POLITICAL MARKETING AND ELECTORATE'S CHOICE OF POLITICAL CANDIDATES IN KWARA STATE, NIGERIA

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Abstract

The need for political parties and candidates to be electorate driven in their political activities, has led to the adoption of marketing principles to political processess and election campaigns. Political marketing offers political candidates and their parties the capability to address diverse electorate concerns and needs through appropriate marketing analyses. This article examines the relationship between political marketing tools and electorate's choice of political candidates as well as the effect of political marketing tools and electorate's choice of political candidates in Kwara State. The study's primary data was collected through a structured questionnaire that was administered to 384 respondents who were selected through a combination of stratified, simple random and purposive sampling techniques from the three senatorial districts of the state. Multiple regression analysis technique was the statistical method used to test the hypotheses formulated for the study. The results revealed that the electorate's choice of candidates has a positive relationship with almost all the political marketing tools except a needs-oriented manifesto. It was also found that political marketing tools have a positive effect on the electorate's choice of candidates. It is concluded that political marketing tools have a positive relationship with the electorate's choice of political candidates. The study recommends that political parties and candidates should explore, recognise and understand the relationship that exists between political marketing and the electorate's choice of candidates. Political parties can do this by placing emphasis on efficient and effective utilisation of these political marketing tools.

Keywords: Political Marketing, Electorate's Choice, Political Candidate, Social Media, Celebrity Endorsement, Needs Oriented Manifesto

Introduction

The growth of political marketing in the recent past, has been attributed to the development of an investigative press, declining party loyalty, and changes in the political and electoral systems as well as changing the electorate's needs (Menon, 2008). Henneberg (2004) argued that in the last 25 years, political actors, such as political parties, politicians, governments, single issue groups, lobbying organisations

and so on, have not only acted out but also 'thought' in marketing terms and this thought has made them believe that they are practicing marketing management. They try to integrate their usage of marketing instruments in a coherent political marketing strategy.

The adoption of marketing principles in the political process has also led to a shift from the party concept to the marketing concept and this, according to Apospori, George and Maria (2010), underlines a characteristic difference between the most recent and the oldest at electoral contests in most countries across the world. Therefore, the global need for masses-oriented politicking has redefined how democratic activities should be conducted at all levels of governance. This position was equally stressed by Nor, *et al.*, (2006) when they observed that political marketing management has now reached the conceptual level at which political parties or governments partly follow a 'voter-orientation' analogous to a customer-orientation in commercial marketing. Political marketing now focuses on exchange relationships, a long-term perspective, voter orientation and a mutual mainstream marketing concept of relationship marketing which is aimed at building long-term benefits for all parties involved (Henneberg, 1996; Nor *et al.*, 2006).

Consequently, to meet the needs and wants of the electorate, political parties and political candidates now initiate programmes and policies that are markets or masses oriented in line with public opinion polls or market intelligence. On the basis of this belief, Lees-Marshment (2006) affirmed that if political parties implement a marketing-oriented philosophy, they will seek to meet voters' needs and wants and consequently, this will lead to voters' satisfaction and winning electoral support to meet their own political goals and aspirations. Onovbaire (1992) pointed out that the Nigerian electorate is getting more politically enlightened and those seeking elective offices are also becoming more sophisticated, and this situation has necessitated the need for a proper education on political marketing and advertising on the part of political parties and politicians. Ayozie (2013) observed that marketing, public relations and advertising are very important tools in packaging politicians, their parties and programmes from the perspective of the electorate and that the use of marketing and advertising is taking firm root in the political process in Nigeria.

According to Menon (2008), political marketing involves the usage of marketing tools or techniques (social media adverts, celebrity endorsement, billboard adverts, poster adverts, television jingles, radio jingles and needs-oriented manifestos) and methods in the political process. He opines that political marketing is the outcome of the marriage between marketing and politics and as an activity and method, political marketing reflects the penetration of the political space through marketing principles and theories. On his part, Henneberg (2004) observes that political marketing manifests

itself in diverse activities such as focusing a campaign on the salient political issues of swing voters through the application of sophisticated segmentation techniques, the application of celebrity endorsement strategies as part of an integrated marketing communication, and the institution of powerful directors of communication.

Furthermore, political advertising, celebrity endorsements, involvement of professional consultants and campaign managers, online campaigning, mobile phone canvassing, segmentation, micro targeting and other methods are extensively used in political marketing (Menon, 2008). Hence, according to Menon (2008), political marketing is simply a coherent way of managing politics, whether it is policy-making, election canvassing or executing decisions.

The review of the empirical literature on political marketing revealed that there is a paucity of related empirical studies conducted in Nigeria on the subject matter. The few studies in this area that were conducted were either broad or narrow in scope as well as the issues they addressed. For instance, Worlu (2010) examined marketing strategies of dominant political parties in Nigeria, using the 2003 General Elections as a case study, while, Ezegwu, Etukudo, and Akpan (2015) examined political advertising and the electorate's choice of candidates in Nigeria's 2015 General Elections using Aguata Local Government Area of Anambra State as a case study. A cursory look at these works indicates that Worlu (2010) used the whole country as a case study and this made the study broad in its focus, while the work of Ezegwu, Etukudo, and Akpan (2015) investigated only a local government area in Anambra State of Nigeria. The need for a study that would bridge the gap between the two ends of the continuum stimulated the conduct of this work.

In order to fill this obvious gap in the empirical literature in Nigeria, this article aimed at investigating political marketing and electorate's choice of candidates in Kwara State, Nigeria. Specifically, the study raised the following questions:

- (i) Is there any relationship between political marketing tools and the electorate's choice of political candidates in Kwara State?
- (ii) What is the effect of political marketing tools on the electorate's choice of political candidates in Kwara State?

Objectives

The main objective of this study was to evaluate political marketing and the electorate's choice of political candidates in Kwara State, Nigeria. Specifically, the study aimed at:

- (i) Determining the relationship between political marketing tools and the electorate's choice of political candidates in Kwara State.
- (ii) Examining the effect of political marketing tools and the electorate's choice of political candidates in Kwara State.

Hypotheses

- H_{o1}: There is no significant relationship between the electorate's choice of political candidates and needs oriented manifesto in Kwara State.
- H_{o2} : Political marketing tools do not have significant effect on the electorate's choice of political candidates in Kwara State.

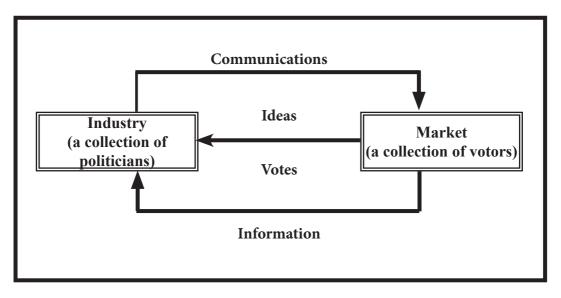
Conceptual Discourse

Political marketing is considered by Stromback and Spiro (2010) as a discipline that emanates from the fusion of marketing and politics. O' Cass (1996) argues that the adoption of marketing principles to political processes offers political parties the ability to address diverse voter concerns and needs through marketing analyses, planning, implementation and control of political and electoral campaigns. Supporting this position, Harrop (1990) observes that political marketing is not just about political advertising, party political broadcasts and electoral speeches, but it covers the whole area of party positioning in the electoral market. Ayo (2013) argues that political marketing simply refers to modes of satisfying the electorate's needs such that they happily part with their votes from which the politicians are elected into position of authority. Kotler (1991) renders a more succinct definition of political marketing when he defines political marketing as a social and managerial process by which candidates and parties obtained election goals through creating, offering and securing approval of ideas of value with the voters.

The definitions provided above suggest that the term political marketing is simply a merger of the principles and theories guiding the fields of marketing and politics. A perfect mix of principles and theories guiding these fields is expected to result in political marketing which enables political parties and the electorate to make the most appropriate and satisfactory decisions. Thus, marketers, according to Aremu (2008), have developed a body of knowledge and technical expertise directly related to the analysis and persuasion of large groups of people. Their discipline is highly relevant to the understanding of politics (Aremu, 2008). Aremu further stressed that the problems facing the campaigner are strikingly similar to those confronting the marketing manager.

Kotler (2003) and Nor *et al.*, (2006) pointed out that political marketers need to make an adjustment of the mainstream marketing system to a political marketing system in which the industry consists of a collection of politicians who communicated ideas to a collection of voters with the hope of getting the voters' vote or patronage. To attain this, they need information about voters' needs and wants through the process of marketing intelligence. This systematic process for a successful political marketing system is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Political Marketing System



Source: Adapted and modified from Kotler (2003)

The importance of this pictorial representation is to show that political marketers need to be marketing concept oriented; that is, they require to take the needs of their targets (voters) into consideration in planning and execution of all their political activities and election campaign strategies.

Political Marketing Planning

The purpose of marketing planning in the view of McDonald (1989), is to identify and create competitive advantage of every organisation. Political marketing planning attempts to identify how to increase a party or candidate's share of the vote in an election and what is required in order to realise the targeted vote-share increase. In this regard, Palmer (1994) identified five key tasks in the strategic marketing planning process and these are as follows:

- (i) Analysis of the current market position of the organisation/electorate's needs: This requires a determination of how voters perceive the individual candidates standing in each constituency and what their voting position is.
- (ii) Setting objectives for the organisation (party) and marketing effort: It is important to determine which areas (e.g. constituencies, voter groups) require more resources to be allocated to them.
- (iii) Identifying and evaluating strategic alternatives: Which segment of the electorate should parties communicate with, using what message? Public opinion polling can be used to guide and develop message receipt, as well as measure and assess segmented group's stability, accessibility and substance.

- (iv) Implementation of the chosen strategy: The political strategist needs to allocate the necessary resources to the targeting process. In political campaign, one major problem occurring is one uncertainty regarding the flow of donations that will be received by the party after the 1992 British General Election.
- (v) Monitoring and controlling: Since the marketing planning process attempts to match organisational resources with market opportunities and threats, while considering the organisation's strengths and weaknesses, the process of monitoring the external environment and evaluating a particular strategy's impact upon that environment is paramount.

Functions of Political Marketing Espoused

Menon (2008) identified eight generic functions which were later espoused by Mone and Bazini (2013) as essential requirements for successful political marketing management in every democratic setting. These functions are:

- (i) Product function: In political marketing, a product, like mainstream marketing, should be formally designed to be offered by a political party to her electoral market (Mone and Bazini, 2013). The practice of political marketing as a branch of marketing involves exchange between two parties and these parties are political parties and the electorate in the electoral markets. Political parties are expected to offer some products (candidates) which they want to sell in the electoral markets. Political parties usually hinge their selling point on manifestos, promise of good government, candidate's image, an ideology or certain specific foreign policies. Hence, the entire political marketing process is designed to market the political parties and political candidates.
- (ii) Distribution (place) function: The distribution function refers to the conditions regarding the availability of exchange offer to the exchange partner. The function has two aspects, campaign delivery and offering delivery. The campaign delivery function provides the primary exchange partner (the electorate) with access to all relevant information about the political product. This includes the dissemination of information regarding crucial party policies and programmes, placing the candidates in right channels, making sure that the medium of distribution fits the ideology of the party and so on.
- (iii) Cost (price) function: One of the main functions of mainstream marketing is to sell a product which is cost-effective compared to other products in the market so that a customer gets greater monetary satisfaction. In political marketing, cost function refers to the management of attitudinal and behavioural barriers of voters through calculated campaign strategies. The voter should receive all the information regarding the product without spending money for it.

- (iv) Communication (promotion) function: Communication involves the function of informing the primary exchange partner of the offer and its availability. It is often seen as the heart of political marketing. For a political party, it implies, providing political content, political ideas and future programmes as well as aiding in the interpretation and sense making of a complex political world. Often, the communication function involves simplification of political messages, concise political stand and so on. The communication function interacts with the campaign delivery aspects of the distribution function. The latter provides the medium while the former defines the content. The communication function prescribes a dialogue with the exchange partners a multi-directional flow of information and shared agenda setting.
- (v) News management function: This function is closely linked to the communication function. News management function is targeted at secondary exchange partners or intermediaries of which media is an important part. In other words, it is the management of publicity of the candidates and parties. Public relations activities, media management, online advertising campaign management and others are news management functions. In the era of communication revolution where the entire world has become a global village, news management plays a vital role in the success of political marketing activities.
- (vi) Fundraising function: In mainstream marketing, fundraising is not an issue. But political marketing management cannot survive without fundraising. In fact, the success of other functions largely depends on the fundraising function. In order to provide the political actors with appropriate resources, a distinct fundraising function needs to be addressed. A political party depends, to a varying extent, on membership fees, donations, and others.
- (vii) Parallel campaign management function: This function describes the requirement of co-coordinating the campaign management activities of a political party with those of parallel organisations. Coordinated and synergic use of managerial activities allows for a more efficient deployment of campaign resources. Furthermore, the use of parallel campaigns and the endorsements by other organisations and individuals can increase the trust worthiness of the political messages.
- (viii) Internal cohesion management functions: Besides the external management aspects, internal structure and functions of the political party also need to be managed professionally. The function is concerned with the relationship of party members and activists as well as the spokespersons. The internal marketing functions play a critical role in creating internal stability and, therefore, the credibility of the party regarding its outside image.

Political Marketing Tools

There is agreement among scholars in the literature that political marketing employs many of the similar techniques used in product marketing such as paid advertising, direct mailing, public relations, online campaign, celebrity endorsement and publicity (Clemente, 1992; Kotler, 2003; Henneberg, 2004; Nor, Asaari, Karia and Haron, 2006; Menon, 2008; Ayozie, 2013). However, the following marketing tools used by marketers to get attention, interest, desire and actions from potential customers are briefly discussed as political marketing tools for the purpose of this study, according to the views of Kotler (2003); Pride and Ferrell (2010); Kotler and Armstrong (2012); and Kumar and Meenakshi (2013):

- (i) Celebrity endorsement: Endorsement is a form of advertising that uses famous personalities or celebrities who command a high degree of recognition, trust, respect or awareness amongst the people. Such people advertise for a product lending their names or images to promote a product or service. In this case, we are using celebrity endorsement to denote godfatherism as a form of advert where famous political godfathers or personalities with high degree of recognition, trust, respect or awareness amongst the people endorsed candidates in elections. Godfatherism is a usual practice in the political setting across the world especially in Nigeria and other developing countries where we have political fathers endorsing their political sons and daughters in elections.
- (ii) Radio and television jingles: A jingle is a short song or tune used in advertising and for other commercial uses. The jingle contains one or more hooks and meaning that explicitly promote the product or service being advertised through the use of one or more advertising slogans. In a political setting, the singles are used to promote a particular candidate or political issue. The jingle differs from the songs represented on street music, roadsides, and songsters as it is a prerecorded audio or video performance of the piece that will be aired on radio or television. A well-crafted jingle has the power to get stuck in the listener's head and might influence a voter's thoughts long after they have forgotten the words of a long-winded stump speech.
- (iii) Billboard adverts: A billboard is a large outdoor advertising structure (a billing board) typically found in high-traffic areas such as alongside busy roads. Billboards present large advertisements to passing pedestrians and drivers. Billboards are used by political parties and political candidates to get the attention of the electorate.

- (iv) Poster adverts: This is a large printed notice, picture or photograph or placard that is usually posted to advertise or publicise something. A *poster* is any piece of printed paper designed to be attached to a wall or vertical surface to attract and hold the attentions of passers-by. This tool is the most commonly used by political parties and their candidates during the election campaign.
- (v) Need oriented manifesto: Need oriented manifesto simply refers to a public declaration of policies and programmes which are driven by the electorate's (consumers) needs and wants by political parties or candidates before an election. This is the marketing tool (i.e. voter-orientation) which Kotler (2003) likened to the concept of customer-orientation in commercial marketing.
- (vi) Social media adverts: Social media adverts refer to electronic technologies that link people to networks and allow for the exchange of personal and professional information as well as common interest such as product (political candidate), and brand preferences (Pride and Ferrel, 2010). Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube, Twitter, and other social media platforms allow marketers to make information available to interested parties.

Theoretical Framework

The purpose of the theoretical framework is to present extant theories that can aptly provide a foundation for the subject matter by showing the relationships that exist between variables of interest in a study. Theories provide theoretical foundations for understanding, planning, analysing, and designing methods to examine relationships among variables and the choice of any theory depends on its relevance, ease of application, and explanatory power. Thus, this section focuses on the specific viewpoints that have contributed to shaping the premise and conduct of this study.

Relationship Marketing Theory

Kotler and Armstrong (2012) see relationship marketing theory as an overall process of building and maintaining profitable customer relationships by delivering superior customer value and satisfaction. Relationship marketing theory is a multi-functional and integrative approach which views marketing as an integrative activity involving functions across the organisation, with emphasis on facilitating, building and maintaining relationships over time (Coviello, Brodie and Munro, 1997). The theory of relationship marketing has developed at both micro and macro levels. At the micro level, the theory concerns itself with the nature of the relationship between the firm and customers that emphasise a long-term relationship which takes into account the customer's needs and value. Macro level, the theory describes the relationship within which the organisation engages with all its stakeholders on strategic issues for

the purpose of establishing the mix or portfolio of the relationship that is essential for the firm's survival (Rao and Perry, 2002). According to Kehinde, Adegbuyi and Borishade (2016) a synergistic relationship is presumed to convergence in the programmes and procedures of the interaction among marketing actors and this intimates secure emotional, economic and structural ties among themselves. Thus, the relationship theory ensures mutuality instead of self-sufficiency of selection among the actors, and it stresses collaboration instead of competition and resulting conflict that may exist among the parties. A number of terms have been used as substitutes for relationship marketing or to describe similar concepts (Buttle, 1996). These include direct marketing, database marketing, customer relationship management, data driven marketing, micromarketing, one-to-one marketing, loyalty-based marketing, segment of one marketing, customer partnering, dialogue marketing and interactive marketing (Pride and Ferrel, 2010; Kanagal, n.d).

The significance of customer satisfaction is extensively recognised in traditional marketing, but the pertinent question is, can this concept be applicable to political marketing. The general assumption among conventional marketers these days is that customer value is as an important source of competitive advantage for the company (Woodall, 2003; Zhou *et al.*, 2009; Kaskeala, 2010), and this assumption according to some scholars such as Brennan and Henneberg (2008) is equally applicable to political marketing. Indeed, it is an important political marketing strategy that any political party or candidate should adopt to elicit votes from the electorate.

Relationship marketing is a fundamental theory that stresses customers' satisfaction which any political organisation that wants to succeed should embrace. Political organisations need to recognise the significance of cultivating and developing a range of relationships as a long-term strategic competitive advantage that should be exploited. Relationships in the view of Gordon (1998) are predictors of voters' behaviour and are less likely to volatile swings. With raising voters' apathy and electoral inactivity in Nigeria, developing and improving mutually beneficial relationships with followers and prospective voters should be the priority of every political party. Hence, this theory is relevant to the context under investigation because it serves as fluid to lubricate the supposed mutual relationship between political organisations and their followers, and teeming potential voters.

Propaganda Theory

Propaganda is written or oral information which deliberately seeks to influence and/ or manipulate the opinions and attitudes of a given target group (Shultz and Godson, 1986). Propaganda, in the view of Worlu (2010), is described as a hate word, an interestdriven, rational, and strategic minded activity in the promotion of a view point. In this connection, the definitional concern is mainly with political intrigues conducted as psychological warfare which entails all efforts to shape the opinions and attitudes of target populations through both propaganda and systematic concerns of apparent destabilisation. From the above, one can deduce that propaganda is a process of manipulating other people's beliefs, attitudes, or actions through the usage of symbols such as words, gestures, banners, movements, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyles, designs on coins and postage stamps. The fact that propaganda relies heavily on manipulation of people's beliefs and actions, it makes it different from casual conversation or the free and easy exchange of ideas. The propagandists usually have specified goals and to achieve these goals, they deliberately select facts and arguments and present them in ways they think will have the most effect. In most cases, a propagandist may omit pertinent facts or distort them, and he may try to divert the attention of the reactors (the people whom he is trying to sway) from everything in order to maximise its effect.

However, Taylor (1990) cautioned that propaganda cannot be said to be bad or good per se. He maintained that the most important thing is how it is utilised or exploited, that is, the consequences of its usage could either be bad or good. This is why Bernays (2005) pointed out that propaganda could be abused if it was used to over-advertise an institution or to create an artificial value in the minds of the public or when it contains a heavy emphasis on the benefits and qualities of one idea or group while simultaneously distorting the truth or suppressing the counter-argument. It was on the basis of this argument that Bannon (2005) concludes that there is need to take a deontological (intentions-based) and a teleological (consequences) perspective in the usage of propaganda.

The study, therefore, adopts relationship marketing theory because it makes a lot of senses in that it is much more efficient to build a long-term relationship with a customer (an electorate) than to pursue individual potentially unrelated exchange. The theory takes marketing concept a step further by adding the time dimension to the notion of the 'customer is the king.' As a result of this, relationship marketing theory seems to be a promising way to a competitive advantage in election process in developed and developing democracies. Hence, the theory is more appropriate for this study because marketing generally, and political marketing in particular, are centred on how to perpetually win customers (electorate) in the market place or during elections. However, the adoption of this theory does not suggest that it is in any way superior to the other theory but its adoption is due to the fact that it is the most relevant because it aptly models the research variables of interest in this study.

Review of Empirical Literature

Worlu (2010) conducted a study on the comparative analysis of the marketing strategies of dominant political parties in Nigeria using the 2003 General Elections as a case study. The objective of the study was to examine whether contemporary political parties in Nigeria were market-oriented organisations; and whether marketing offered a solution to the prevailing democratic challenges in the country. The study employed a survey method to collect the required data for the study through the instruments of questionnaire and in-depth interviews. The four dominant political parties were selected out of thirty political parties that participated in the 2003 General Elections. A combination of quota and stratified sampling techniques were used in their selection; and a sample of 800 respondents was considered. The study found that 52 per cent of electoral success in Nigeria is determined by marketing strategies while the remaining 48 per cent is ascribable to anti-democratic forces like state power, godfatherism, and so on. It was further found that Nigerian political parties are product and sales oriented in their marketing strategies as against the market-oriented approach of advanced democracies. The study recommended that political parties should be voter-focused and responsive to the needs of the electorate.

Olujide, Adeyemi and Gbadeyan (2011) examined Nigerian electorate's perception of political advertising and election campaign. The study aimed at determining the effect of political advertising on the electorate. The study administered 1,650 questionnaires to respondents in Ekiti State of Nigeria. Chi–square, analysis of variance (ANOVA) and descriptive exploratory statistics were employed as analytical instruments. The results of the study revealed that political advertising has a significant effect on the electorate's choice of candidates. The study recommends that political advertising is interesting and should be encouraged, while, negative advertising should be totally discouraged.

Ayo (2013) investigated the tradition of marketing Nigeria politicians through visual media. The purpose of the study was to examine the use of visual media in political campaigns in Nigeria since 1963. Data for the study were collected from secondary sources such as textbooks, journals, newspapers, magazines and the internet. Replicable and valid inferences were made before synthesising and analysing the contents of these materials, using the descriptive method. It was discovered that the visual media used by visual artists in marketing politicians through advertising agencies are signage that include theme or above-the-line media (print and electronic-television), scheme or below-the-line media (posters, leaflets, stickers and calendars, among others), outdoor or transit media (transportation or vehicle branding and billboard advertising) and ephemeral media (body painting, callisthenic display and sky writing). The study concludes that the visual concepts adopted by visual artists

to market Nigerian politicians have successfully educated the entire citizenry on the democratic process.

Ezegwu *et al.*, (2015) investigated political advertising and the electorate's choice of candidates in Nigeria's 2015 General Election in Anambra State. The objective of the study was to determine the extent to which the electorate in Aguata Local Government Area were exposed to political advertising, as well as the extent to which they were influenced by political advertising messages in their choice of candidates during the elections. The study employed a survey research design to collect required data from the respondents through a questionnaire. The respondents were selected through a convenience sampling technique from the target population.

Findings of the study revealed that the electorate in the area of study was influenced by the political advertising messages it was exposed to. The study recommended that politicians and political parties should emphasise only credible messages to the electorate and the electorate should not depend on political advertising alone for information on aspiring candidates, rather they should explore other sources such as family, friends, and party members.

Methodology

(a) Description of Study Area

Kwara State is one of the 36 states that make up the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Africa's most populous country. Kwara State is one of the six states located in the North-Central part of the country. It shares its boundaries with the Republic of Benin on the West and the Niger River on the North. The capital city is Ilorin and is situated 306 km inland from the coastal city of Lagos and 500km from the federal capital, Abuja. The foremost towns include Omuaran, Share, Offa, Bode Sadu, Jebba, Patigi, Lafiagi, Afon, Kaiama, Isanlulsin, and Igbaja. Kwara State was created on 27 May 1967 when the Federal Military Government of General Yakubu Gowon broke the four regions that then constituted the Federation of Nigeria into 12 states.

There are 16 Local Government Areas in the State which are: Asa, Baruten, Edu, Ekiti, Ifelodun, Ilorin East, Ilorin West, Irepodun, Isin, Kaiama, Moro, Offa, Oke-Ero, Oyun, and Pategi. The major tribes in Kwara State are Fulani, Yoruba, Nupe, and Baruba.

The political contest in Kwara State, since the advent of the Fourth Republic in 1999, has been between two major political parties and these are the All Progressive Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Parties (PDP). Both parties have led the State in the past; the People's Democratic Parties (PDP) ruled the State from 2003 to 2014, while All Progressive People's Party (now known as APC after merging with some other political parties) ruled the State between 1999 and 2003. These two political parties were the ones in the forefront of the political contest for Governorship and State House of Assembly in the 2015 General Election.

(b) Research Design, Population, Sample Size, and Sampling Techniques

The research design adopted for this study was the survey method. This is a research procedure for collecting an enormous amount of raw data using oral or written question and answer formats (Hair, Bush and Ortinau, 2000). The method permits the collection of data to purposively describe and interpret certain conditions, practices, beliefs, and attitudes of particular people or society (Okoro and Adibe, 2013). The population of the study covered the entire residents of Kwara State who were 18 years and above and who had registered their names with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as eligible voters for the 2015 General Elections. The total number of registered voters in Kwara State on INEC's register for the 2015 General Elections is one million, one hundred and seventy-one thousand, five hundred and sixty-one (1,171,561). The study used stratified and simple random sampling techniques to select two Local Government Areas (LGAs) from each of the three senatorial districts in Kwara State. The stratified sampling technique was used to group the 16 LGAs into senatorial districts while random sampling was used to select two LGAs from each senatorial district. The selected LGAs were Edu and Kaima, Offa and Irepodun, Ilorin-west and Ilorin-east from Kwara-north, Kwara-south and Kwara-central senatorial districts respectively. Hence, the electorate in the six selected LGAs who participated in the 2015 Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly Elections were the target elements of this study and the participants were selected through purposive and convenience sampling techniques. Purposeful sampling technique was used to focus on the electorate who actually voted in the 2015 Gubernatorial and State Assembly Elections while the samples from these electorate were conveniently selected.

The Krejicie and Morgan's (1970) formular for sample size determination was adopted to arrive at 384 respondents (electorate) as the appropriate sample size for the study. The formular is given as:

$$s = \underline{X2NP(1-P)}$$
$$d2(N-1) + X2P(1-P)$$

Where:

s = required sample size

 X^{2} = the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841)

N= the population size

P= the population proportion (assumed to be .50 since this would provide the maximum sample size)

d= the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05)

Senatorial District	No. Registered Voters	Percantage	Sample Size	
Kwara-central	490,421	42	161	
Kwara-south	365,004	31	119	
Kwara-north	316,136	27	104	
Total	1,171,561	100	384	

Table 1: Selection of Proportional Sample from Study's Population

Source: INEC's Register, 2015

The study used both primary data and secondary information. The primary data were sourced using a structured questionnaire that was administered on the electorate, while the secondary information was sourced from the relevant existing literature on the subject matter to provide necessary conceptual and theoretical background for the study. The questionnaire which contains 21 items was pre-tested to guard against likely unforeseen problems in the areas of construction and administration. The instrument was found to be valid and reliable with the suggestions from the experts in the area of study which were inputted into the instrument as well as Cronbach alpha reliability co-efficient for the identified scales that were more the threshold of 0.7 (i.e alpha values > 0.7). A total of four hundred and eighty-four (484) copies of questionnaires were administered to the electorate from the six selected LGAs out of which three hundred and eleven (311) usable copies of the questionnaire were returned. The multiple regression analysis technique was employed as the statistical method used to test the hypotheses and this was run through SPSS version 20.

(c) Variables

The electorate's choice of candidates was the dependent variable while the independent variables were social media adverts, celebrity endorsement (god father endorsement), billboard adverts, poster adverts, television jingles, radio jingles and needs oriented manifestos.

(d) Model Specification

Specified below is the model used in this research work.

 $I = \beta_0 + \beta_1 SAD_i + \beta_2 CED_i + \beta_3 BAD_i + \beta_4 PAD_i + \beta_5 TVJ_i + \beta_6 RDJ_{i+} + \beta_7 NOM$ Where: ECC = Electorate choice of candidates, SAD = Social Media Adverts, CED = Celebrity Endorsement, BAD = Billboard Adverts, PAD = Poster Adverts, TVJ = Television Jingles, RDJ= Radio Jingles, NOM= Needs Oriented Manifesto, ε = Random Variable. β_0 is the Intercept, while $\beta_1 - \beta_7$ are the respective parameters to be estimated for each variable in the model.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
	Kwara-central	130	42
LGAs of the Respondent	Kwara-south	102	33
	Kwara-north	79	25
	Total	311	100
Gender of the Respondent	Male	177	57
-	Female	134	43
	Total	311	100
	18-36	90	29
	37-54	121	49
Age of the Respondent	55 above	100	32
	Total	311	100
	Educated	149	48
Western-education Status	Illiterate	162	52
	Total	311	100

Table 2:	Demograph	ic Inf	ormation	of the	Respondents

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Table 2 presents the demographic data of the target respondents. It shows that 42 per cent (130), 33 per cent (102), and 25 per cent (79) of the respondents are from Central, Western and Northern senatorial districts of Kwara State respectively. The results also indicate that 57 per cent (177) of the electorate who participated in the 2015 Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly Election in the State are female and the remaining 47 per cent (134) are male. The implication of this is that, female electorate participate more in electoral activities and the fact that the National Population Census of 2006 revealed that there are more females than males in the country.

The study further showed that 49 per cent (121) of the respondents are between 37 to 54 years of age while 32 per cent (100) of the respondents are 55 years and above. The ages of the remaining 29 per cent (90) of the respondents ranges between 18 and 36 years. Finally, the table indicates that among all the electorate that took part in the election, 48 per cent (149) of them are educated while the remaining 52 per cent

(162) are illiterate. The implication of these results are that, the electorate who are in the age bracket of 37 to 54 years are more involved in electoral activities and also the electorate who are illiterate participated more in the 2015 Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly Election in the State.

Construct	No of items	Min.	Max.	Means	Std. Dev.	Cronbach Value
Social media adverts	3	5.34	14.00	5.667	.87938	0.753
Celebrity endorsement	3	5.28	13.25	6.824	.80180	0.862
Billboard adverts	3	5.34	14.00	6.098	.77810	0.712
Poster adverts	3	5.00	14.00	6.616	.80657	0.854
TV jingles	3	4.01	14.20	5.103	1.00235	0.845
Radio jingles	3	6.20	14.05	5.905	1.01032	0.880
Needs oriented manifesto	3	5.41	14.00	5.824	.73480	0.827

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics

Source: Authors' Computation via SPSS

The mean of celebrity endorsement sensitivity is the highest ($\mu = 6.82$) while the mean of TV jingles ($\mu = 5.10$) is the lowest (Table 3). The standard deviation ranges from 0.73 to 1.01, indicating small acceptable variance from means. The study used Cronbach alpha to test the reliability of the research instrument through the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20. All the 311 data sets were entered into SPSS spreadsheet ready for validation. The Cronbach's alpha reliability test results revealed that all the constructs were above 0.70 and this ordinarily implies that reliability test results of the instrument is above the minimum threshold (0.70) suggested by Nunnally and Bernstein (1994).

Correlation Analysis of Variables

This section presents the result of correlation analysis in order to see the linear relationship existing between electorate's choice of candidates in Kwara State and each of the political marketing tools. A correlation matrix was prepared to achieve this objective and the results are presented in the Table 4 below.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Electorate's choice candidate	1.000							
Social media	0.316	1.000						
adverts	0.001*							
Celebrity	0.870	0.631	1.000					
endorsement	0.000*	0.000*						
Billboard adverts	0.689	0.546	0.509	1.000				
	0.003*	0.010*	0.000*					
Poster adverts	0.754	0.535	0.507	0.379	1.000			
	0.000*	0.010**	0.005**	0.030*				
TV jingles	0.635	0.540	0.399	0.398	0.399	1.000		
	0.005**	0.001*	0.000*	0.007	0.000*			
Radio jingles	0.757	0.682	0.525	0.395	0.380	0.054	1.000	
	0.001*	0.000*	0.000*	0.006	0.000*	0.009		
Needs oriented manifesto	0.251	0.332	0.321	0.490	0.511	0.399	0.619	1.000
	0.871	0.040**	0.802	0.060	0.059	0.070	0.063	

Table 4: Correlation Analysis of Variables

n = 235, correlation is significant at * 1% and ** 5%, level of significance (2-tailed).

Source: Authors' Computation via SPSS

The correlation results above show the relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and political marketing tools. The results presented in column two of the table are the respective correlation coefficients of the electorate's choice of a candidate and each of the political marketing tools. The results show that the electorate's choice of a candidate has a positive relationship with social media adverts. This is evident from its correlation coefficient of 0.671. It also shows that the relationship is strong. The implication of this is, both variables move in the same direction and higher electorate's choice of a candidate is associated with more social media adverts. The probability value of this relationship (0.001) indicates that the relationship is significant at 1 per cent significance level. This implies the failure to accept the null hypothesis that is, there is no significant relationship between these two variables. Hence, we conclude that there is a significant positive relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and social media adverts in Kwara State.

The relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and celebrity endorsement is represented by the correlation coefficient of 0.870. It shows that the electorate's choice of a candidate has a positive relationship with celebrity endorsement. It also shows that the relationship is very strong. The implication of this is that both variables move in the same direction and higher electorate's choice is associated with higher celebrity endorsement. The probability value of this relationship (0.000) also indicates a significant relationship at 1 per cent level of significance. This also implies the failure to accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between these two variables. Hence, we conclude that there is a significant positive relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and celebrity endorsement in Kwara State.

Billboard adverts are seen to have a strong positive relationship with the electorate's choice of a candidate. This is evident from adverts correlation coefficient of 0.689. The implication of this is that more adverts using billboard are associated with higher electorate's choice of a candidate. The probability value of this relationship (0.003) also indicates a significant relationship at 1 per cent significance level. This also implies the failure to accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between these two variables. Hence, we conclude that there is a significant positive relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and billboard adverts in Kwara State.

The relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and poster adverts is represented by correlation coefficient of 0.754. It shows that the electorate's choice of a candidate has a positive relationship with poster adverts, implying that more poster adverts are related to more electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. Its probability value (0.000) also indicates a significant relationship at 1 per cent level of significance. This also implies the failure to accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between these two variables. Hence, we conclude that there is a significant positive relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and poster adverts in Kwara State.

Television jingles are seen to have a strong positive relationship with the electorate's choice of a candidate. This is evident from TV jingles correlation coefficient of 0.635. The implication of this is that more TV jingles are associated with higher electorate's choice of a candidate. The probability value of this relationship (0.005) also indicates a significant relationship at 5 per cent significance level. This also implies the failure to accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between these two variables. Hence, we conclude that there is a significant positive relationship between electorate's choice of a candidate and TV jingles in Kwara State.

The table also shows that the electorate's choice of a candidate has a positive relationship with radio jingles. This is evident from its correlation coefficient of 0.757. It also shows that the relationship is strong. The implication of this is that both variables move in the same direction and higher electorate's choice of a candidate is associated with higher radio jingles. The probability value of this relationship (0.001) indicates that the relationship is at 1 per cent significance level. This implies the failure to accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between these two variables. Hence, we conclude that there is significant positive relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and radio jingles in Kwara State.

Needs oriented manifesto is also seen to have a positive relationship with the electorate's choice of a candidate, but the relationship is a very weak one. This is evident from its correlation coefficient of 0.251. The implication of this is that more needs oriented manifesto is related to higher electorate's choice of a candidate. However, this relationship is very weak compared to other political marketing tools. The probability value of this relationship (0.871) connotes this relationship is not significant at all conventional significance level (i.e. 1% and 5% significance level). This implies the acceptance of the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between these two variables. Hence, we conclude that there is no significant relationship between the electorate's choice of a candidate and needs oriented manifesto in Kwara State.

Regression Analysis

This section deals with the regression analysis of variables in order to see the effect of each of the political marketing tools on the electorate's choice of a candidate in Kwara State. The results of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) method are presented in Table 5 below to achieve this objective.

Variable	Beta	Std. error	t- statistics	p-value
Social media adverts	0.268	2.355	2.355	0.026
Celebrity endorsement	1.125	2.760	2.760	0.000
Bill board adverts	0.109	1.319	1.319	0.001
Poster adverts	0.378	0.968	0.968	0.003
TV jingles	0.396	0.197	0.197	0.085
Radio jingles	0.183	2.874	2.874	0.000
Needs oriented manifesto	0.166	0.237	0.237	0.071

Table 5: OLS Regression Analysis

R-squared = 0.5731, F-Stat = 14.35, and Prob > F = 0.000.

Source: Authors' computation via SPSS

The result of the regression analysis presented above is aimed at establishing the effects of each of the political marketing tools on the electorate's choice of a candidate in Kwara State. The results indicates that all political marketing tools have positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate, but the significance of these effects varies across various marketing tools. Social media adverts are seen to have significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significance level while other tools; celebrity endorsement, billboard adverts, poster adverts, and radio jingles are seen to have significance level. Television jingles and needs oriented manifesto are seen not to have a significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 1 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significance level.

The coefficient of social media adverts (0.268) indicates that a unit increase in the level of adverts through social media brings about 0.268 units increase in the electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. This implies that more adverts through social media increases the electorate's choice of a candidate by 0.268 units and vice versa. The coefficient of celebrity endorsement (1.125) indicates that a unit increase in celebrity endorsement leads to 1.125 units increase in the electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. This implies that an increase in celebrity endorsement of a political candidate increases the electorate's choice of the candidate by 1.125 units and a decrease in celebrity endorsement of a political candidate to decline by 1.125 units.

The table also shows that billboard adverts has a coefficient of 0.109, which indicates that a unit increase in billboard adverts leads to 0.109 units increase in electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. The implication of this is that one more advert through billboard medium increases the electorate's choice of a candidate by 0.109 units and a reduction in billboard advert causes electorate's choice of the candidate to decline by 0.109 units.

The coefficient of poster adverts (0.378) indicates that a unit increase in political adverts with the use of posters leads to 0.378 units increase in the electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. This implies that one more poster advert increases the electorate's choice of a candidate by 0.378 units and vice versa.

Television jingles have a coefficient of 0.396 which indicates that a unit increase in TV jingles leads to 0.396 units increase in the electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. This implies that one more TV jingle increases the electorate's choice of a candidate by 0.396 units and a reduction in TV jingle causes the electorate's choice of a candidate to decline by 0.396 units. The table also shows that radio jingles have a coefficient of 0.183, which indicates that a unit increase in radio jingles leads to 0.183 units increase in the electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. The implication of this is that one more radio jingle increases the electorate's choice of a candidate by 0.183 units and a reduction in radio jingles causes the electorate's choice of a candidate to decline by 0.183 units.

Needs oriented manifesto is seen to have a coefficient of 0.166 which indicates that a unit increase in needs oriented manifesto leads to 0.166 units increase in the electorate's choice of a candidate and vice versa. This implies that an increase in needs oriented manifesto causes the electorate's choice of a candidate to increase by 0.166 units and vice-versa.

The R-squared which is the measure of the explanatory power of the model and its goodness of fit is given as 0.5731, suggesting that about 57.3 per cent of the variation in the electorate's choice of a candidate in Kwara State is explained by the political marketing tools included in this model. It also suggests the model is in good fit. The overall significance of the model measured by the F-statistic (14.35) is seen to be significant, judging by its probability value. This implies that the overall model is significant in explaining the electorate's choice of a candidate in Kwara State.

Discussion of Results

The study investigated the relationship between political marketing and electorate's choice of candidates as well as the effect of political marketing on electorate's choice of candidates in Kwara State, North-central, Nigeria. Empirical findings from the study revealed that electorate's choice of a candidate has a positive relationship with almost all the political marketing tools (i.e. social media adverts, celebrity endorsement, billboard adverts, poster adverts, TV jingles, radio jingles and needs oriented manifesto) except needs oriented manifesto. The relationship between needs oriented manifesto as a political marketing tool and electorate's choice of a candidate is very weak compared to other political marketing tools investigated in this study. In addition, the study's results indicated that all political marketing tools have a positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate, but the levels of significance of these effects vary across various marketing tools. Precisely, social media adverts have a significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 5 per cent significance level while celebrity endorsement, billboard adverts, poster adverts, and radio jingles have significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 1 per cent significance level. However, TV jingles and needs oriented manifesto do not have significant positive effect on the electorate's choice of a candidate at 1 per cent and 5 per cent significance level.

The finding of this study is not strange because it is consistent with the results of the study by Olujide *et al.*, (2011) which examined Nigerian's electorate's perception of political advertising and election campaign and found that political advertising has

a significant effect on the electorate's choice of candidates. The study result also agrees with the findings of Ezegwu *et al.*, (2015) which investigated political advertising and the electorate's choice of candidates in Nigeria's 2015 General Election in Anambra State and discovered that the electorate in the area of study were influenced by the political advertising messages they were exposed to.

Conclusion and Recommendations

On the basis of the above findings, the study concludes that there is a positive relationship between political marketing and the electorate's choice of candidates in Kwara State. In the same vain, it is concluded based on these findings that political marketing has a positive effect on the electorate's choice of candidates in the State. Based on the conclusions, this study recommends that:

- (i) Political parties and candidates should explore, recognise and understand the relationship that exists between political marketing and electorate's choice of candidates. Political parties could do this by placing emphasis on efficient and effective utilisation of political marketing tools (i.e. social media adverts, celebrity endorsement, billboard adverts, poster adverts, TV jingles, radio jingles) in their election campaign as a means for promoting their candidates strategically in all elections.
- (ii) Politicians and their political parties are also encouraged to exploit the significant effect that exists between political marketing and the electorate's choice of candidates in order to market their candidates to the electorate's in all elections. To do this, political parties and their candidates should channel their political marketing efforts towards transmitting credible electoral messages since the majority of the electorate are influenced in their voting decisions based on the messages that they received through political marketing tools investigated.

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