition, APC presented 24 issues in support of its candidate and 12 issues against its main opposition while PDP presented seven (7) issues to support its candidate and one issue against its main opposition. This implies that APC was more active against the opposition through issue-based approach.

In the same vein, content analysis of newspaper advertisements reveals that GEJ and his party addressed relevant issues in the presidential campaigns. In *ThisDay* ad (29 January 2015) the issue of reduction of "polio cases ...by 98%" under GEJ was raised; the *Vanguard* newspaper ad (10/3/15) and *Daily Sun* ad (10/3/15), was youth-focused: "Goodluck for Nigerian youths" ; the *Daily Trust* (13/3/15) advertisement addressed the

issue of : “Telecom landmarks under President Goodluck Jonathan”; while the *Daily Sun* of 22 March 2015 drew attention to the fact that, under GEJ: “ Maternal mortality in Nigeria (was) reduced by 30%”;

The APC had its media election campaigns based on the “Change” mantra. (*The Guardian* of 2/2/2015 **“All the forces in the world are not as powerful as an idea whose time has come”**). Another advertisement (*The Guardian* 25/3/15) emphasises the APC’s campaign theme: **“Redefining our future through strategic change”** and depicts GMB with the ability to bring about changes in various segments of the society, e.g. development, electricity, security, agriculture, commerce, education, employment, health, transportation.

8.3. Projection of Image of Candidates in 2015 Presidential Election

In the electoral contest between President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) of the PDP and his closest challenger, General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB), which type of political advertisements and PR messages were more dominant in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria: image boosting or image attenuating advertisements and public relations messages?

Both the PDP and APC also adopted a political communication strategy identified in the literature as either image boosting or image attenuation (or attacks) (Olatunji & Akinjogbin, 2011). For instance, the advertisement in the *Vanguard* (29/1/15) shows GEJ as a ‘master builder’. With a caricature of GEJ as a bricklayer standing on brick formation of Nigerian (in letters) with the bricklayer’s tools, indicating Nigeria’s development as ‘work-in-progress’.

In an advertisement (*The Vanguard*, 29/1/15), while boosting the image of GEJ, also attacked the personality of GMB, and also engaged celebrity endorsement strategy by citing endorsement of GEJ as president by former President Shehu Shagari. It then attacked GMB whose era as military leader was criticized for lacking “development strides”.

The APC was not out-done as shown in the ad exposed through the *Vanguard* (10/3/15), GMB reassures Nigerians of his neutrality in matters of religion by showcasing his personal staff and close allies who are drawn from different religious persuasions (Christians and Muslims). The APC advertisements in *The Guardian* (25/3/15) and *The Punch* (23/3/15) similarly portrayed GMB as the nation’s expected Messiah “God, give us men!” Similarly, the APC’s advert in *The Punch* (23/3/15) depicted GMB and his political team as “Great men, (with) Great Vision”

In addition to image building, image attenuation was also dominant in campaign messages of both the PDP and APC. Data from analysis of newspaper contents indicate that the PDP sponsored slightly more of attack campaign messages than the APC. One of such attack ads appeared in the *Vanguard* Newspaper (19/2/15), and the *Daily Trust* (11/2/15).

Similarly, the personality of GMB was attacked in *The Guardian* (29/1/15), with the headline: **“Please explain this!”** with the text recalling to memory how GMB **“threw Fela into prison for possession of foreign currency. And yet allowed 53 suitcases**

belonging to your (his) ADC's father containing some purported \$700m into the country". In like manner, the headline of PDP-sponsored ad in *Vanguard* newspaper (29/1/15) warns Nigerians against voting for GMB: **"Do not allow this dictator take us back to the era of doom and brutality."**

The APC equally resulted to attack advertisement strategy. Examples are: **"World's verdict on Jonathan"** (*Daily Sun* 29/1/15); **"Nigerians beware! When Jonathan vows to do more, he means to do more damage."** (*The Nation* 10/3/15, and *Daily Trust* 10/3/15); and **"Nigerians need jobs, not death"**, an apparent reference to the failed recruitment exercise of Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) during GEJ administration, where scores of Nigerian youths were stampeded to death (*The Guardian*, 13/3/15).

Another pungent attack on GEJ (*The Nation*, 26/3/2015) when the APC described GEJ as a derelict hireling: **"A hired man is not a real shepherd, the sheep mean nothing to him"**, in apparent reference to the abduction of Chibok school girls. In reality, much of the advertisements perceived by the audience as laden with hate messages could easily pass for attack advertisement, which is often tolerated in political advertising, according (Olatunji and Akinjogbin, 2011; Adelakun, 2017).

8.4. Hate Political Messages in the 2015 Presidential Election and Influences on Voters

What is the perception of electorates on hate political messages during the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria? How much of hate political messages are embedded in the political advertisements during the 2015 presidential election and from which sources? What are the influences of competing advertising messages, be it positive, negative or hate campaigns, on the Nigerian electorates generally?

First, it is necessary to establish the extent to which hate messages are dominant in the presidential campaigns during the 2015 election in Nigeria. Consequently, we shall address another dimension of the problem of hate speech which has to do with the perception of electorates on hate political messages during the 2015 presidential election media campaigns in Nigeria.

A review of campaign messages in newspapers, broadcast and social media reveals several degrees of usage of PDP-sponsored hate messages (*The Punch* (4/2/15); *Vanguard* Newspaper (5/2/15); and *Daily Sun* (4/2/15) with the claim: **"APC wants power through violence"**; **"Buhari: Electing APC candidate as president will be disaster for Nigeria, Africa"** (*Vanguard* newspaper, 23/3/15); and **"Buhari view national issues with parochial lenses, even Boko Haram"** (*The Nation* 6/3/15).

The PDP also portrayed GMB as anti-Igbo (*Vanguard* newspaper, 23/3/15) **"Buhari's malice against Igbo – No reason whatsoever"**. (See also *ThisDay* (10/2/15), and *Daily Sun* (10/2/15) with the headline **"Ndigbo, lest we forget"**. The Popular death wish ad sponsored by the Executive Governor of Ekiti State, Ayodele Fayose, titled **"Nigerians be warned! (Life & death)"**, pushed hate campaign messages beyond a tolerable level (*The Punch*, 18/1/15 and *Daily Sun* 19/1/15).

Newspaper data further demonstrate that the APC also engaged hate messages in its media campaigns, evidenced by the advertisement which appeared in *The Nation* newspaper of 25th March 2015 where it claims that: **“GEJ hates the Yorubas”**. by allocating two (2) positions to the Yoruba nationality out of 50 federal appointees.

Similarly, the APC ad (*ThisDay* of 5th February 2015) alleged that GEJ and his team were trying to mastermind a military coup to subvert the democratic process. Other instances of hate messages attributed to the APC were hate-laden statements reportedly made by GMB in public fora as contained in ads sponsored by the PDP (*Vanguard* 19/1/2015); and *ThisDay* (10/1/2015), *Daily Sun* (10/2/2015) and *Daily Trust* (10/2/2015) with the same headline **“Beware, ‘agent provocateur’ on the loose!”**.

Although survey shows categorically that the APC churned out more hate messages than the PDP, findings from the qualitative segment of survey based on key informants, project more convincing results that are in tandem with analysis of media contents (newspapers, TVC and radio sports) including social media data, that the PDP’s messages featured more of hate messages than the APC.

The seemingly over-representation of survey data from both the South-East and South-South zones, two zones that this research shows be more sympathetic towards GEJ and the PDP, may have skewed the survey results that claim that APC messages were more tilted towards hate speech than those of the PDP. But It suffices to establish here that both GEJ and GMB and their respective campaigners sponsored hate messages during the 2015 presidential election, with clear media evidences featuring more hate messages emanating from the PDP, in spite of the perception to the contrary from the quantitative survey.

Interestingly, although respondents expressed their disgust for the prevalence of hate messages during the 2015 presidential election, nearly all the respondents that claimed to have voted reported that their voting decision was not influenced by the prevalent hate messages during the election but were driven by a passion to experience something new or retain the old.

Granted the pervasive nature of hate messages in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria, it is equally important to establish the extent to which the tone of campaign messages influenced behaviours of electorates during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria.

The outcome of the election was not dependent on the communication strategies of either of the two parties, or the ethical nature of their campaign messages alone. Following series of intra-party crisis, there were series of defections of notable politicians from the ruling PDP. The list included Alhaji Abubakar Atiku, Abdul-fatah Ahmed, Governor of Kwara State (North-Central Nigeria), Rotimi Amaechi, Governor of Rivers State (South-South); Governor Rabiul Kwankwanso, Governor of Kano State (North-West); Governor Murtala Nyako of Adamawa State (North-East) and Governor Aliyu Wamakko of Sokoto State (North-West).

All these prominent politicians, with their large followers, defected to the opposition APC, including Governor Rochas Okorocha of APGA who defected to the APC. Other notable politicians who defected from the PDP to the APC were 37 members of the Federal House of Representatives, along with the Speaker of the House, Honourable Aminu

Tambuwal and 11 other Senators who defected from the PDP to the APC between 2013 and 2014.

Moreover, a former President of the country and former Chairman Board of Trustees of the PDP, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo “**published a scathing 18-page open letter to Jonathan-in December 2013**” and also accused Jonathan of failing to curb corruption, insecurity and oil theft (Thurston, 2015, p. 10). Obasanjo later publicly tore his membership card of the PDP. The combined effect of all this was that the PDP was decimated, if not paralyzed before the epic election battle of 2015.

The formidable leadership of the APC at the time was also significant, with personalities such as Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu, former Governor of Lagos State; Chief John Oyegun, former Governor, Edo State and Chairman, APC; Senator Lawal Shuaibu, Deputy National Chairman (North), APC; and Chief Segun Oni, former Governor, Ondo State and Deputy National Chairman (South), APC, held sway.

8.5. Ethical Dimension of Campaign Messages of 2015 Presidential Election

To what extent do contents of political messages and media execution strategies conform to existing media ethical codes in Nigeria?

8.5.1 Creative Communication Strategies Adopted in 2015 Presidential Election

What are creative advertising strategies deployed for the promotion of presidential candidates of leading political parties (PDP and APC) during the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria. Moreover, between image-boosting and image attenuation, what is the strategy adopted in projecting the image of the presidential candidate of the two leading political parties (PDP and APC) during the presidential election campaigns in Nigeria?

This research establishes that virtually all available media channels including print (newspapers/magazines), broadcast (radio/TV), outdoor, and social media, were deployed to disseminate campaign messages during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Data show that the channel considered most effective by the interviewees are: television, social media, radio, billboard, and print media (newspapers) in that order. The rising importance of social media is noteworthy, although this is only popular among the youths and the educated urban dwellers in the country, just as established in the literature (Bartlett, et al 2015).

The type of appeals evident through content analysis of newspaper adverts was the emotional/psychological appeal (30.33%) and the fun/escape appeal (26.96%) used by the APC; the PDP's major appeals were emotional/psychological appeal (10.11%) and logical appeal (6.74%). For both parties, emotional/psychological appeal was the predominant strategy used in most of the adverts (40.44%).

In a report, Ademigbuji, (2015, p. 27), citing a data from Compliance and Content Monitoring (CCM) Limited, shows that the PDP and APC spent a total of N3.23billion on political campaign advertisements during the 2015 Presidential election. A breakdown shows that the PDP spent more (N2.59 billion or 77%) than the APC (N728 million or

23%). The above figure represents ad spend on radio, television, press and billboard by the two leading political parties between December 2014 and March 2015., the four critical months leading up to the March 2015 Presidential election. These figures were arrived at ***“after a thorough analysis of over 260 broadcast media, 48 print media and over 1,000 billboards across the country”***, (Ademigbuji, (2015, p. 5).

The above figure may appear as a tip of the Iceberg, taking into consideration that monies expended by the two leading parties to hire foreign communication consultants and to procure social media space were largely not captured. An online source claims that GEJ spent USD1.2 million for hiring U.S. public relations (PR) firm Levick⁶

Ademigbuji, (2015, p. 5) reports further that: “about 253 creative materials were deployed across radio and television channels in the 260+ stations monitored by CCM, with PDP utilizing 145 materials. APC deployed 107 materials”. About 85 percent of the media campaign spending by both parties concentrated on the traditional media of television and press. Thus, the then ruling PDP outspent its rival (APC) during the 2015 Presidential election. This was not unexpected, given the access the ruling Party had to diverse sources of campaign funds.

Speaking about some of the campaign strategies adopted by the CMC Connect to strategically position the PDP and its Presidential Candidate, GEJ, Mr. Badejo Okusanya admitted the following:

“The first part of the work which we did was to get Nigerians to appreciate the role of the military in the fight against Boko Haram in general and insurgency. Thereafter, this was leading up to the Christmas season, so we had a campaign on TV stations wishing Nigerians Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. We also wrote materials which we titled “FACTS Speak”. The essence of this was to draw attention to some of the achievements of the PDP as a party.”

Commenting on the engagement of foreign consultants by both the PDP and APC during the 2015 presidential election, an online report says:

“This time, Buhari’s party has mounted a better campaign in part thanks to an aggressive social media strategy. Cooke of CSIS says social media could be deciding factor: “How effectively the two parties shape and convey [their] two competing narratives in the next six weeks will have a major impact on how people vote in March. And social media will very likely have a big role to play in that”⁷.

⁶ <http://www.greenbreports.com/home/opinion-2/commentary/president-jonathans-pr-offensive-backfires-nigeria-abroad-tim-cocks-reuters.html> accessed on 28/12/17;

⁷ <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/weekly/index.php/notes-from-atlanta/19071-american-pr-firms-and-nigeria-s-presidential-election>. Date accessed 28/12/17

In a comparative analysis of the creative strategies adopted by both the PDP and the APC, an online feature titled ***“PR Lessons from Nigeria’s 2015 Presidential Elections”***, showed this statement:

“From the build-up of political activities to the declaration of the ruling party’s presidential candidate, it seemed the purpose was to “be all things to all people.” From “Continuity” to “Forward Nigeria”, the slogan kept changing to accommodate the special desire to “expand” focus. But the opposition kept to the message of “Change” summarised under three major themes — war against corruption, insecurity and economic mismanagement. No wonder they made better impact.

“Even some of the biggest gains of the Jonathan-led Federal Government — agriculture and railways transformation — were never branded for better focus and impact. Ex-president Shagari’s less impressive Green Revolution and President Obasanjo’s averagely packaged Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) will likely remain longer in the minds of Nigerians than the much- acclaimed agricultural programmes of President Jonathan because they were branded for sharper focus and impact”⁸.

One of the lessons of the media campaigns according to the source is the need to avoid disjointed information overload which creates confusion. Also, political communication strategists need to pay attention to and understand party/candidates’ critical positioning (Unique Selling Proposition (USP)), and then make purposeful, unique, clear, truthful, memorable and understandable statements.

Another significant aspect about the 2015 presidential media campaigns has to do with the extent to which the communication team of respective leading political parties achieved synergy in campaign planning and execution. The online analysis of the communication strategies of both parties reveals that the PDP-led government failed to radiate inspiration, charisma and commitment even within the party’s top echelon.

Moreover,

“Contradictory statements and public indictment of even the top party leaders was common (within the PDP). It is on record that the National Chairman of the party publicly indicted the party leader and President, and there were no consequences. Trust was clearly deficient. For the opposition (APC) team, the situation was clearly different. Although they were perceived as strange bedfellows that came together, they ran a campaign that radiated discipline, commitment and inspiration.

“Communications from different offices were not issued in a contradictory fashion. They came across, at least publicly, as a

⁸ <https://guardian.ng/saturday-magazine/pr-lessons-from-nigerias-2015-presidential-elections/> of 11 April 2015, date accessed: 28/12/17.

team that radiated trust. For any team to succeed, trust is an important asset in this day and age.”⁹

Caroline Wabara¹⁰ enunciated ten important political branding lessons to be learned from the media campaigns of GMB. They are as follows:

- The branding experts polished Buhari’s image and transformed him from a no-nonsense general into a likeable person by all tribes in Nigeria
- Be human and likeable. Buhari’s decision to unveil his family (especially his wife and grandchildren) to the world, melted the hearts of millions of Nigerians. It helped to portray the picture of a loving husband, father and grandfather.
- In the Southern part of Nigeria, Buhari, a staunch Muslim, attended church service and selected a Christian and Southerner to be his vice president.
- Without the help of branding/PR experts and social media influencers, Buhari wouldn’t stand the chance of beating the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan
- Buhari’s unique selling points were ‘CHANGE’ and ‘FIGHTING CORRUPTION’.
- Buhari engaged the power of social media
- Buhari’s party spent loads of cash on traditional and online advertising. From billboards, flyers, T.V, radio ads, to YouTube, Facebook, BBM, Twitter and Google AdWords Campaigns. The advertising agencies had a field day profiting from this campaign
- Buhari engaged the power of public speaking. Buhari received loads of speaking invitations from various professional bodies in Nigeria and in Chatham House, London.
- He sprung a surprise by adopting the power of the underdog
- Buhari did “as if” he acted the part.

Wabara¹¹ concludes:

If you take a closer look at Buhari’s campaign photographs, you’ll notice that he acted like he was already the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. From the designer suit he wore, to his relaxed and reassuring smile, with the country’s National flag in the background. He looked like he had already won the presidency, even though his chances looked bleak.

⁹ <https://guardian.ng/saturday-magazine/pr-lessons-from-nigerias-2015-presidential-elections/> of 11 April 2015, date accessed: 28/12/17.

¹⁰ <https://carolinewabara.com/2015/04/01/buhari-marketing-lessons-nigeria/> accessed on 28/12/18.

¹¹ <https://carolinewabara.com/2015/04/01/buhari-marketing-lessons-nigeria/> accessed on 28/12/17.

8.6. Influence of Foreign Communication Consultants in 2015 Presidential Campaigns

What is the level of involvement/engagement of local and foreign advertising agencies/public relations/communication consultants in the design and execution of advertising messages during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria?

What is the level of involvement/engagement of local and foreign advertising agencies/PR consultants in the design and execution of advertising messages during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria?

A combination of indigenous and foreign communication consultants were engaged by the PDP and APC during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. The Publicity Secretary, Lagos State All Progressive Congress (APC), Mr. Joe Igbokwe in an interview discloses that:

“We engaged largely local advertisement agencies. The foreign consultants we engaged equally did great job. I must say both local and foreign were involved but we patronized the local agencies more.”

A newspaper report titled “How Metuh funded Jonathan’s Media Campaign- EFCC witness”, (*The Punch* 29 January 2016), Adesomoju, (2016, p.29) quoted Mr. Badejo Okusanya, Managing Director, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of CMC Connect, (a Public Relations firm), as admitting that the PDP contracted his firm to handle the media publicity and image management for the party and its presidential candidate during the 2015 Presidential campaign. The media campaign fee was put at N77.5 million by Mr Okusanya. The CMC had similarly previously worked in support of the PDP communication efforts in 2013.

In a report titled “Nigeria 2015 – APC’s choice of American PR firm illegal, Nigerian PR Association says”¹², it is apparent that the APC hired an American public relations firm, AKPD, to manage its political communication for the 2015 general elections. Earlier, the APC had hired Burson-Marsteller, a London-based Public Relations and Public Affairs firm, to tackle her perception and reputation challenges¹³.

The news of the engagement of a foreign political consultant by the APC was allegedly released by the Party’s Interim National Publicity Secretary, Lai Muhammad, in a press statement reported in *The Nation* newspaper of Tuesday, February 18, 2014. The President of the professional body in Nigeria, Public Relations Consultants Association of Nigeria, (PRCAN) reportedly described the APC’s action as “illogical with the party’s avowed political philosophy”. Chido Nwakanma, the President of the association noted further:

“It is dumbfounding that a political party that positions itself as progressive and actuated by a desire to reposition Nigeria would by its actions, show its preference for foreign professionals against tried and tested practitioners at home, thereby evincing a contrarian desire to promote local

¹² <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/155525-nigeria2015-apcs-choice-american-pr-firm-illegal-nigerian-pr-association-says.html> on 28/12/17

¹³ <https://guardian.ng/saturday-magazine/pr-lessons-from-nigerias-2015-presidential-elections/> on 28/12/17.

unemployment. PRCAN is astounded that APC would ignore the clear provisions of Nigerian Law on professional practice by its conduct on the matter. What message is this political party sending to Nigerians? Is this foreign-is-better mentality what it would bring to governance? Would it also hire American lawyers or Queen's Counsels from England to handle pre- or post-election petitions?"¹⁴

But it was not only the APC that hired foreign political communications firm during the 2015 presidential election. The PDP equally engaged foreign political/communication consulting firms. Another online source¹⁵ reveals that:

"Joe Trippi, who worked on the campaigns of such luminaries as Walter Mondale, Edward Kennedy and Howard Dean, is advising Jonathan. Alongside him is Bell Pottinger, the firm that helped Margaret Thatcher win three elections. For the APC, David Axelrod, legendary campaign strategist for Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012, is working on strategy and messaging. Alongside his company is Britain's BTP Advisers, led by Mark Pursey, which played a robust role in Uhuru Kenyatta's nationalist election campaign in 2013.

"It is quite amazing that party officials were sold on the fact that hiring these guys will help brush up their respective images and in effect connect them with the international communities. This assumption though absurd was orchestrated by top politicians as a magic wand to win the 2015 presidential election by any means possible."

The online source draws the nation's attention to the 1993 Nigerian Presidential Debate between MKO Abiola of the SPD and Tofa of the NRC, which it said is a classic example of the prowess of marketing communication firms in Nigeria.

"Presently, there is no added value in massaging the image of PDP's presidential candidate, Goodluck Jonathan, rather he is perceived internationally as a confused man trying to contain insurgency. The Jonathan campaign currently shown on local and international media is the product of so-called foreign strategists - comparing Jonathan with Lee Yew, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela and Barrack Obama.... The engagement of foreign strategists is a farce and shameful."¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ <http://www.arisenigeria.org/component/content/article/43-latest-news/670-nigeria-election-2015-who-are-these-foreign-political-campaign-strategies> retrieved on 28/12/17;

¹⁶ <http://www.arisenigeria.org/component/content/article/43-latest-news/670-nigeria-election-2015-who-are-these-foreign-political-campaign-strategies>, op cit. 28/12/17

In an article, Farooq Kperogi¹⁷ reveals that two firms that are political allies in America have found themselves working on opposite sides in Nigeria's presidential election - AKPD Message and Media, founded by former Obama campaign manager David Axelrod, was hired by the APC while the PDP initially hired Levick Strategic Communications, in June 2014 to help the GEJ government respond to the kidnapping of more than 200 schoolgirls by Boko Haram.

The report further noted that Trippi collaborated with GEJ on "Forward Nigeria" ads between September and November 2014. Jonathan's ads changed noticeably after Trippi's work ended. "Four months ago, the (PDP) ads featured students, new building projects, and generally a lot of Nigerians smiling and working. By contrast, an ad from January focused almost entirely on Jonathan himself, working out on an elliptical trainer and playing squash before meeting with advisers¹⁸.

The PDP earlier hired Levick, an American public Relations firm, "to provide strategic direction for her image management activities months before the last presidential elections". Tim Cocks in a report published on July 8th 2014, - "President Jonathan's PR Offensive Backfires In Nigeria And Abroad"- says that GEJ hired U.S. public relations firm Levick for USD1.2 million¹⁹. Similarly, the APC initially hired Burson-Marsteller, a London-based Public Relations and Public Affairs firm, to tackle her perception and reputation challenges. And less than a year to the general elections, APC again hired another political strategy agency, AKPD²⁰.

An article which appeared on a Blog site and titled "Meet The 30-Year Old Nigerian Entrepreneur Who Helped 3 African Presidents Get Elected"²¹ documents the activities of an indigenous communications consulting firm that handled the social media campaigns on behalf of GMB, a campaign largely acclaimed to be critical in the success of the APC during the March 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Interestingly, the firm, StateCraft Inc. is an indigenous marketing communication firm, but has been responsible *instrumental* for the electoral fortune of two other presidential candidates in neighbouring West African countries- Ghana and Sierra Leone.

After helping Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo to win the January 2016 election, Ghana's three-time presidential aspirant, now elected President of Ghana has this to say of Adebola Williams, Chief Executive Officer of StateCraft Inc. "This is the man with the golden touch," Anything he touches turns to gold."

"He is not exaggerating. Williams, only 30 this year, has turned out to be the continent's leading authority on winning elections, running a governance communication company

¹⁷ <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/weekly/index.php/notes-from-atlanta/19071-american-pr-firms-and-nigeria-s-presidential-election> accessed 28/12/17;

¹⁸ <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/weekly/index.php/notes-from-atlanta/19071-american-pr-firms-and-nigeria-s-presidential-election> accessed on 28/12/17;

¹⁹ <http://www.greenreporters.com/home/opinion-2/commentary/president-jonathans-pr-offensive-backfires-nigeria-abroad-tim-cocks-reuters.html> on 29/12/17;

²⁰ <https://guardian.ng/saturday-magazine/pr-lessons-from-nigerias-2015-presidential-elections/> accessed on 28/12/17;

²¹ <http://www.forbes.com/sites/mfonobongnsehe/2017/02/17/meet-the-30-year-old-nigerian-entrepreneur-who-helped-3-african-presidents-get-elected/5/#301245e1f67e> on 16/02/17.

that won the presidential elections in Nigeria in 2015 and then won the presidential elections in Ghana in 2016.”²²

Both elections are very similar. Both incumbents, as Vice-Presidents had stumbled into public office based on the deaths of their principals. Both entered into office on a wave of wild popularity. Their opponents had run at least twice each before (three in the case of Nigeria’s Muhammadu Buhari) – and both had won in the years that they brought in StateCraft Inc to manage their political communication. Both campaigns ran on a ‘Change’ message.

Williams is co-founder of RED and StateCraft Inc., a network of four media companies focused on Africa’s youth: Red Media Africa, a Public Relations company working in West Africa for Facebook, Uber, Union Bank and Heineken; Generation Y!, a TV and online content company with one of Nigeria’s most popular online newspapers and *The Future Project*, a social enterprise that hosts Africa’s biggest youth social change event, The Future Awards Africa. StateCraft was instrumental to the electoral success of GEJ in 2011, President Goodluck Jonathan requested the firm to handle campaign communications targeted at the growing youth market.

²² The report that follows is a culled from: <http://www.forbes.com/sites/mfonobongnsehe/2017/02/17/meet-the-30-year-old-nigerian-entrepreneur-who-helped-3-african-presidents-get-elected/5/#301245e1f67e> on 16/02/17

Chapter 9

9. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This research has established the fact that even in the 2015 Presidential Election, voting was still largely along the traditional north–south dichotomy, with PDP’s presidential candidate, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan having support mainly from the South-South and South East geo-political zones and the APC’s candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari having massive support from the North West and North Central. We can infer from the study that the South West that voted evenly for the two candidates did so because none of the two presidential candidates is of the South West extraction.

The study presents clear evidence of the usage of negative tone /hate speech by the two major political parties on all the media platforms; traditional and new media.

Following from the above, this study suggests that there is not enough strong deterrent on the part of the media not to publish or broadcast hate messages. This lack of deterrence also holds true for the individuals and interest groups that are the initiators of the hate speech. This is evidently unhelpful, if not absolutely inimical to the growth of democracy in Nigeria.

We could conclude from this study that the concentration of the political parties, interest groups and the candidates on personality projection and attacks as the case may be at the expense of developmental issues leaves much to be desired. Among other things, this skewed communication structure leaves the nation and the voting public in limbo as they are unable to hold the subsequent winners of the election accountable for any major issues; since no concrete commitment was made ab initio on any major issues of development and growth.

The two parties, PDP and APC engaged both foreign and local communications consultants in varying degrees.

9.1. Recommendations

Based on the foregone conclusions from this study, the following recommendations are being put forward.

1. Whereas some reasonable level of progress has been made in addressing the challenge of the north–south divide, a lot still needs to be done by government and all stakeholders to ensure voting pattern goes beyond the primordial ethnic sentiments.
2. The use of negative tone and hate speech remain a challenge that should be addressed frontally because of its catastrophic effect if left unchecked. That both parties, the PDP and the APC engaged in it significantly (67%) is worrisome. The recommendation is focussed more on how to prevent hate speeches in the media thus:
 - Every political advertisement, without exception must be vetted by APCON and NBC before publication or broadcast.

- No media house should publish any material without the approval stamp.
 - Since the strategy behind this particular recommendation is prevention, the regulatory bodies should be empowered with appropriate structures that could deliver approval within 48 hours of application. The process should be such that it can commence and be completed seamlessly online.
3. The codes of the regulatory bodies, APCON and NBC in particular should be amended to state that penalty for publishing or broadcasting non-vetted material or material adjudged by the body to be hate speech, shall be twice the rate that media had been paid for that particular advert, and that the individual, interest group or political party involved shall pay the amount paid to the media to the regulatory body. If all stakeholders genuinely desire an end to hate speech in the media the deterrent must be strong enough. The risk going forward should not make any business sense to the media and anyone involved.
 4. All stakeholders in the political process have a collective responsibility for the growth and development of a sustainable democracy in Nigeria. Consequently, there is a need for developmental agenda-setting during the period of political campaigns. A situation where two-thirds of advertisements are on personality attack and hate speech is inimical
 - Media houses should on their own publish and broadcast regularly the position of each major party on key national issues viz: security, education, health, economy, agriculture, power etc. This should be done as a social service.
 - The major political parties and candidates should be made to compulsorily publish every week issues- based communication as part of building an army of informed electorate.
 - These recommendations should be replicated at the state level because most of the issues therein are not limited to elections at the presidential level only.

9.2. Further Studies

Taking due cognisance of the pervasiveness of the social media and the potential of immediacy of its communication impact, there is an urgent need to put in place appropriate controls measures for the continued stability of our democracy. The way contents are generated and processed on social media does not fit into the traditional Gate –keeping model.

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13. Appendix 1: ASCPN Research Team

ACSPN Research Team (As at Dec 2017)

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24	Mrs Uju NWAKALOR	Nigerian Television Authority, Sbuja	Consultant (Interviewer, FCT)
25	Mr. Victor babatunde,	Lecturer, Kwara State University, Malete, Iloring	Consultant (Questionnaire Administration, North-Central

14. Appendix 2: Coding Sheet – Newspaper Ads

Coding Schedule for 2015 Election Newspaper Advertisement

1. **Copy Title:** _____
2. **Newspaper(s) of Exposure with Date:** a. _____
 b. _____
 c. _____
 d. _____
 e. _____
 f. _____

3. **Ad Type:**

Personality - based	01	☐
Issue - based	02	

4. **Personality being promoted:**

Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ)	01	☐
General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB)	02	

5. **Purpose of copy if personality based**

Boost personality of preferred candidate	01	☐
Attack personality of opposed candidate	02	
Neutralise claims against preferred candidate	03	
Sell party of preferred candidate	04	
Attack credibility of opposing party	05	
Attack credibility of Jega / INEC	06	

6. **Purpose of copy if issue based:** If copy is issue based, identify the focus and indicate if it is for promoted for the preferred candidate of against the opposition candidate by ticking the cell in the appropriate column.

Focus of issue based copy	For preferred candidate	Against the opposition
Economy		
Health care		
Infrastructure		
Security		
Corruption		
Politics		
Education		
Transportation		
Agriculture		
Human rights		
National unity		
Resource Control		
Social welfare		
Other (Specify) _____		

7. **Tone:**

Positive	01	☐
Negative	02	
Neutral	03	
8. **Colour:** Coloured 01
 Black & White 02

☐
9. **Ad sponsor:**

Political parties / Campaign Organisations	01	☐
Interest groups	03	
Politicians	04	

Corporate organisations	05
Unidentified sponsors	06
Other	07

10. Ad Position:

Full Wrap Around	01
Front Page Wrap (10" x 6)	02
Back Page Wrap (10" x 6)	03
Half front page (7" x 6)	04
Front page (Under/Above Mast Head)	05
Front page Ear Piece	06
Other Front Page	07
Other Back Page	08
Inside front page	09
Inside back page	10
Centre Spread	11
Double Spread	12
Other Inside pages	13

**11. Copy size:**

Full page	01
Half Page	02
Quarter Page	03
Others (specify in Column x Inches)	04
Three-quarter page	05
Spread	06

**12. Content summary:**

15. Appendix 3: Coding Sheet – TVC/Radio

Coding Schedule for 2015 Election Broadcast Commercials

13. Copy Title:

(a) TVC

(b) Radio Jingle _____

Date of Broadcast. (Not stated) – Explain (commercial collected from APCON-regulatory agency)

14. Ad Type: TVC

Radio Commercial/Documentary

15. Ad Focus:

Personality - based 01
Issue - based 02
Personality/Issue 03

☐

16. Personality being promoted:

Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) 01
General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB) 02
Other(state) 03

☐

17. Purpose of copy if personality based

Boost personality of preferred candidate 01
Attack personality of opposed candidate 02
Neutralise claims against preferred candidate 03
Sell party of preferred candidate 04
Attack credibility of opposing party 05
Attack credibility of Jega / INEC 06

☐

18. Purpose of copy if issue based: If copy is issue based, identify the focus and indicate if it is for promoted for the preferred candidate of against the opposition candidate by ticking the cell in the appropriate column.

Focus of issue-based copy	For preferred candidate	Against the opposition
Economy		
Health care		
Infrastructure		
Security		
Corruption		
Politics		
Education		
Transportation		
Agriculture		
Human rights		
National unity		
Resource Control		
Social welfare		
Other (Specify) _____		

19. Tone:

Positive 01
Negative 02
Neutral 03

☐

20. Ad sponsor:

Political parties / Campaign Organisations 01
Interest groups 03
Politicians 04
Corporate organisations 05

☐

Unidentified sponsors	06
Other	07

21. Duration:

15"	01
30"	02
45"	03
60"	04
30'	05

22. Appeals:

Logical	01
Emotional/Psychological	02
Sociological	03
Fun/Escape	04
Multilevel	05

23. If Fun/Entertainment, indicate use of artistes -----

24. Content summary (narrate the story, stating content of commercial):

16. Appendix 4: Questionnaire

Dear Respondents,

This questionnaire seeks to investigate the role of Advertising and Public Relations in the 2015 Election Campaigns. Honest responses will be highly appreciated as there are no wrong or right answers. Please () appropriately. All information provided shall be used solely for research purpose and treated confidentially. Thank you.

Section A: Demographic Information

1. Age Group: (a) 18-28 years [] (b) 29-29 years [] (c) 30-39 years [] (d) 40-49 [] (e) 50-59 [] (f) 60 and Above []
2. Marital Status: (a) Single [] (b) Married [] (c) Widowed [] (d) Separated []
3. Religion: (a) Christianity [] (b) Islam [] (c) Traditional [] (d) Other/None []
4. Education: (a) NCE/OND [] (b) BSc/HND [] (c) Postgraduate [] Other/None []
5. Zone of Origin of Respondent: (a) South-West [] (b) South-South [] (c) South-East []
(d) North-West [] (e) North-East [] (f) North-Central []
6. Zone where Respondent Voted: (a) South-West [] (b) South-South [] (c) South-East []
(d) North-West [] (e) North-East [] (f) North-Central []
7. Did you vote in the 2015 General Elections? (a) Yes [] (b) No []
8. Who did you cast your Vote for: (a) PDP: President Good-luck Ebele Jonathan []
(b) APC: President Muhammadu Buhari []
(c) Other/None []

Section B:

PERCEPTION OF ELECTORATES ON HATE POLITICAL MESSAGES OF 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Instruction: Tick () by these codes (SA=Strongly Agree, A=Agree, PA=Partially Agree, SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree).

S/N	Statements on Hate Messages in the Campaigns	SA	A	PA	D	SD
1.	Adverts from APC are more hate focused than adverts from the PDP					
2.	Messages in the 2015 election campaigns made the campaign interesting and fun					
3.	Messages in the 2015 election campaigns were more party focused					
4.	Messages in the 2015 election campaigns were more personality focused					
5.	Messages in the 2015 election campaigns are highly welcomed development					
6.	I voted for my Candidate because of the issues raised in the campaign					
7.	I consider the campaign messages as unwholesome and childish					
8.	I consider the campaign messages as opposed to my religious virtues					
9.	I consider the campaign messages as an insult on the Nigerian electorates					
10.	I enjoyed the hate messages in the 2015 campaign and wished for more					
11.	Issues of Electric Power were raised in the campaign messages					
12.	Issues of Housing and general infrastructure were raised in the 2015 campaign					
13.	Issues of the Chibok girls were raised in the campaign					
14.	Issues of the nation's economy were raised in the campaign messages					
15.	The 2015 Election Campaign is by far the most interesting in the history of Nigeria					

Section C: Other Issues

13. Did you find the campaign messages useful for voting? Yes [] No []
14. Do you think campaign messages by the APC were done to bring President Jonathan down? Yes [] No []
15. Do you think that hate messages are just normal for a campaign to be successful? Yes [] No []

Section D: Additional Information

Thank you for your audience and cherished responses

17. Appendix 5: Discussion Guide

Interview Guide

Research Question:

What is the Perception of electorates on hate political messages during the 2015 presidential campaigns?

- Copies of informed consent and confidentiality forms should be provided to each participant and read out for the benefit of those who cannot read. Participants should be provided an opportunity to ask questions. Verbal agreement should be taped.
- The following is a guide. It is expected that there will be instances where the respondents are not English Speaking. In such instances, interpreters should be sought from among the people; someone who is known by the respondents is preferable. Where this is difficult or impossible, the interviewer or an expert interpreter can then be used for the interview. The latter should however be trained and be familiar with the culture and or traditions of the people for good communication.

Start by explaining the ground rules as follows:

Before we start, I would like to remind you that there are no right or wrong answers in this discussion. We are interested in knowing what you think, so please feel free to be frank and to share your point of view. It is very important that we hear your opinion.

1. Did you have a favourite Political Party among these two? (**Interviewer should note the different interests/responses**).
 - Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
 - All Progressive Congress (APC)
 - What is the reason for your choice?
 - Was this the position you held during the 2015 electioneering campaign and why?
2. Bearing in mind the 2015 General Election Campaign in Nigeria:
 - To what extent did you consider the campaign messages in 2015 Presidential election interesting and why?
 - What are the things you considered unique about the presidential election campaigns of 2015 compared to previous election campaigns?
 - Which is your favorite Presidential Candidate? (**The repetition is intentional for reassurance**).
3. Through what medium of communication did you get the campaign messages?
 - Did you get them through political campaign rallies?
 - Did you get them through newspapers/magazines?
 - Did you get them through the television?
 - Did you get them through the radio?
 - Did you get them through your mobile phones?
 - Did you get them through flyers?
 - Did you get them through Bill board?

- Did you get them through social media?
 - What other means did the campaign messages reach you?
 - Which of the media of communication did you consider most effective for obtaining campaign messages in the 2015 presidential elections and why?
4. Can you recall some of the campaign messages that particularly interested you during the 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria?
- Were they campaign messages from the Peoples Democratic Messages PDP?
 - Were they campaign messages from the All Progressive Congress APC?
 - What did you consider interesting in the said campaign?
5. Interviewer to note that **the interviewee may not clearly understand the meaning of hate speech. Therefore, interviewer is expected to clearly define “hate speech” in the language that interviewee can understand before further conversation is established.**

Some individuals have alleged that the 2015 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria were dominated by extreme speech or words and expressions that promote inter-ethnic, religious or other forms of hatred. Amongst Nigerians. To what extent do you agree with that line of thinking and why?

- Do you think the PDP used hate campaign messages in the 2015 general election campaign and why?
 - Do you think the APC used hate campaign messages in the 2015 general election campaign and why?
 - What do you think are the influences of hate speech on the final outcome of the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria?
 - Kindly identify any particular candidate or Presidential candidate's spokesperson who made the most of hate speech during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria?
 - Did you consider the message you referred to as hate message offensive to your religious or moral beliefs?
 - Did you make your voting choice based on these messages considered as 'hate message'?
 - Did you consider the messages unnecessary for voting choices?
6. In your opinion, to what extent did any of the dominant political parties (PDP and APC) focus on issues of importance to national development?
7. Which of the two dominant parties (PDP or APC) concentrated more on personalities of presidential candidates than issues of national importance?

Let us summarise some of the key points from our discussion. Is there anything else?

8. What are the lessons we can now learn by looking back at the methods employed by the political parties to carry out the 2015 presidential election campaigns? Do you have questions?

Thank you for taking the time to talk to us!!

Do not extend a hand except it is clearly in their culture to do so. You could however do so if the people extend a hand to you first as a form of greeting.



One of Buhari's campaign photo's : <https://carolinewabara.com/2015/04/01/buhari-marketing-lessons-nigeria/> on 28/12/17