

**A Comparative Rhetorical Analysis of Nigerian
Presidential Election 2015: A Public Relations
Approach**

Musa Usman Terrang

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Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Hakan Ulusoy
Acting Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ağah Gümüş
Dean, Faculty of Communication
and Media Studies

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Ülfet Kutoğlu Kuruç
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Aliefendioğlu

2. Asst. Prof. Dr. Ülfet Kutoğlu Kuruç

3. Asst. Prof. Dr. Baruck Opiyo

ABSTRACT

In the 21st century, competitive election campaigns have become one of the most visible faces of contemporary democracy through which the electorate in different countries get to choose their leaders into both local and national political office. This research employed PR approaches to investigate presidential campaigns of two main political parties in Nigeria during the 2015 presidential election. In doing so, the study employed Comparative Rhetorical Analysis and in-depth interview with 12 campaign managers as respondents to establish and analyze PR & rhetorical strategies used by the two main political parties – the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Congress (APC) during the presidential campaign and election period. Findings show that comparatively APC employed strategic and integrated PR with (more) effective rhetorical campaign elements which very likely enabled them to emerge winners due, largely, to effective use of articulated rhetoric, using good *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*; while also soundly using both the two-way symmetrical communication model and the two-way asymmetrical communication model professionally during the campaign period. The study finds that PDP, on the other hand, mainly relied on their usual political campaign approach dishing out money, impunity, hate speeches, and virtual absence of usage of two-way symmetrical communication model within the party which likely further affected their public outreach during the campaigns. The study concludes that APC won the election based on the “Change” campaign brand of the fight against corruption, better security for the citizenry, and good economy for the country; while PDP appears to have lost the election based on the reliance on the message of “continuity” agenda in spite of incumbency and having hired seasoned PR experts.

Keywords: Excellence theory, Rhetorical Discourse Analysis, PR, Rhetoric, Electioneering campaign, APC, PDP, 2015 Presidential election in Nigeria.

ÖZ

21. yüzyılda, rekabetçi seçim kampanyaları güncel demokrasinin, ulusal düzeyde ve daha bölgesel uygulanan seçimlerde, görünür yüzü olmuştur. Bu araştırma, Halkla ilişkiler yaklaşımları ile, Nijerya'daki iki ana siyasal partinin 2015 yılında yapılan başkanlık seçim kampanyalarını irdelemeyi hedeflemiştir. Çalışma, karşılaştırmalı retorik analizi ve 12 seçim kampanya yöneticisi ile yapılmış röportajlar neticesinde Nijerya'daki iki ana siyasal partinin 'Halkların Demokratik Partisi' (PDP) ve 'Tüm İlerici Kongreler' (APC) seçim sürecinde kullandıkları halkla ilişkiler ve retorik stratejilerini belirlemeyi amaçlamıştır. Bulgular 'Tüm İlerici Kongreler'in (APC) daha etkili halkla ilişkiler ve retorik kampanya stratejileri ('ethos', 'pathos', 'logos') sayesinde seçimden kazanan parti olarak çıkmalarını sağladığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca, kampanya sürecinde çift-yönlü simetrik iletişim modeli ve çift-yönlü asimetrik iletişim modelleri APC tarafından etkili bir şekilde kullanmıştır. Bu araştırmada, 'Halkların Demokratik Partisi'nin (PDP) daha çok finansal çıkarları gözetmek, kişisel dokunulmazlık sağlamak ve nefret söylemine dayanan bir politik kampanya yaklaşımı benimsediği ve özellikle parti içi iletişimde çift-yönlü simetrik iletişim modelinden yoksun şekilde bir yaklaşım sergilediği bulgularına ulaşılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, 'Tüm İlerici Kongrelerin'(APC) seçimi 'Değişim' sloganı adı altında yozlaşmaya karşı mücadele, vatandaşlar için güvenlik ve ülke için daha iyi ekonomi alt başlıklarını kullanarak kazandığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Buna karşın, 'Devamlılık' sloganı ile yola çıkmış olan 'Halkların Demokratik Partisi' (PDP) seçimi sezonluk halkla ilişkiler uzmanları kullanması ve hükümetteki söz sahibi parti olmasına rağmen kaybetmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mükemmeliyet Teorisi, Retorik Analizi, Halkla İlişkiler, Retorik, Seçim Kampanyası, APC, PDP, 2015 Nijerya Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimi.

DEDICATION

*To my late father; Alhaji Usman Garba Terrang, and my beloved mother; Hajiya
Fati Usman Garba Terrang*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
ANPP	All Nigerian People's Party
APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
APC	All Progressives Congress
BoT	Board of Trustee
CPC	Congress of Progressive Change
DG	Director General
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GEJ	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan
GMB	General Muhammadu Buhari
G-18	Group of 18
G-34	Group of 34
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPOB	Independent People Of Biafra
NIPR	National Institute for Public Relations
NWC	National Working Committee
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PMB	President Muhammadu Buhari
PR	Public Relations
RA	Rhetorical Analysis
RDA	Rhetorical Discourse Analysis
RT	Rhetorical Theory
SWOT	Strengths Weaknesses Opportunities Threats
TAN	Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The introductory aspect of this work provides the background study of the research through the historical evolution of Nigeria's democratic systems with major events that have formed Nigeria's Nationhood and its solidification in democracy. The research further contains the scenarios that have culminated to the emergence of formidable opposition party called All Progressive Congress (APC) as a result of political merger by some aggrieved minority parties to the extent of defeating incumbency of over 16years of People Democratic Party (PDP) leadership. Thus, with regard to the study on Nigerian's 2015presidential electioneering campaign, such will further guide the research study towards the various Nigeria's socio-political make-ups and developments believed to be its strength based on the country's diversity with emphasis to the regional and religious differences in the country most especially during presidential electioneering and campaigns.

1.1 Background of the Study

Nigeria is a country with over 180 million people and is located in West Africa colonized by the British and got independence in 1960. Nigeria is believed to be one of the leading nations in Africa, diverse both in ethnicity, culturally and religiously. It is call Federal Republic of Nigeria and the country has of 37 states including the federal capital territory (FCT). The northern part of Nigeria has 19

States of the federation while, the southern part has 16 states. Nigeria has been categorized into six geopolitical zones for easy political identification and for power sharing out of which both the north and south claims three zones each. The northern region is Muslim dominated with tribes like Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Shuwa etc even though, some states like Plateau and Benue from the north-central part are Christian dominated with major tribes like Tiv and Berum. While the southwestern and southeastern parts of Nigeria are, equally Muslim dominated with quite a number of Christians, having Yoruba as their major language. South-southern part is mainly Christian region with tribes like Igbo, Ijaw etc. It is the region where the immediate past Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan hailed from this region. (Ibekwe, 2012). Such complexities and attributes of the nation created high suspiciousness and distrust among Nigerians. Which cause power shift from north to south or south to north for presidency and Muslim/Christian or Christian/Muslim system of presidency due to lack of trust by the ruling class and for power and control since independence. With a lot of conspiracy, divide, and rule tactics game played towards feathering their nest through embezzling public funds and other corrupt practices at the expense of the constituents. This often leads to crisis such as religious (Boko Haram), regional/ethnic conflict (farmer/fulani herds men conflict), political disagreements (power shift/ tenure elongation, succession and some regional alienation to power and control differences) etc. In this case, each group accuses the other of causing the others predicament, and such is credited to the PDP's misrule due to failure of 16years government in most aspect for the electorates. Thus, include the lack of protection of lives and properties of citizenry (security); high corruption during the PDP governance to the tune of over 2 trillion US dollars (Vanguard, 2016 Feb.3rd), impunity and lack of due process. Indeed "the forces responsible for the prevailing

fissiparous tendencies in Nigeria, and indeed in most African states, were activated long before independence” (Alapiki, 2005, p.50).

1.2 Purpose of the Study

This study was necessitated based on the attributes of Nigeria and its politics. Because politics is viewed in Nigeria “as a national sports with several regular players as mainstays, these players include the religious and traditional leaders, State apparatus, civil societies, the populace and the (PR) media” (Ermin, 2003, p10). According to Ermin, “politics” is a “national sports” and political actors are “national sports players.” During such political playing, a lot of compromise, concessions, and give and take are been observed towards the success of election. In such vein, the purpose of this study is to comparatively analyze the rhetorical make-up of the presidential aspirants through the PR approach during the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Considering the unique political strategies adopted and implemented by less than 2years of formation opposition party to have defeated over 16-years incumbency. However, “more attention was recorded and effort has also been made to relate political occurrences in the state to local political development and concerns.” Naomi, Hallin, & Mancini (2004). This was achieved through the use of interview with the 12 selected respondents from both APC and PDP using snowball sampling technique to deduce each party’s PR and the rhetorical strategy adopted.

1.3 Relevance of the Study

Nigeria’s unity is widely believed to be its multi-diverse cultural heritage which is sacrosanct and non-negotiable (Jimoh, 2015; Obineche et.al. 2015; and Erunke, 2014). Therefore, the work studies the extent at which both APC’s and PDP’s campaign was strategized towards shaping public opinion. Through the practical application of both rhetoric and the excellence theories using the four models of PR

by Grunig and Hunt towards engaging electorates with articulated campaign manifestos based on masses failed needs in a rebranded campaign system of the 21st century. Although, prior to the elections; there were lots of malicious, hateful and inciting speeches, with different forms of cyber stalking making the political clout hot which could have caused a great war. Even though, the US have predicted the unsuccessful nature the 2015 elections with high tendencies of division in country within regional lines or as a result of religious differences. But, the professional handling styles towards the crisis communication management strategies and effective PR by both APC and PDP media crew and their spokespersons was able to douse the political tension and the US malicious prediction. Although, APC were well prepared for the success due to their political handling styles with the “change” slogan which their campaign was built on believed to be the same terrain with that of 2008 President Barack Obama’s campaign formula.

1.4 Method of the Study

The study employs qualitative research method; this is done using Rhetorical Discourse Analysis (RDA) of the 2015 election. Four texts of speeches from the two presidential aspirants was used, by selecting two speeches per aspirant from the beginning of the campaign and at the end of the 2015 presidential campaign of both PDP and APC. Also with two press releases one from each campaign organization. Hence, for field experience and contribution to the research, in-depth interview using snowball sampling techniques with 12 (APC and PDP) active members of the presidential campaign managing team was conducted. Those interviewed are all from media and publicity background so as to establish accurate information for the research based objectives. Which include; to what extent does public relations and rhetoric increase organizational effectiveness during electioneering campaigns? How

public relations and rhetoric used by APC and PDP makes campaign organization more effective towards political campaign? What are the major attributes of public relations and political rhetoric that are most likely to make a campaign organization more effective? The study examines how rhetoric was used in PR towards Nigerian ethnicity and religion dichotomies control to the positive electoral outcome of APC. I, therefore, submit that after the completion of this research with the facts gathered from the in-depth interview across the country using snowball sampling techniques could determine the response and stand of Nigerian populace of the case study.

1.5 Research Questions

This study attempt to answer the under listed research questions as drawn from Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2006)

1. Why and to what extent does public relations and rhetoric increase organizational effectiveness during electioneering campaigns?
2. How public relations and rhetoric used by APC and PDP makes campaign organization more effective towards political campaign?
3. What are the major attributes of public relation and rhetoric that are most likely to make a campaign organization effective?

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The limitation of this work is geared towards “The Power of Public Relations and Political Rhetoric in Nigeria: A Study of Presidential Electioneering Campaign 2015,” and its media representation. The study is limited to the case study of “The Power of Public Relations and Political Rhetoric in Nigeria: A Study of Presidential Electioneering Campaign 2015,” because of the preferred methodology adopted. However, it is also important to note that based on the scope of the case study of this

research, it has indeed hindered outside research and further exploration of the study beyond its scope for more facts and data. Hence, another limitation is due to Nigerian developing state of the economy with many lacunas in the constitution with virtually no free press system rather mostly operates under developmental press system with none effective and verifiable research sources and records for guidance. Furthermore, attempts towards getting direct information from the 2015 presidential campaign steering teams seem difficult due to long distance but the proxy method used for the research was successful for the research objectives.

Chapter 2

NIGERIA: COUNTRY PROFILE AND POLITICS

2.1 Profile of Nigeria

Nigeria is a country from Africa, popularly known as the giant of Africa. Nigeria is located on the west coast of Africa; it is believed to have the highest GDP in the continent more than South Africa and Egypt (World Bank Data, 2013). Nigeria got her independence on first of October 1960 under the British government. Nigeria has the population of over 190million (World Meters 2017). The country Nigeria has both human and natural resources “richly endowed with varieties of natural resources ranging from precious metals, various economic stones such as barites, gypsum, kaolin, and marble even though most are yet to be exploited” (nigeria.gov.ng, 2014). Nigeria is the seventh highest crude oil producer in the world and member nation of the organization of petroleum exporting countries (OPEC) and has been exporting oil as the primary source of national treasury and blessed with many agrarian endowments at commercial quantity. Such endowment in the country has been the root of power tussle by the elites from all part of the country for control of such a lucrative nation that has caused a lot of conflict and disagreement in the land.

With such lucrative and good turnover of the oil sector, there seems to be a steady neglect and decline of other sectors of the economy such as the agriculture, trade and investment, tourism and manufacturing. This has caused the government of the day at various levels “massive migration to the cities and led to increasingly widespread

poverty, especially in rural areas” (nigeria.gov.ng, 2014). This action has continually caused high rate of crimes by the youth in the country in quest for better livelihood which is believe to be the root cause of Boko Haram in the north, IPOB in the east, and the Niger Delta militants in the south for their continuous crisis with a lot of lives lost in the country.

Nigeria has since its inception been a richly diverse nation religiously, culturally and ethnically. It also boost of 37 states of the federation (including Federal Capital Territory Abuja). The above states blend of the country makes the northern Nigeria with 19-states and southern Nigeria with 16-states. The country at large is agrarian in nature with prolific animals and fertile soil which if properly utilized and given adequate attention to, could graduate Nigeria into food self-sufficient nation with higher possibilities of been an export nation. However, in recent years Nigeria remains the highest food importer in Africa to the extent of importing common items like chewing sticks, pencils, toothpicks etc.

Agriculturally, the nation’s northern and southern climatology and biogeography is also a clear indication that both regions have the potentials of complimenting each other mutually. Because northern Nigeria have average desert with rainfall of 500mm to 1900mm per annum and covers minimum of 2 months and maximum of 5 months rainy season. Such condition supports major crops like guinea corn, maize, millet soya beans, cowpea, rice, peanuts, and cotton, among others that are cultivated at both subsistent and commercial farming scale levels in the north. While the south records over seven months rainy season, and boost of an average rainfall of over 3300 per annum with tall thick trees and high vegetation with major food crops been cultivated as yam, cassava, rice banana, etc. While some friendly cash crops include

rubber, cocoa, oil palm, coffee, tea etc. In addition, the ethnic complexity of Nigeria has been rich equally with the likes of Hausa/Fulani, Kilba, Kanuri, Bachama, Nupe, Tiv, Idoma, Mumuye, Chamba, Margi, Shuwa, Kanakuru etc all from north; while the southern major ethnic groups are the Yoruba, Igbo, Ijaw, Urhobo, Bini Efik etc. Additionally, each of these ethnic groups has its own culture and traditions, kings and chiefs, languages and dialects, states, different locations and histories that distinguish it from one another. Nigeria has over two hundred and seventy indigenous languages. But English has been its official language ever since the British colonization and serves as official language in the country irrespective of one's geographical location. Even though in the north, Hausa is the common language. Most news translation and political campaigns are done in Hausa language in the region. While in the southern part of the country most especially, the south east where Igbos dominated, Igbo language serves as the common language with lots of music, news, film dramas and political talks done in the Igbo language. And sometimes 'Pidgin' English which is a localized English with some tribal (Igbo) blend terminology been spoken. While in the southeastern where Yoruba claims majority, Yoruba language is the main means of local communication.



Figure 1: Geo-Political Map of Nigeria (google.com, 2017)

Furthermore, the acceptability of English as Nigerians lingua-franca across Nigeria has gotten a one-sided acceptance since its inception. This is due to the variation in the level of western education across the country from time immemorial. Because of the earlier introduction of the Western education (English language) to the southern part of the country, while the northerners were skeptical to the fact that Western education which comes in English language may contradict their Islamic faith. Thus, by then the north was dominated by Islam and the northerners seems comfortable with it (Islam in Nigeria, 2014). Such disparity in education and religion across the country was because of foreign influence through, because the Arabian merchants that hailed from Middle East and North Africa came to Nigeria through the north. Similarly, before the coming of European merchants and missionaries, Arabs have established a bilateral trade relationship with the northerners and the trading has been fruitful, mutual and has lasted for centuries, which were the opportunity the Arabs got in the north to have preached the gospel of Islam successful while trading with

the northern business partners and from then. The Islamic ideology further penetrated to other tribes and other parts of the north as a result, Islam became popular and the major religion in the north even though there are quite number of northerners that are not Muslims (Joseph, 2001).

However, such factors contributed to the high level of education in the south compared to the north and the high population of Christians in the region even though in practical terms, there seems to be millions of Muslims in the south as there are same in the north. Even though presumably, I believed that the two major religions and its variation in the north and south of the country was because of the two groups of foreign merchants and missionaries that visited Nigeria. Because had it been the Arabian merchants and missionaries from the first instance visited the southern Nigeria, southern Nigeria should have been the region with the northern features and *ceteris paribus* the same should have happened if the reversed happened in north by the British missionaries etc, which the north could have been Christian, dominated. Also, the earlier presence and dominance of Christianity/Western education in the southern part of Nigeria can solely be attributed to the geographical location of the region. The region can widely be accessed by sea which is the common route for European tourist and merchants to the southern Nigeria even though road is possible but seems very difficult. Therefore, the core aim of Europeans visiting the southern part of Nigeria then was strictly for business. But their aim was later changed for obvious political reasons in order to control the region and the country at large. Such was initiated after signing a bilateral agreement which kept the coastal towns of Lagos and Calabar under their 'protection'. The British monarch was in control towards facilitating their best known interest (exploitation) with regards to the potentials and the endowed resources of the

country. The southern part of Nigeria's endowments was the major interest of their massive influx as British missionaries and English teacher to the region and the country at large. This was a strategy to easily gain acceptance and the trust in order to easily 'colonize' the state through alienation and exploitation of the region and their resources. To a larger extent, by having their puppets and cronies in control of the region and the country at large even after democracy so as to remain in control. While from the north, which is a landlocked region and can only be access by horses and camels been the only means of transportation in ancient Arabs then coupled with the accessibility and proximity of both southern Arabian kingdom and northern Nigerian region made it easy trade and an avenue for healthy ideological and cultural exchange within both parties. As time goes on within the business relationship, Islamic ideology and Islamic political system was introduce in the north with caliphates been created across the north. Even though, before the introduction of Islam to the northern Nigeria, Islam has lasted for centuries in the Arab world which made the Arab Islamic scholars erudite and seasoned in Islamic marketing which was evidential in the speed and the spate of Islamic acceptability in the region. Although, Islam came earlier to the north and Nigeria at large before the coming of European merchants through the south and the ideology attached to their coming.

Additionally, politics and leadership of the country then, was based on the dictates and teachings of Islam championed by the Arabs to the northerners, which has prepared the northerners as God fearing, kind-hearted with good leadership skills. Most especially the northerners were believed to have high sense of fairness and justice. Because of the dominant Islamic jurisprudence in the region while the southerners are believed to be creative with high entrepreneurial abilities; and that makes the blend of Nigerian very effective for socio-economic development.

Religiously, most Nigerians seem dedicating, submissive and loyal to their religious ideology, even though poor in terms of the application of the religious teachings. Which is why both British and elite politicians have continuously use such religion to influence and change the Nigerian politics. To the extent that sometimes religious interest outweighs credibility no matter how articulate, packaged and rhetorical a politician can be if he/she does not share the same faith as a common ideology with the electorates, then, he tends to get little or no vote from the voters. This has been a major cause of major political alignment, consensus and cross carpeting across party politics, and the general politics during elections when seeking for public empathy. Such are the factors why and how ethnicity and regional factors come to play as further discussed.

2.2 Regional and Ethnic Attributes of Nigeria's 2015 Electioneering Campaign

Nigeria as a federating state made up of 36 states, which were traced from its northern and southern roots. The north is made up of 19 states excluding Federal Capital Territory (FCT), which is equally part of the north; while the southern Nigeria is made up of 17, States, which the conglomeration of both the northern and southern protectorate gave, rise to the six-geopolitical zones of Nigeria as detailed below.

North-West: This region is predominantly Hausa native. Occupied by the Hausa/Fulani people, this region host the 'Sokoto Caliphate' and this zone domiciled the 'Sultan of Sokoto', which means the supreme Islamic leader of Nigeria. This geopolitical zone has the following states of the federation namely: Sokoto, Kebbi, Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna, Kano, and Jigawa. The region is rich in Islamic history,

it has produced numerous presidents for the country out of which are: President Murtala Mohammed from Kano State, who ruled from 1975 to 1976; President Shehu Shagari who hailed from Sokoto State, and ruled from 1979 to 1983; President Muhammadu Buhari from Katsina State, as a military president who ruled from 1984 to 1985; President Sani Abacha also from Kano State, who served from 1993 to 1998; President Umaru Yar'adua also from Katsina and ruled from 2007 to 2010; and President Muhammadu Buhari again as a democratic president from 2015 to date (2017).

North Central: This zone as the name implies is also referred to as the "Middle Belt". It has almost equal number of Muslims and Christians in the region. While it has the following major tribes from the region such as Idomas, Ebiras, Berom, Angas, Nupes, Gbagis, Okun, Igala, Tivs, etc. It also has the blend of the following states, which are Kogi, Niger, Benue, Kwara, Nassarawa, and Plateau. The zone produces three presidents which are; Yakubu Gowon from 1966 to 1975, Ibrahim Babangida from 1985 to 1993, and Abdul salami Abubakar from 1998 to 1999. Politically, during the APC 2015 presidential election, APC won all the six states of the region while PDP did not win any state.

Northeast: This region politically seems unpredictable due to its complexity and diversity most especially with the relatively high population of Christian in the Muslim dominant region coupled with many tribal and ethnic groups. In addition, this region has been the hotbed of the terrorist group and incessant attacks for over a decade. This zone comprises States like; Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Taraba, Bauchi, and Gombe. However, Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa have recorded high Boko Haram attacks in recent past, with over 20,000 lives lost and properties lost worth 5.9 billion

USD (Africannews.com 2016). States like Taraba, Gombe, and Bauchi seems to have experienced relative calm and peace through the peak of the insurgency period as compared to the other neighboring states earlier mentioned. Furthermore, the region boost of the following tribes which are the Kanuris, Hausas, Fulanis Arabs, Mumuyes, Seyawas, Kilbas, Shuwas, Bachamas, etc. This region produced the first Nigeria's Prime Minister called Sir, Abubakar Tafawa-Balewa who happened to be from Bauchi State and reign from 1960 to 1966 when he was killed by the military as a result of coup d'état. Politically, APC campaign on the pathos of the electorates due to the insecurity that has ravaged the region. And Nigerians believe that the country's hardship and the insecurity faced were due to the failure of PDP government. That was why Nigerians vote APC believed to be the solution to the challenges of the country.

South-West: Includes: Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti. This geopolitical zone is predominantly Yoruba, but their Yoruba language differs within the zone. This zone has so far produced two Presidents in the history of Nigeria who are; Olusegun Obasanjo in 1976 to 1979 as military head of state while in 1999 to 2007 served the democratically elected President and Ernest Shonekan who had the shortest tenure in the history of Nigerian presidency started in August 1993 and ended in November 1993. The religious composition of this region is not much significant because it does not influence their politics like other regions where politics is being manipulated using religion. This is because of the lots of cross marriages within the region across both faiths. But in this region, electorates give more priority to their language (Yoruba) than religion during politics as a means of political patronage, unlike other regions where religion plays a vital role.

Southeast: This zone is most diverse compared to other zones. People living in this region are called Igbos even though they tend not to communicate very well within the zone due to their mutually intelligible dialects nature. This zone is made up of five states which are; Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Imo, and Ebonyi. Politically most of the people here are Christians and tend to be sympathizers to PDP as such even though APC still controls one state (Imo). In this zone, the first Nigerian military ruler was Thomas Aguiyi-Ironsi who came on board in January 1966 to July 1966 when he was killed after a coup d'état success (historyworld.net, 2014).

South South: This is the Niger-Delta region. This zone has been the lucrative zone of Nigeria after Nigerian neglect the agriculture which was the major source of Nigerian revenue before. Niger delta now houses the major oil wells and in Nigeria until last year when oil search was mounted in other parts of the country and to have realized substantial commercial quantity in Lagos state (south west), Bauchi state and Borno state (north east). The zone is a home to major languages like Ijaw, Urhobo, Itshekiri, Bini, Ishan, Ikwere, Ibo, Efik, etcetera and has the following states of the federation; Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, and Rivers. Even though politically, PDP dominates this region and is the region of the 2015 PDP presidential flag bearer and in this region APC claims Edo state in the last presidential election and other parts of the zone though not with significant votes while PDP has four states. Christians are the most dominant people in the zone and this region has only produced President Goodluck Jonathan, from 2010 to 2015. But his return for the second term was scuttled by APC, the first opposition to have defeated ruling party despite the resources at their disposal, autonomy, influence, and immunity but was left packing out of the presidential villa.

2.3 Introducing Nigerian Politics

Politics is the act of governance and is one of the major ingredients of socio-economic development of a state or society (Ademilokun & Taiwo, 2013, p.436).Such has played a great impact in Nigeria. Nigeria is in Africa and got her independence in 1960 from British, and became the most populous African country after the amalgamation of both the northern and southern protectorates located across River Niger in a confluence town called Lokoja, Kogi State (historyworld.net, 2014) at the Nigerian's middle belt region. The name "Nigeria" was created from two words which are "Niger" and "Area". And consequently, the coined name has continued to fine-tune the country's politics right from time immemorial. Such has made most of the regional leaders after the amalgamation of the country to start jostling for power and control based on who will lead and from where will the leader come from. Even though, prior to the amalgamation of Nigeria into one indivisible independent state. The Northern leaders of that time opposed the unification of the country at that time due to the fear of southern dominance based on wider difference in development, exposure and educational level between the two regions. Such action persuaded the northerners to oppose the 1953 independence movement by the southern legislator, Anthony Enahoro (Usang, Ikpeme, & Elemi, 2014, p.45) until 1960.The Southern region gain those advantages because during the pre-colonial era, British colonial masters came to Nigeria via southern region by sea transport, which was the boundaries of the south, and thus; they brought Christianity and Western education at a very early stage compared to their presence in the north. The northern region that is landlocked observed the presence of merchant Arabs who came through the Central Africa for the business and subsequently, introduced Islam to the north with Arabic language on the course of their transactions and such makes Islam

popular in the northern region as compared to the high dominance of Christians in the south. Such factor created an unforgettable memory in the Nigerian political and socioeconomic history. This made both regional and religious factors as the major cardinals of Nigerian politics, not just during 2015 election campaign, but beyond. And such attributes warrant more PR experts to their drawing boards for more developed strategies towards political consideration most especially during 2015 presidential election by both the opposition APC and the incumbent PDP as of 2015.

During the 2015 politics in Nigeria, the major none state political factor considered includes ethnic difference, regional and religious differences. While state actors are the three tiers of government including local government, which is headed by the chairman or sole administrator. State government under the control of the state governor; and the governor in this case seems very powerful and control the state party structure with much influence at the federal level. And this makes them invariably determine the federal level politics. Such factors have continually generated tension and fracas within the ranks and files of Nigerian political system ever since the consolidation of democracy in 1999 thereby complicating the good aim and purpose of the politics. The success of the APC using adequate PR can best be understood through a comparative analysis of rhetoric and PR approaches used by both APC and PDP during the election campaign. The “fabrication” of Nigeria by its colonial masters in 1914 has greatly affected the Nigerian political structure.

In fact, Ray Jacob (2012) has further highlighted the effect of such historical amalgamation as “to the colonial transgressions that forced the ethnic groups of the northern and southern provinces to become an entity called Nigeria in 1914” (Jacob, 2012, p. 14). Even though, the amalgamation is believed to be impartially induced by

the northern leaders against the southerners which ever since then, there have been different calls and agitations for the status quo to be maintained by the south easterners for the creation of Biafra Republic with Igbo's taking the lead, which they bank on lack of relevance in the country by both the northerners and the south westerners in terms of denial to sensitive political capacities in the country and their alienation in resource allocation and control although there are agitations now for restructuring of the country.

2.4 Democracy and Governance in Nigeria since Independence

Nigeria is 57years old of independence by 1 October 2017, which equally confirms its 18years of uninterrupted democracy. Although, prior to 1999 democracy there have been instability in Nigerian governance and democracy which was caused as a result of disruptions by the military to overthrow and be in control within different folds of republics which the 1999 democratic dispensation is the "fourth republic". While it may seem easy to throw blame to Nigerian military for the persistent failure of Nigerian democracy right from time immemorial based on their varying interruptions to democratic development in Nigeria since independence (historyworld.net, 2014). Even though, the conduct and attitude of most Nigerian politicians since independent seems divisive and unpatriotic with a lot of ill feelings and inciting statements against each other using regional and geo-political interest to claim other regions as parasitic or second class citizens in the country. Although the seed of discord in Nigeria is believed to have been sown right from the time of Nigerian amalgamation from the three regions namely; northern, western and eastern Nigeria to a formidable one united and indivisible Nigeria. Thereafter, Nigerians took their regions of birth as their most priority with their kinsmen being regarded as their only brother's keeper. In addition to Nigeria's situation is the state at which

corruption destroyed and hindered the nation's speedy development most especially within the public service, which has ranked Nigeria as the 35th most corrupt nation on earth according to Transparency International report 2012.

2.5 Historical Development of All Progressives Congress (APC) in Nigeria

All Progressive Congress APC, the ruling party in Nigeria since 2015 political victory, the first political party in Nigeria's democratic history to have unseat over 16years government in power of PDP. APC came to being in February 2013 because of collective resolution for the merger by four minority parties that are call the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) and other members of (APGA) All Progressive Grand Alliance. The four major political parties involved in the alliance for the APC came to being through individual conventions organized to solidify their stand in the movement for a new party that they believe was a solution to the 16years dysfunctional leadership of PDP to Nigeria and Nigerians. During their individual party's convention, resolutions was pass with a collective agreement for the merger to one big indivisible political party irrespective of all sorts of sentiment, differences, and interest. The APC's manifesto and ideology believes that as progressive members, Nigeria is the binding force and it is greater than any individual's interest.

According to APC's manifesto, the country can only succeed when all progressives have equal right with level playing grounds. Endorsement and adoption of the new party called APC, documents and constitutional/legal requirement made that involves enacting a working document that stands as the party constitution, adopting unique party logo that have drawn from all the four merged parties former logo for

unification within the founding parties. In addition, the APC became nationalize through the creation of the party's secretariats in at least 24 states out of 36 states of the federation including Abuja. Such requirements qualified the party's approval by Nigerian Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), which is the supreme political party's regulating body and the nation's electoral umpire on 31st of July 2013 officially confirms APC as a legal political entity. Thereafter INEC removes the legal recognition of ACN, CPC, and ANPP as a political party by withdrawing those parties operating licenses. After the successful formation of APC as a political party, in quest to more political power, the party articulated their stands as a unique party that aimed at salvaging the country from dysfunctional leadership of over 16years by the PDP. The success story of APC started in November 2013 at the Eagle square Abuja, Federal Capital Territory (FCT) at the event of grand PDP's convention. When to the surprise of the presidency of the then government, the Board of Trustee (BoT) which is the highest decision making body of the party. And then the National Working Committee NWC, which doubles as the National Executive Council (NEC) of the PDP, were all seated to have witnessed in a broad day light the walking away of five aggrieved PDP serving governors. Alongside other party's bigwigs believed to be foundation members of the PDP. Which include former Vice President of Federal Republic of Nigeria Alh. Atiku Abubakar and others members that later announced their defection to the new party APC.

The five aggrieved governors who walked out of the PDP convention and defected include: Rivers State Governor Rotimi Amaechi, who later became the Campaign Director General (DG) of APC 2015 Presidential election. Also the Kwara State Governor, Abdulfattah Ahmed that his state produced the Nigerian Senate President in APC due to the formidable nature of the merger after the 2015 polls. Rabi

Kwankwasor of Kano State, a governor from the 2nd most populous state of the federation and also the 2015 presidential aspirant believed to be one of the most instrumental to the success of the 2015 APC election. Other governors include Murtala Nyako of Adamawa state; and Aliyu Wammakko of Sokoto State. They were all strong pillars of the PDP before their unfair treatment by the Presidency, party's BoT, and NWC/NEC. On the plans by the then serving President Goodluck Jonathan for his automatic ticket. To run for the 2015 presidential race with his running mate Arch. Mohammad Namadi Sambo unopposed which the aggrieved PDP chieftains and some governors feels such action was impunity and undemocratic. Thus, such action by PDP caused the decamping of all the five governors and some aggrieved party stalwarts, which was a big blow to the face of the PDP and credited to be the root cause of PDP's failure in the 2015 general elections. Coupled with over 49 federal legislators who decamped to the APC to joined their over 137 counterparts in the parliament as a result of the collective merger by their parties. This action has further concretized the stand of APC in the legislative arm of the PDP government which has strengthen the capacity of APC as an opposition party to confront the PDP ruling party that remain on perpetual crisis after the decampment of the 5 governors and other foundation members including both the former president Olusegun Obasanjo and his vice president Alh. Atiku Abubakar. Ever since then, the PDP as party has continued to face in house quagmire with two faction of leadership until recently when Supreme Court ruled out in favor of Senator Ahmed Makarfi's faction.

2.6 Profile and Historical Development of People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria

This is one of the recognized parties by INEC in Nigeria. The party was founded in August 1998, couple of weeks after the death of Nigerian military leader Gen. Sani Abacha. On Monday 8th, 1998, thereafter the government of the day led by the military head of state Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar who announced the return of democracy. He further announced the readiness of the government to conduct elections the following year so as to end the over 16years of the continued military rule. In preparation for the 4th republic elections, political alignments and parties were formed which gave birth to People's Democratic Party (PDP) in August 1998 with Chief Alex Ekwueme a former vice president of the country as the pioneer chairman of the party while Prof. Jerry Gana was the first PDP secretary. At the foundation level of the party's formation, most members were drawn from different industries and organizations who are mostly retired captains of industries, technocrats, politicians, ex-military men and women, and academicians that formed the group known as G-18 and G-34. And their strong mission then was to end the perpetual military rulership through strong opposition to the tenure elongation plans of Gen. Sani Abacha's military regime.

Some of the founding members of the PDP called G-34 are Chief Alex Ekwueme, Chief Audu Ogbe, Alh. Abubakar Rimi, Chief Sunday Awoniyi, Alh. Adamu Ciroma, Alh. Lawal Kaita, Alhaji (Dr.) Sule Lamido, Alh. Atiku Abubakar, Chief Solomon Lar, Alh. Iro Abubakar, and Alh. Dan Musa. While other foundation members of the PDP formerly called G-18 and G-34 includes: Prof. Ango Abdullahi, Alh. Tanko Yakasai, Amb. Aminu Wali, Amb. Yahaya Kwande, Prof. Jibril Aminu,

Prof. Iya Abubakar, Alh. Bello Kirfi, Chief Barnabas Gemade, Prof. Daniel Saror, Dr. Sulaiman Kumo, Iyochia Ayu, Chief Tom Ikimi, Alh. Isiyaku Ibrahim, Sen. Walid Jibril, Dr. Garba Nadama, Alh. Bamanga Tukur, Chief Abubakar Olusola Saraki, Alh. Sani Zangon Daura, Chief Antony Anehni, Alh. Musa Musawa, Chief Bola Ige, Chief Jim Nwobodo, Prof. Jerry Gana, Colonel (Rtd) Ahmadu Ali. Thereafter a former military leader of (1976-1979) called Olusegun Obasanjo and his cronies from the military joined the party not long after the formation of the party. This further added a strong weight to the party based on the blend and powers of its members cut across all the Nigerian States and other federal character consideration. Furthermore, based on such attributes the party meant to have a broad political coverage that supports deregulations, human rights, better funding for the educational sector, health and among others include democratic sustainability. Under such guide, PDP was very much visible in all parts of the country politics and that made the party victorious in 1999 elections to have won majority of seats in both the upper and the lower legislative chambers of the parliament. By winning 25 States gubernatorial seats across the country, and also recorded the same political victory in 2003 general elections returning President Olusegun Obasanjo and his running mate Alh. Atiku Abubakar elected. Hence, claiming almost the same majority seats in both chambers of the national assembly. Such political party's ability has further made PDP the biggest political party in Africa. As part of the PDP internal mechanism, there has been an unofficial decision that is view as a tradition where the power only runs between candidates from a predominant Christian southern region and the northern Nigeria, which is predominantly Muslims just like in 2007 presidential planning, where PDP filled their party with Alh. Umaru Musa Yar'Adua the then governor of Katsina state who happened to be Muslim from the predominant north

while his running mate is Dr. Goodluck Jonathan also the then governor of Bayelsa State from the Niger Delta, a Christian and a southerner. Both candidates were imposed as the party's flag bearer during the 2007 PDP's presidential primaries under the Yar'Adua/Jonathan's ticket. This made them victorious at the end of the general election even though majority of the international election observers criticized and condemned the elections and the processes as been marred by irregularities and sharp practices.

It was also glaring that even the then president Yar'Adua has to accept the fact that the process of their emergence has a lot of irregularities and further pledge reviewing and sanitizing the systems. In February 2010, President Yar'Adua due to the health challenges was flown to Saudi Arabia for medical attention. And that allowed the assumption of constitutional power of Acting President on Vice President Jonathan until May, 2010 when Jonathan was sworn in as a substantive president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This followed the announcement of Yar'Adua death abroad. Thereafter in September 2010, Jonathan declared his intention to run for 2011 presidential race. This act seems contrary to the already established PDP power rotational tradition. Somewhat generated controversies within the party leading into the party's presidential primary which was conducted in January 2011. GEJ clinching the ticket of the party due to his paraphernalia and control of the party structure thereby defeating his closest contender and strong challenger called Alh. Atiku Abubakar a former Vice President of eight years in the party, a northerner and a Muslim. Jonathan became victorious at the general poll of 2011 defeating Muhammadu Buhari of CPC and Nuhu Ribadu of ACN. With the full-fledged tenure of Jonathan's led administration, a lot of situation unfolds with some major administrative and political challenges recorder, which further unveils the

inefficiency and lack of adequate exposure of President Jonathan to Nigerian politics and socio-economic situation. The last strokes that brought the camel back home was when the 2015 general elections came closer where the former African's most powerful ruling party tends to lose its grip and popularity not only within Africa or Nigerian federating states rather including the nooks and crannies of municipalities. As a result of poor leadership, impunity, and lack of internal democracy within the party, such has caused in-house fight with antagonizing speeches by the party members which have caused many party members to flee the party and join the opposition due anger. Also, the entire populace felt that the Jonathan led administration has been nonchalant to combat both corruption that has stripped the country's economy naked. And also the deadly threat of Boko Haram in the northeastern part of Nigeria due to the poor living condition of Nigeria which never improved during the PDP-led administration despite Nigerians endowed resources.

Furthermore, as part of the preparation of 2015 to uproot PDP's poor leadership through the conglomeration of other minority parties to form a consolidated merger in 2013 to form the All Progressives Congress (APC) which involves better internal party mechanism and administration. Such efforts succeeded in a hitch free and conventional party convention that brought former military head of State from the north called Muhammadu Buhari who has been known to be rich in integrity and corrupt free to have challenged Jonathan in the 2015 presidential elections. Muhammadu Buhari thereafter defeated Jonathan hands down with over 28 States governors from APC and to have floored both the upper and lower Nigerian legislative chambers with APC representatives thereby dominating the Senate with the Senate President and the House of Representative with the Speaker both of which are from APC. Such dominance by APC in the Nigerian political cloud has signaled

an end to the PDP's power grip not only at the presidency, rather even at the regional and states levels which PDP started enjoying over 16years ago in 1999. Recently, PDP seemed not to recover from those injuries of the 2015 defeat. Because the party remained in rancor and in deep quagmire from two factions within the party and both are claiming legitimacy. This have prevailed for more than two years although, couple of weeks ago the supreme court ruled the party's leadership tussle in favor of Senator Ahmed Makarfi's faction denying Senator Ali Modu Sherrif's faction. Such has caused the lack of strong and productive opposition by the PDP in the present administration with key PDP members' defection.

2.7 The Impact of Media and Public Relations on Electioneering Campaign of Nigeria

Public Relations have been a technique that has transformed campaigns and elections in Nigeria ever since, (Johnson, 2011, p.205). It is best defined as the livewire of a society because media and PR were meant to realize that they have a decisive political, social and cultural importance to the development of every society. And this are intrinsically connected to the idea of democracy which politics and electioneering campaign are essential elements. Therefore, with effective PR and media; political society would experience peace, tranquility and inclusive participatory politics, which is geared towards overall development, while if improperly done, then it tends to cause more harm than good. Today, not just in Nigerian polity but polity in its entirety has made media as a vehicle through which public relations are been managed and better showcased. In Nigeria politics today, transparent, better politics and manifesto driven campaign are well grounded based on the efficiency of PR and media for successful coexistence and peaceful electioneering campaign. As the conventional avenue to subscribe, political

interaction between the actor's concerns is via public relations for a mutually progressive rapport.

During a comprehensive political situation, media is the most significant handling mechanism towards achieving the goal. Therefore contextually, media can be termed as a “doubled aged sword that could either serve as a theater for the promotion and actualization of national development goals or the arena for the stoking and fanning of the embers of divisive tendencies among people” (Sunday, 2015 p.51). In such vein, politicians in Nigeria use media most of the times to attack each other, or to react to viral news report or opinion columns that makes the Nigerian news report mostly one-sided working on the principle of “Attack and Collect”/ ”Defend and Collect”. This invariably signifies that journalist uses their ability of the pen is mightier than the sword, in order to persuade most vulnerable political parties and politicians to present honorarium for soft landing “to cease and desist” against defamatory press releases or equally to appreciate through cash or kind for promotional political articles or comments, which will be in clear terms as payment for “services rendered” (Philippines, 2003). “However, this lack of objectivity could be much more discerned if close textual and contextual analysis is adopted” (Bello, 2014, p. 71).

Such situation has recorded numerous avenues where PR and media has been dysfunctional in its approaches thereby over heating the polity with little or no remorse. In Africa mostly the practice is not different with Nigeria as Basil Nyama sums up the situations the “Attack and Collect” or the “Defend and Collect” political syndrome in Africa. Indeed such reckless and negatively practiced journalism seems deeply rooted in African contemporary politics. This has continued to go a long way

in creating immorality and insecurity in politics and further promotes inciting, hateful and demeaning political clout. Conventionally, media should serve as a bridge builder and as a vehicle for peace and societal sanitation of the politics through culture of positive political orientation, which I call politics of happiness, which is achievable by “free and strengthened media can promote a popular culture of participatory democracy, basic human rights, coexistence, tolerance, and peace” (Nyama, 2003, p. 9). Through policy is driven PR and campaign, better press releases and given less priority without the campaign of calumny and unhealthy political happenings or utterances towards over heating the politics. Cyber stalling and political attacks trending, gun and blood media, and culture such as unconventional media hyping, propaganda that promotes disunity, ethnicity and lack of religious tolerance with the diverse Nigerian nature like in Rwanda, North Africa, and the Middle East.

Most times poor or incorrect news presentation and interpretation cause great tension within the voting class thereby dividing the electorates on various interests against the national interest of peace, unity, and progress (Nyama, 2003, p.10). Consequently, such predicaments do not change the fact that “the power of PR and media to transform and sanitize the politics into violent free and to conventional best practice” (Nyama, 2003, p. 9). Furthermore, the importance of PR and media during the 2015 electioneering campaign in Nigeria is so vital that the mass media has been a good avenue to woo electorates within the shortest possible period of time and thus; politicians and political parties have greatly utilized such avenue to shape their campaign as evidential during 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria, even though other party mastered the strategic application of corporate PR and media more than the other party.

2.8 The Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR)

The Nigerian Institute of Public Relations is a government agency and remains the supreme body of PR professionals in Nigeria. It is saddle with the responsibility of advancing and standardizing Public Relations profession not just towards Nigerian standard but internationally best practiced. Also the NIPR enhance members with adequate professional handling skills and opportunities in order to meet up to the global challenges. It also serves as a great advisory body towards conscious reawakening and moral boosting within a large leadership spectrum on an institution.

The historical development of Nigerian Institute of Public Relations stated in 1963, and the name was later changed as the Public Relations Association of Nigeria in 1972 through the concerted efforts of some foundation members who out of dedication and selfless services came together to establish and inaugurate the institution under the then leadership of Dr. Sam Epelle who was the pioneer president. The Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) was legitimize in June 1990 through Decree No. 16 which is now referred as an act of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and that makes NIPR gained the status of a fully-fledged Chartered Institute. The Nigerian jurisprudence has full autonomy to exercise powers of registering members, supervising, regulating, and developing Public Relations profession and its professional conduct.

The administrative aspect of the institution has 22-member Governing Council which is been managed by the President, in support of the Vice President who are also democratically brought to power by electoral college mandated by the council to oversee the affairs of the institution with the title of the Chairman and the Vice

Chairman respectively. And the 17-members democratically elected members will have 5-members appointed by the Federal Government of Nigeria after two years tenure which is renewable subject to the discretion of the President Federal Republic of Nigeria. Also, the council appoints the head of administration called the Registrar whose responsibilities among numerous is to keep administrative records of the institute in tandem to the established rules and regulations governing the affairs of the council. Furthermore, until now the institute has recorded over 13 presidents since the inception of the institute in 1963 to 2013 when Dr. Rotimi Oladele assumed the leadership responsibility to date (2017).

Chapter 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter contains the literature review on the research study based on the targeted research objectives; and the theoretical framework of the study which are the excellence theory and the rhetorical theory. Thus, such literatures that concerns PR, rhetoric and electioneering campaign of the 21st century makes the backbone of the review.

3.1 Political Communication and the 21st Century Campaign

With respect to the 1920s, political communication of the 21st century has so far recorded significant changes most especially in the aspect of technology, research and development. However, such changes have further created more ways to access and analyze the developments. In this research, while I articulate on the prevailing rhetoric and political communications observed during 2015 presidential electioneering campaign, I will also argue with the fact that different scholars have different conceptual framework towards interpolating us into the realm of life as social and political beings. The theoretical framework used in this study is aimed at considering how PR, rhetoric and media functions differs within the periods of communication systems in cognizance to various theories of communication, political handling styles, post-truth and propaganda are been constructed within political context as used in 2015.

In this study, political marketing strategies and techniques of the 21st century have greatly transformed electioneering campaign of our contemporary politics, as the systems of communication of the 19th century politics has geometrically metamorphosed and improved based on the technological changes and globalization that took place over the period of time. The various systems of political persuasions evolved; such that feedback mechanism strategies are, kept in place for further strategies towards achieving the end of the communication model target for all and sundry's political benefit. Such political marketing tool was derived rhetorically based on Brett & McKay (2010) rhetoric genre, which can be either, *pathos*, *ethos* or *logos* as the case may be.

During the 19th century, persuasive communications are been achieved based on people's emotions to their felt needs. While contemporary, political manifestation of either campaigns or civil gathering are been done on the rhetorical powers of post-truth ideology, which is when politically, a politician lures or persuade electorates into his own interest or political ideology based on shared empathy. Fundamentally without any concrete reason or convincing facts, rather rhetorical machinations on people's aspiration as evidential during Donald Trump's 2016 elections, who won election on post-truth rhetoric, in the sense that none of his campaign manifestos correlate with the present realities on ground. Therefore, for any political communication to be successful and hitch-free there should be effective and efficient public relations systems which will determine the perfect flow of communication model using (Lasswell, 1927, p.195) system. In such communication systems, Bernays in (Bernays, 1923,p. 103) his book on Crystallizing Public Opinion describes how new aspects of public relations evolve using sound theoretical grounds. Bernays scholarship has been greatly influenced by the masses action and

the movement during political contest as a case study, which he believes that communication is possible. While Lippmann (1922, p. 218) postulated that communication is essential “lets a new publicity man who gave shape to the aspect of modern life” where he believes that human as a social being needs to communicate so as to have direction in life and also to be socially guided.

In *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, Bernays believes that effective public relations could successfully identify unclear sets of notions or ideology within the masses so as to better guide them further as the decade progresses, Bernays developed more ideas on such aspect that signifies a more comprehensive approach for the audience benefit towards minority concern of the client interest. During the early stage of segmentation, good propaganda depends on the motive behind the course, which can either be black propaganda; which means outright alienation with the sole aim of serving the propagandist. While the white propaganda is believed to be fair and just based on facts; while the grey aspect of the propaganda is based on the principles of reliability, fact and reason which may not serve any party's interest rather, interest of the purpose. Even though it all goes in consonance to the target which may attempt connecting some ideas of under representation either products or services to potential receptive group or the wider crowd and such step may involve both the white and black propaganda so as to have effective communication or propaganda channel. Bernays also went further to details about the emerging public relations use of propaganda due to its well-suited target for people's new and emerging concept offered by wide range of minority's point of view within the socio economic society. In *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, Bernays posits that public audiences should not be trusted due to the complexities of the societies rather he argues that people have to be managed while also believing that people have to make their own decisions

(Bernays, 1923, p. 122). Unlikely, sounds different in our contemporary media based on the programmed public discourse by the media corporation via agenda settings principle. Which has been viewed as a gate keeping strategy by the stockholder or media corporation to represent reality according to their interest which is why Marxists believe that media are been controlled by the capitalist thereby alienating the lower class through false consciousness and making capitalism hegemonic and believed to be divine. Furthermore, Marxists argued that media are patriarchal due to their dominance and control of femininity, negating it as a mere paradigm and a social construct. Such ideologies as Bernays argued; that is possible by the contemporary media to move the public through the understanding of their social construct rather than individual capacity, which is fundamental to opinion formation and for better feedback mechanisms. Bernays use of propaganda; has enabled me to see propaganda as the concerted use of media text aimed at influencing the opinions or behaviors of a large number of audiences either positively or negatively. Such process needs effective public relations handling styles; therefore, Bernays used propaganda as a means of interpolation to deduce people's perception on matter of concern to deduce reactions and perception particularly using SWOT principle. The public relations view "impartial observers" approach as those people who work in line with the collective objectives and acted towards the "project of his client's point of view." Bernays went further to claim that for the success of a group "it must either discredit the old authorities or create new authorities by articulating mass opinion against the old belief or in favor of the new" (Bernays, 1923, p.68).

In this case, Bernays believed that people tends to view the world in recent times as been constructed based on the presence of media, technology, and globalization, while Lippman believes that the 1920s era will certainly serve as a memory for the

people which obviously it is. Even though (McLuhan 1962, p. 553) believes that while we remain socially constructed, we shall be weaved in a connection of networks which he termed it as a global village. This is where people will leave, act and be placed within the same ideology, culture and sameness due to the global village where the world tends to be small and forms small village of relations. This is also believed to have made public relations and campaign handier in the sense that individual journalism has greatly been enhanced. Which makes one to snap, type, edit and email recent happenings or news within his environment, politics and lots more for public's consumption. While to McLuhan's postulation which has been seriously debated and criticized most especially by the likes of Russel Neuman who claimed that McLuhan's global concept is misleading while globalization is observed. At the same time the world tends to be separated into the group of rich and the poor under the auspices of class difference which will continually create more gaps between the upper and lower echelon. Such postulation is believed to create both ideological and cultural cleansing towards feathering the nest of the bourgeoisie's ideology and making the world unsafe.

In such vein, such construct above makes people while watching or using any gadget to forget the source of the media text but rather concentrating on the content, which is believe that the medium is the message. More particularly, Lippman continues to influence Bernays on crowd management in terms of politics. That his meditation goes to the fact that as much as an organization should have blends of intellectuals, then they can best be constructed into real modern society that is involved with various differences. According to Lippman, Bernays believed that during the 1920s era when the communities and societies seems smaller, before the exploration into a wider and bigger metropolis, a local village heads or leader with powers using town

criers, palace guards, religious leaders etc, “was able to single-handedly crystallize the common will of his country in his day and generations” (Bernays 1923, p. 126). But such action of one man who uses needle or bullet information dissemination approach has now recorded setback due to the growth of villages to towns and to municipalities and also due to changes creating complexities and lack of common fate, ideology and cultural heritage as a result of undue Western influence and other social or biological factors. Therefore for good human relations and for adequate understanding of public relations; it admonishes the fact that “an expert who must know how to reach groups totally dissimilar as to ideals, customs and even language” (Bernays, 1923, p. 126). Effective public relations should have all the technicalities involved and utilized, even though Lippmann wrote that for such technicalities to be achieved, three major styles has to be abided for mutual benefits of all the parties concern in a more pragmatic attempt. Such that “government by terror and obedience,” for the government to act in a “highly developed system of information, analysis and self-consciousness” for the judicious information management and control using public relations.

Bernays further posits “education by information” (Bernays, 1923, pp. 128-129), that for effective propaganda to thrive, it most involves the articulated use of public relations in a more rhetorical way to have a free information flow society. Such persuasion is achieved through good analysis of both the strengths, weaknesses, similarities and other unique features of a group, society or community. Then work on their appeal based on the treatises of Aristotle (Rapp, Christof, 2010) describing “ethos” and “pathos” as the efficient rhetorical approach geared towards people’s emotion and empathy while also concentrating on the common interest, goals and

sets objectives within the group. By doing so, public relation could call members of the group into action in the interest of the propagandist.

The transmission of messages occurs through the “rearrangement of the thought of the individual in these groups with respect to each other and with respect to the entire members of society” (Bernays, 1923, pp.139-150). Elisabeth Noelle-Neuman, which she assumed that people in a group or society tends to be more vocal and articulate when they are speaking the minds of the majority, while most group or societal members tends to remain silent if their view and opinion belongs to the minorities. As regards to such development by Noelle-Neuman, the kind of society or group with “receptivity and open-mindedness” could be “accelerated and directed by conscious effort” via public relations (Bernays, 1923, pp. 139-150). Knowing that, the public views within discourse could be modified using effective public relations so that it alters the range of the spiral of silence through lobbying, spinning etc. For public view on discourse to be changed when “capitalize on certain fundamental instincts in the people he is trying to reach, and then set about to project these ideas to his public” (Bernays, 1923, p. 152).

3.2 Public Relations History

Conventionally, for a better understanding of this work, it will be appropriate to observe the retrospective situation of PR, and how it came to existence with further changes in our contemporary communication life. Even though, the historical narrations seem imprecise due to lack of generally accepted definition of PR, for authoritative narration. Hence it is believed that PR started in the late 18th century and the early 19th century as a result of leaflets circulations, other believes that PR history can be traced from the flags and Roman coins as part of early examples of

corporate identity or can relate to as far back as the era of cave painting. However, this tangible was because of the raising literacy and printing press development of the 19th century, which led to many reforms in campaigns and in the aspect of health, education, and suffrage conducted by pamphlet and newspapers articles. But credit goes to Edward Bernays and Ivy Lee as the pioneers of Public relations in U.S before spreading internationally to the acceptability of other scholars.

3.2.1 Public Relations (PR)

Public relations can be conceptualized as the “management of communication between an organization and its publics,” (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 6), while public relations experts are those who “manage, plan, and execute communication for the organization as a whole” (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 6), through adequate articulation of ideas and policies towards efficient service delivery. Although there is no universally acceptable definition of PR, rather the general understanding of PR can be traced from Lesly’s PR Handbook, which states that; PR “is the act of helping an organization or group with its public to adopt with each other mutually”. While ‘public’ in this context refers to ‘an entity whose attention is always being sought for’ by individuals, politicians, performers or writers or an artist, government or even religious organizations, even though the categorization of the ‘public’ can be diverse and heterogeneous depending on the yardstick of scrutiny based on one’s socio-political interest.

3.3 Public Relations, Political Campaign, and Strategic Communications

Grunig and Repper (1992) state that for efficient and strategic management of PR, then the following models; stakeholder, public, and issue (message) must be effective and properly managed. Thus, such model makes PR system efficient. This thesis uses

excellence theory as one of the theoretical frameworks, and considers its three models which are; the stakeholder, public, and issue levels to analyze the four principles of strategic management that the public relations function towards developing. It is the organizational campaign objectives; conventional plans, and approaches; implementation strategies; and the evaluations of 2015 electioneering campaigns in Nigeria. With the aid of the principles of strategic management in planning, execution and evaluation of the 2015 APC presidential campaign programs. Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) argue that, “Communication programs organized by excellent departments should be managed strategically” (p. 16). They further highlighted the efficient ways of managing effective campaign system that will be success driven. It is expected that when PR is deeply involved in strategic management there is need by the communicators to have full scale feasibility study of the politics, the community and the environment at large. This is to enable identify key elements such as stakeholders, opinion leaders who are likely to be patronized for decision making and better diffusion of party/campaign manifestos into the public. In a more convenient and palatable channel (the stakeholder, publics, and crisis stages) Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier’s (2002, p.38).

3.4 Formative Research, Environmental Scanning, and SWOT Analysis of Presidential Campaign Organization

This purview works under the principle of Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier’s (2002) which is towards excellent public relations and electioneering campaign program. Such can best be achieved using adequate first-hand information and data derived from formative research by scanning the political antecedence and historical records of a society through the principle of SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis which is a structured procedure aimed at studying the level of

progress in a campaign organization. As part of the formative research process, environmental scanning takes the lead through articulate road map towards the outreach of the campaign target audience through an informed messages design, PR tool and channel for the campaign target audience. Dozier and Repper (1992) states that SWOT analysis as the name implies is aimed at detecting the weaknesses or problems, strengths and other opportunities of the campaign organization or the possible threats that can delay or deny the campaign successes; and such study or assessment should be done at intervals for strategic PR implementation devoid of lacunas. This is best be done during the preparatory stage of the campaign than at the implementation level and finally, the audience or electorates impact level of the presidential electioneering campaigns on a focused group or society as the case may be, and such research should be exploratory in nature depending on the circumstance. Dozier and Repper (1992) further states: “the strategic function of scanning is for early detection of emerging problems as well as quantification of existing or known problems in the environment” Dozier and Repper (1992, p.187). Furthermore, as part of the SWOT analysis success, Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) recommended evaluations based on advanced scientific methods, clip-files, and other informal evaluation processes to be on the best campaign track. Because according to Dozier, and Repper (1992), SWOT analysis is very important and should remain an intrinsic part of every campaign, not just during election. Dozier and Repper (1992) further reiterate that SWOT analysis is important for effective PR objectives and goals. Additionally, for effective PR powers and excellent deliverance; evaluation should have convincing details such that “programs have positive outcomes; for meeting up to their objectives, changing relationships, and avoiding conflict” (p. 439), for

healthy debates, campaign, and manifesto unveiling which should be devoid of hate speeches and inciting statements.

3.5 Grunig and Hunt's Public Relations Model

Grunig, and Hunt (1984) in their book 'The Managing Public Relations' suggested and developed fundamental ways of accessing the historical development of PR through analyzing the four categories of PR communication and its stakeholders in a political situation.

3.5.1 Press Agency / Publicity Model

Politicians for publicity use this model as the name implies with the use of media for self-promotion. The aim is to secure a wider media coverage for obvious political interest, and in this model, truth is not a priority. In this model, understanding is equally not a priority rather getting attention in the media is the major concern and success in this model is been measured base on column size covered or the airtime used.

3.5.2 Public Information Model

This is an informative system of public relations, which should be factual and accurate. This model functions as an in-house journalist system (Grunig & Hunt 1984) which involves disseminating information to the members of political party or campaign team. Public Information Model as the name implies, does not persuade or lure members of the party or organization into acting contrary rather serve as an information dissemination avenue, even though practitioner of such model may hardly know the audience targeting at for the information, and thus communication exist as a one-way communication systems (i.e. from sender to the receiver)

3.5.3 Two-Way Asymmetric Model of Public Relations

This model of public relations is a two-way communication and involves retrieving feedback, however as the name implies “asymmetric” which entails imbalanced nature of communication because the aim of the communication does not affect or change the organization’s practice rather it only alters the attitude or behavior of the electorates towards the political interest attached to the message in question. Thus, the message via this model is described as persuasive which is done through the understanding of the behavior, attitude and environmental scanning of the targeted publics, which therefore requires adequate research, plan and strategies for successful PR in this model.

3.5.4 Two-Way Symmetrical Communication Model

This is one of the models of PR which is based on dialogue in nature sometimes described as ‘ideal’ model of PR because it involves managing communication “between subsystems of the organization and publics in and around the organization”(Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier, 2002, p. 36,). For excellent electioneering campaign in Nigeria, PR has to be viewed in two models which can be done based on the symmetrical system of campaign organization within party members for relationship building (Internal communication) and asymmetrical communication between campaign organization and the public for persuasion. (External communication) only such can make an excellent electioneering campaign.

3.5.5 The two-way symmetrical system of communication with (external) publics

Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) critically states that two-way symmetrical model is the best communication system to keep mutual long-term relationship viable during campaigns and governance between organizations and electorates (publics) because it “attempts to balance the interests of the organization and its publics, based

on research and communication used to manage conflict with strategic publics” (p. 15). The authors' further states that this model is a dipolar model where “organizations try to satisfy their own interests while simultaneously trying to help a public satisfy its own interests” (p. 309). They further express that the two-way communication model should involve open dialogue using opinion leaders and stakeholders of the public for direct communication to retrieve feedback immediately and proffer solution, response or make some changes based on the information gotten from the feedback loop. Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) also postulated that the concept of symmetrical communication is vital during election campaign because of its significance during strategic communication with electorate. Most especially using social media and during town hall meetings for immediate response as a result of symmetrical model of communication. This can be done “based on values that reflect moral obligation to balance the interests of the organization with the interests of the public to interact in the society towards bringing both diverse perspectives and ethical considerations of the organizational decisions and behavior” (p.306). The Symmetrical communication system is a highly balanced communication because of interpolation for common discussion ground with the electorates that “adjusts the relationship between the campaign organization and its publics” Grunig, &Grunig, (1992).

3.5.6 The Two-way symmetrical system of communication with (internal) party members

According to Grunig, (1992), every campaign organization or political party must develop a two-way symmetrical model of communication for interacting within its party members towards establishing free flow dialogue system at all levels of party organizational in a form of symmetrical model of communication. This could start with interpersonal communication to group and then to the organizational level in order to build relationship. Grunig further states that two-way symmetrical communication is the major form of communication model that remains vital for relationship building and peaceful coexistence within the political party or campaign organization. Grunig, further summarized that: “internal communication must be an integral part of the strategic management of an organization just as communication programs for other [external] strategic publics must be” (p. 568). He then explained that symmetrical system of internal communication in political organizations should be given much relevance and autonomy to make PR functions as “part of the management team” at the organizational level (p. 568). This is why the aim of the thesis is to know the powers of public relations and comparative rhetoric in the internal and external communication system as used by both APC and PDP during the 2015 political campaign and election and its effect on the political outcome. Because Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) posit that for excellent public relations to exist in a political organization, the senior PR experts or communication managers must be staunch members of the ‘publicity’ committee in their various political campaign organizations, which must also form part of the decision makers for strategic organization reputation and plan of the party campaign. Such reasons formed the basis for the selection of the 12 interviewees using the snowball

technique based on their relevance, versatility and exploring nature within the 2015 politics.

3.6 The Public Relations Tool Use during Electioneering Campaign

For effective PR usage during electioneering campaign, the choice of which tool to use is very much important towards achieving the success of communication as McLuhan (1962) says the 'medium is the message'. Therefore, according to Mogel in his book titled, Making it in Public Relations; An Insider's Guide to Career Opportunities. The following is use as PR tool depending on the outcome of one's environmental scanning, target audience, and the political objectives. These are;

- Press release services
- Audio release services
- Newsletters
- Communiqués'
- Satellite message delivery systems
- Video news release preparation
- Media monitoring
- Speaker's bureaus
- Local and international press conferences
- Media directories
- Clipping bureaus
- Computer aided research and media analysis
- Satellite interview tours
- Desktop publishing services
- Public speaking training
- Film and video productions

- Databank services
- Preparations of corporate advertising
- Writing and editing publications
- Design and writing annual reports
- Staging events
- Arranging press conferences and interviews
- Planning and coordinating media tour
- Charity/ social co-operate responsibility
- Ghostwriting op-ed and bylined articles
- Coordinating electronic communication via SNS
- Etcetera

3.7 The Functions of Public Relation/ PR Specialist during Electioneering Campaign

It remains very important for the reader of this thesis titled, A Comparative Rhetorical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Election 2015:A Public Relations Approach to know the functions and responsibilities of PR expert during the presidential electioneering campaign. These include;

- “Coordinates media relations for the presidential campaign organization and the public;
- Design, plan and implement organizational PR, public service, and public interest program and campaign manifesto;
- Writes speeches for the (presidential) aspirant;
- Write press releases for the presidential campaign organization;
- Arranges speakers, meetings, and events in the presidential campaign organization during political events;

- Writes and edits party publications, newsletters and public communications for the presidential campaign organization;
- Act as spokesperson for the party or the campaign organization in event of any development;
- Arrange both local and international press conferences;
- Supervises campaign audiovisuals and public gathering during presidential campaigns;
- Be part of the presidential think tank and campaign entourage;
- Provide corporate research and positioning using SWOT analysis;
- Organizes town hall meetings and major political congresses;
- Assist public in leveraging the internet;
- In charge of all sources of information dissemination for the presidential organization;
- Should be the head of protocol and media team of the presidential campaign organization” (Wood, & Somerville, 2007, p.31.)

3.8 Aristotle’s Models of Political Persuasion during Electioneering Campaign in Nigeria

It is interesting to spot which of the Aristotle’s models of political persuasions did aspirants in Nigeria used from time to time during the 2015 presidential election campaign. In other words, these are the three persuasive appeals.

Ethos: This is one of Aristotle’s modes of political persuasion used by the politician in Nigeria in order to lure electorates during electioneering campaign. Ethos; as used by Aristotle, it has been derived from the Greek word meaning “character.” At the same time, “ethic” has been derive from ethos, this means that politicians can seek

for public support or mandate based on his credibility, character or leadership quality. During such political expression, political party or candidate place facts based on the most appropriate choice of language and wordings, self-marketing of the party's manifesto and the aspirant, and showcasing good pedigree, experience, and expertise while also using good structured communication grammar and syntax. Ethos further means the level of credibility as perceived by audience. In this case, an audience is more likely to get convince by an aspirant who is trustworthy and this is largely independent of the rhetorical consistency of the campaign presented. The trustworthiness of an aspirant is enhanced through strong moral character, as measured by concepts such as honest, ethical or morality, generosity, or candidate benevolence. The APC presidential aspirant seems to exude such above rhetorical features as manifested in his antecedence and campaign speeches.

Pathos: This is the second of Aristotle's modes of political persuasion. It was derive from Greek word. Empathy and pathetic were derived from the word pathos too. This act of political persuasion based on the emotional appeal of the electorates. Politicians in Nigeria used pathos to invoke for sympathy from electorate during electioneering campaigns; that is through interpolating the stakeholders, opinion leaders, and electorates into sheared mode or empathy to seek for their mandate. Additionally, *Pathos* in this case is the quality of a persuasive presentation, which appeals to the emotions of the audience, which can be love, sympathy, fear or envy. Emotional connection can be created in many ways by an aspirant during campaign speeches, perhaps most notably by stories. Aristotle defines anger and describes what causes someone to become angry. He then encourages aspirants during speeches to associate anger with one's opponent. In other words, make your audience angry, and direct that anger at your opponent. If your audience is angry at your opponent, they

will be more receptive to hear your ideas. Such action was use by APC presidential campaign organization on the PDP's failure to secure the country, the adoption of 250 Chibok girls, and the corruption, which has caused hardship and bad governance thereby aggravating the anger of the electorates.

Logos: This is the third mode of Aristotle's persuasion, which was derive from Greek word meaning "word" while it also goes an extra mile to consolidate the fact that words can be used in this case to express internal thoughts. Political architects in Nigeria uses this mode of persuasion to appeal to electorates by convincing them logically or through constructive reasons using details, facts and figures in support of statistical and historical background or by citing relevant authority during campaigns or any socio-political gathering. *Logos* means logic and vice versa. According to Aristotle, logos should be the most important of the three persuasive appeals. However, such political expression should be understandable, logical and real. Therefore, for an effective political communication, messages should clear for easy understanding and for adequate persuasion, which is the sole aim. Therefore, as an aspirant to be rhetorically prowess, he/she must use words, phrases, examples, that are understandable, and to be delivered at a pace that all the audience can absorb. Most politicians in Nigeria during the 2015 presidential election emphasized on key words by repeating them 3 times. Such as Change! Change!! Change!!!Famously used by GMB. While GEJ used Power to the people! Power to the people!!Power to the people!!!

3.8.1 The Five Canons of Rhetoric during Electioneering Campaign

- *"Inventio (Invention):* This involves the act of finding the best persuasive format to present argument during the campaign;

- *Dispositio (Arrangement)*: As part of campaign objective, better organization of the speech and its conduct is very vital to the campaign success which is the function of this canon;
- *Elocutio (Style)*: This is the adequate use of language to achieve campaign success;
- *Memoria (Memory)*: The art of having a retentive memory to be able to regurgitate planned styles and arrangements during the campaign;
- *Actio (Delivery)*: This concerns the success of the campaign speech delivery which includes gesture and welcoming countenance mode with humor”.
(<https://pathosethoslogos.com>).

3.9 Theoretical Framework

This thesis titled, “the power of public relations and political rhetoric” adopt certain relevant theories to form the research theoretical framework, these includes; excellence theory of PR and rhetoric theory. Such theories were necessary due to their significance and relevance to the case study, research objectives, and the research questions.

3.9.1 Excellence Theory

Excellence theory has gotten its root since the 1950s from PR books such as the first edition of Cutlip & Centers (1952). Excellence theory became relevant in the field of communication after realizing its significance in public relations, which initiates the ground that the PR is a two-way communication process and a function of management. Despite such view that PR is a two-way communication process, it remains vague until the introduction of the organizational theory of PR and development in 1976 by Grunig on the concept of symmetrical communication, which warranted Broom & Smith (1978, 1979) to develop the concept of PR

managers' role during organizational communication setting. Such developments by erudite scholars and PR experts conceptualized new form of the public relations as a management and as a communication discipline.

Also, in the usual Principles of Excellent Public Relations theory, Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) stated that PR is an important concept that enables speedy actualization of organizational objectives by fostering good rapport with publics and organization. "Individual communication programs such as media relations, community relations, or customer relations are successful when they affect the cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors of public and members of the organization—that is, the cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral relationships between organizations and their publics" (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier 2002, p. 91). Therefore, with effective and efficient PR system and management, organizational missions, aims, and objectives will greatly be achieved. Grunig, Grunig and Dozier (2002) further states that "the program level has been the traditional focus of evaluative research in public relations" (p. 91). Public Relation has been a progressive stride aimed at open communication in order to create good relationships with the public (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). While politically, public relations campaigns employ strategic communication that is towards achieving the specific campaign objectives. The success of excellence theory (1992) can be trace because of the research confab organized by the research foundation of the International Association of Business Communicators (IABC) in 1984, which was aim at exploring the relevance of PR in a tactical craft that broadly focused on how publicity and media relations metamorphosed to management discipline.

This study works under the principles of excellent public relations during the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign. According to Grunig “excellent public relations departments will practice public relations in a way that is similar to our normative model, in contrast to the way that public relations are practiced in the typical, less excellent department” (1992, p.12). Such model will serve as a guideline towards effective PR that facilitates organizational success and attempt to answer the research questions.

James Grunig (1992) further states the ten generic principles for excellent and successful organizational programs: these include;

- “Involvement of public relations in strategic management;
- Empowerment of public relations in the dominant coalition or a direct reporting relationship to senior management;
- Integrated public relations function;
- Public relations as a management function, separate from other functions;
- Public relations unit headed by a manager rather than a technician;
- Two-way symmetrical model of public relations;
- A symmetrical system of internal communication;
- Knowledge potential for managerial role and symmetrical public relations;
- Diversity embodied in all roles;
- The organizational context for excellence” (p.12)

Since the research concerns rhetorical analysis and the power of PR, such will involve the excellence theory of public relations as one of the theoretical frameworks and rhetoric theory as detailed in the thesis. Therefore, selected ten generic principles listed above will be relevant to this research study, which includes the public

relations as an integrated function; formative research, environmental scanning, and evaluation which in this work is regarded as SWOT analysis; building and maintaining relationships with publics; and lastly the two-way symmetrical communication.

3.9.2 Rhetoric Theory and Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

This theory concerns the influence of public speaking on the lives of listeners with retrospect to the ancient times. Rhetoric has earlier been known and defined by Aristotle who is believed to be the founding father of rhetoric in his seminal treatise on Rhetoric: which he posits Rhetoric as, “the art (techne) of finding out the available means of persuasion” during any kind of communication (1991, p. 37). He further states that rhetoric can serve as a theoretical framework to discover and analyze arguments that might be effective during electioneering campaign because of public deliberations and opinion judgment. Thus, Richard Buchanan (1989) states that, “rhetoric is both the practice of persuasive communication and a formal art of studying such communication” (Buchanan 1989, p.93) from all types of media text. Moreover, because of the persuasive influence of rhetoric, it has formed the “art of shaping the society, changing the course of individuals and communities, and setting patterns for new action” (Buchanan, 1989, p.93) most especially during politics and campaign.

The fundamental aim of rhetoric as stipulated by Aristotle in the late fourth century BC, which will equally be use in this thesis to form the rhetorical framework and to analyze all the data collected using rhetoric as a guideline to deconstruct and codify all the media text needed to achieve this research objective. The political use of rhetoric in public speaking which was initiated by some Greek philosophers such as the Gorgias, Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, thereafter developed by Cicero and

Quintilian on the fact that language as a means of political communication must involve all kinds of words used and such language possess some elements of persuasion. According to Bizzell, and Herzberg (2000), “rhetoric has a number of overlapping meanings: the practice of oratory; the study of the strategies of effective oratory; the use of language, written or spoken, to inform or persuade; the study of the persuasive effects of language; the study of the relation between language and knowledge; [and] the classification and use of tropes and figures” (p.1). Despite the above view by Bizzell, & Herzberg, they contrary stated that “rhetoric is a complex discipline with a long history. It is less helpful to try to define it once and for all than to look at many definitions of it as it accumulates over the years to be able to understand how it functions, arose, inhabits and shapes the field” (Bizzell, & Herzberg, 2000, p.1). However, this process of decoding any means of persuasion in a text involves analysis of speeches on organizational rhetoric etc. I also reaffirm that rhetoric is epistemic: that is to say it is a citadel of learning which constructs, shapes, and modifies relationships and political realities, which serve as bedrock for social knowledge as created by Cicero who wrote several treatises on the subject. His writings on rhetoric guided schools during the renaissance up to a 21st century for material and historical benefits which make rhetoric serve as a gatekeeper for new ideas within the socio-cultural environment through its veracity or not.

Therefore, according to Ihlen (2010), the fundamental aim of rhetoric is to decode the degree of “persuasion” or “influence” in any form of text or communication. Hence, this is why its application seems relevant to this research study towards successful research as relates the level of persuasion during the course of the campaigns from various texts of speeches and press releases within the campaign periods.

Even though to (L'Etang, 2010), “understanding the rhetoric of practitioners is one type of study; the rhetoric of stakeholders and social movements is another. Both could usually draw on existing work in the anthropologies of communication, media, and business, and greatly enrich the discipline of public relations” (p.158). The rhetorical process can be rational or irrational according to Ihlen (2010) which he believed to have an interchangeable understanding of the term ‘persuade’ and ‘convince’ which ‘p’ for persuade which is believed to make audience or listeners to believe while ‘p’ to convince someone or electorate needs verifiable and sufficient reasons too.

Although Andersen (1995) argues that rhetoric should concerns its core aim of changing and influencing which is known as persuasion and not convincing, while Corbett & Connors (1999) in contrast states that rhetoric has the blend to both persuade and convince electorates or audience. This is based on the ancient theorist of rhetoric on ‘*ethos*’ ‘*pathos*’ and ‘*logos*’ which can be based on ethical appeal, emotional consideration and appeal based on facts and reason. Such rhetorical relationships are observed based on the speaker, audience and the message during political or electioneering campaign season. Furthermore, discursively “these are at all times coordinate and interact mutually, while also are distinguishable but not to the extent of separation from each other even though one may occasionally take precedence over others” (Conley, 1990, p15). Ihlen, (2010) states that to change the minds of electorates during campaign does not only involve *logos*-based rhetoric. Rather Ihlen states that it involves at least two more things which are “the emotional intensity with which they adhere to an opinion; and the degree to which their identities –their sense of themselves as integrated people-are wrapped up with that opinion” Crowley & Hawhee, (1999, p. 153). Also in most situations, the use of

pathos seems inevitable for politicians during political communication even though political talk has numerous concepts such as *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*, which seem the most common theoretical contribution for analysis of persuasion in our political dispensation.

Furthermore, due to advancement of technologies and modernizations, rhetoric does not end up with ancients rather contemporarily there emerge some new forms of approaches such as the post truth, propaganda, hyping, crystallizing etc. As used by politicians and political parties during electioneering campaigns as evident during Nigerian 2015 elections with the aid of some consultancy firms like Levick; a PR and lobby firm from U.S. used by PDP to manage its public imagery and strategic roadmap. And Burson-Marsteller a London based Public Relations and Public Affairs firm also AKPD from U.S were employed by APC to equally coordinate the party's reputation and public perception using rhetoric as one of the canons of PR for political success. Additionally, the most significant aspect of rhetoric has been the 'epistemic rhetoric', which seems to provide the avenue for material coexistence, which paves ways to ontological concerns. Such as the weave of chain between humans and their socio-political existence and that is why I personally realized its significance to my studies in order to analyze the social mediation of rhetoric as a body of knowledge. Because it is not comprehensible to communicate without rhetoric involved as used in this research work based on its relationship to public relations and political rhetoric which makes a comparative rhetorical analysis crucial for the human understanding of PR during electioneering campaigns. In this case "rhetoric is epistemic, but it seems fruitful to comprehend it as having a dialectic relationship to the ontological" (L'Etang, 2010).

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative research was conducted through rhetorical discourse analysis (RDA) of the 2015 Nigerian presidential election campaign through in-depth interview using snowball sampling techniques with six APC and six PDP campaign managing teams who are having PR knowledge from the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. This research used two texts of presidential speeches and one press release collected from each of the presidential campaign organization in order to analyze their rhetorical content comparatively with the aid of PR approaches.

Additionally, press releases from both PDP and APC with one from each campaign organization was analyzed using the 90days constitutional electioneering period with effect from 16th November to 16th February 2015 as the period for the research studies towards establishing accurate information for the research objectives. Furthermore, excellence theory and rhetoric theory formed the theoretical framework towards decoding the power of public relations and political rhetoric of the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign.

This chapter gives background information on both data collected, interpreted and analyzed with background information and details of the aspirants campaign speeches and press releases within the stipulated 90-days period which serves as a source for the rhetorical discourse analysis for critical view of the campaign, PR, and

the articulations of their presentation of the 2015 politics as relates to the research questions.

4.1 Aims and Objectives of the Study

This study was important based on the unique attributes of Nigeria and its political power. Politics in Nigeria is viewed “as a national sports with several regular players as mainstays, these players include the religious and traditional leaders, state apparatus, civil societies, the populace and the (PR) media” (Ermin,2003 p10). According to Ermin, “politics” is a “national sports” and political actors are “national sports players.” During such political playing, a lot of compromises and concession stake place towards electioneering success. In such vein, the aims and objectives of the study is to comparatively analyze the rhetorical content of the two presidential aspirants from both APC and PDP during the 2015 presidential elections. Using the public relations approach and considering the unique political strategies adopted and implemented by APC, the party that was formed in less than two years to the 2015 presidential election, but yet defeated over 16-years incumbency of PDP. Therefore, the objectives of the study are to answer the three under listed research questions.

4.2 Research Questions

This study attempt to answer the under listed research questions as drawn from Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2006):

1. Why and to what extent do public relations and rhetoric increases organizational effectiveness during electioneering campaigns?
2. How public relations and rhetoric used by APC and PDP makes campaign organization more effective towards political campaign?
3. What are the major attributes of public relation and rhetoric that are most likely to make a campaign organization effective?

4.3 Sampling and Sampling Size:

This research uses the snowball sampling technique because it is a convenient sampling method and data are collected through recommendations of the campaign managers of APC and PDP which best serve the research objectives.

4.3.1 Snowball Sampling Technique

This is a sampling technique used for data collection during the interview because it is a randomized sampling technique approximate used. This is a convenient sampling where data are collected through the recommendation of the earlier interviewee or expert who may be from far place. But possess the laid down criteria set by the researcher on the respondent for the research objectives “like a snowball rolling down a hill” (researchgate.net). Such sampling method is important for this research for oral questionnaire data collection because of the fact that it “can play a key role in three critical stages of data collection: locating, accessing, and involving hidden and hard to reach populations” (Cohen, & Arieli, 2011, p. 428). Such process is usually handy using a phone, an email, etc. To enable the researcher covers to get in contact with the most appropriate population using less time, resources and energy.

4.3.2 Sampling Size

Based on the case study and the research objective, 12 Nigerians were selected who are campaign managers in the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign from the publicity committee of the two major political parties PDP and APC of the election. The 12 interviewees were selected based on snowball sampling technique from the two parties out of which 2 per geopolitical zone were interviewed comprising each member of APC and PDP per geopolitical zone with their religion, gender, ethnicity, and region considered. This is done in order to make a better representation of Nigerians diversity towards achieving the best research objectives. Also two texts of

speeches and one press release from each political party were selected based on the outcome and recommendation of the interview. Furthermore, the speeches analyzed were collected based on the outcome of the interview to select campaign speeches from the beginning and at the end of 90days period of the presidential electioneering period and two press releases with one from each party's campaign organization during the course of the electioneering campaign of 2015 in Nigeria.

4.3.3 Participants

In this study, in-depth online interview was conducted in written form due to long distance. Though, some un-highlighted areas and concepts were later called on the phone for the respondent to shade more light as a structured interview towards getting the research objectives clear. 12 individuals were interviewed using a snow ball sampling technique to get across to the 12 interviewees based on their individual criteria towards serving the research objective. The 12 respondents interviewed are communication/PR experts that have actively participated in the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign. They include the 12- head of media teams of the 2015 presidential campaign organization from both APC and PDP out of which two respondents from each of the six geopolitical zone of Nigeria with one APC respondent and one PDP respondent from media background made the criteria for the interview.

From the Northeast geopolitical zone, directors of contact and mobilization committee of both APC and PDP for the 2015 presidential campaign organizations were interviewed. Both of them are males due to low involvement of women in the geopolitical zone, they are both Hausas by ethnicity, and Muslims hailed from APC (Adamawa) and PDP (Gombe). In the North West geopolitical zone, zonal

spokespersons of the party and active members of the publicity committee of the 2015 presidential campaign who are both males, Muslims, Hausas and hailed from APC (Kano State) and PDP (Zamfara State) of the region were also interviewed.

The North Central geopolitical zone also categorized as Hausa region based on the Nigerians three major ethnic groups, in this zone the spokespersons of 2015 presidential campaign teams were administered the online, written interview for their input, out of which in APC, a Christian lady served in that capacity and she hailed from Plateau State while the PDP regional spokesperson is a Muslim who is from Nassarawa State of the same north central region. South east, respondents here are both Igbos, Christians and males from APC (Imo State) and PDP (Abia State) who happened to be the chief public image makers of their parties, and active members of the 2015 presidential campaign movements. In the south western geopolitical zone, media experts and active members of APC and PDP campaign and both are secretaries of the regional campaign team where snowballed in the interview while APC interviewee hailed from Lagos State, female and a Muslim, the PDP respondent happen to be Christian, male and from Ogun State of the geopolitical zone and both of the respondents here are Yoruba by ethnicity.

In the South-South geopolitical zone which is known as the Niger Delta, both interviewees were Christians, males. and Igbos by ethnicity, the APC respondent hailed from Rivers State and he was the coordinator, “Muhammadu Buhari 2015 Youth and Women Mobilization and campaign” while the PDP interviewee hailed from Bayelsa State and was the spokesperson of “Goodluck Jonathan 2015 Transformation Ambassador of Nigeria (TAN) Campaign” both of the platforms are subsidiaries of the national presidential campaign organizations of APC and PDP

respectively. Each respondent was given one week period to respond to the written questions emailed and revert, the one week ultimatum given to each respondent was due to their busy schedules and other commitments since they are elites of the society and their party's stakeholder (either former public office holder (PDP) or serving public officer (APC), which makes them always occupied with events and commitments although some recommended (snowball) respondents declined to be interviewed due to their busy schedule and fear of data misuse.

As part of the interview questions, respondents were asked towards the thesis topic on the comparative rhetorical analysis of the Nigerian presidential election of 2015, using the PR approaches. Also, in this thesis as part of the ethical considerations, respondents and their comments are identified by their regions, political parties and the responsibility held during the 2015 politics. However, if need be, the reader can find the information and identities of the participants by tracing them from their 2015 campaign capacities held. Even though all the interviewees are veteran media practitioners with buoyant experiences but still were guided and pre-informed of the ethical ways of handling and managing their information and data collected which is only for the research objectives.

Table 2: Demographic Information of Respondents

Political party	Geopolitical Zone	Gender	Religion	Ethnicity
APC	Northeast	Male	Muslim	Hausa
PDP	Northeast	Male	Muslim	Hausa
APC	Northwest	Male	Muslim	Hausa
PDP	Northwest	Male	Muslim	Hausa
APC	North-central	Female	Christian	Hausa
PDP	North-central	Male	Muslim	Hausa
APC	Southeast	Male	Christian	Igbo
PDP	Southeast	Male	Christian	Igbo
APC	Southwest	Female	Muslim	Yoruba
PDP	Southwest	Male	Christian	Yoruba
APC	Southsouth	Male	Christian	Igbo
PDP	Southsouth	Male	Christian	Igbo

4.4 Interviewing process

The interview was conducted successfully despite the long distance and other mechanical factors, I interviewed by proxy, using written form of interview which I e-mailed to each respondent using snowball sampling technique starting from the North East APC 2015 geopolitical presidential campaign organization and thereafter snowballed to other respondents across the country with the PDP interviewee who hailed from Bayelsa State and was the spokesperson for “Goodluck Jonathan 2015 Transformation Ambassador of Nigeria (TAN) Campaign” been the last interviewee to be contacted among the list although it took time for doing such, but the required

respondents have been achieved for the interview objectives. Such interview does not involve recording except for the fact that after getting their written response, I called all the 12 respondents to shade more light on their written response to the oral questionnaire which I keenly write to avoid skipping some major points that are vital to the research objectives. For the participants, after each recommendation (snowballing), I created rapport with all of them by writing each respondent via e-mail introducing myself and requesting to serve as my respondent (interviewee) for the said research, after their acknowledgement I then emailed the questionnaire which contains the introductory note, the expected roles and conditions of the interviewee and how to manage the research and the information supplied as attached to this research (see appendix A and B). Furthermore, after I wrote the oral questionnaire, it was pre-tested by a colleague and my supervisor for perfection accordingly. As part of the interview, I asked both respondents of APC and PDP (15) fifteen questions about the use of rhetoric and the powers of public relations during the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign in Nigerian as relates to media.

Specifically, the interview questions were geared towards the management of the 2015 presidential campaign organizations by both PDP and APC and what caused the political outcome despite the PR and political rhetorical employed, and to determine if the PR/communication experts from both APC and PDP used the excellence theory principles for effective electioneering campaign of the 2015 Nigerian poll. The 15 questions of the oral questionnaire have cut across all the two theoretical frameworks used in this thesis for the campaign branding that was used during the SWOT analysis and design of the electioneering campaign protocols, materials, and messages. The interviews was not conducted physically due to long

distance rather, it was done by proxy with nothing physically observed as part of my ‘observer comments.’

4.1 Findings of the interviews

First question: Can you please introduce yourself, based on your geopolitical zone, religious inclination, ethnicity (Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba), gender (M/F), political party affiliation and 2015 presidential/ state electioneering campaign responsibility held (if any)?

The findings of the above interview question which includes the 12- head of media teams of the 2015 presidential campaign organization from both APC and PDP out of which two respondents from each of the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria with one APC respondent and one PDP respondent with different religion and sex from media background made the criteria for the interview which has been presented in table 1.0 above; as a demographic table of respondent.

Second Question: Do you think there was an effective use of Public Relations by APC/PDP during the 2015 electioneering campaign? Yes, or No.

Findings to this question reveals that both APC and PDP believes PR existed and was effective even though PDP responded that “Yes” public relations was effective while APC respondents categorically state that PR was not just effective in the electioneering campaign rather PR was “highly effective” to the conduct of the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign.

Third Question: Which aspect of Campaign and PR used caused the success of APC during the 2015 Presidential Electioneering Campaign and failure of PDP?

My finding here by all the 6 respondents reveals that the APC used an all inclusive system of campaign strategy with a better grass root knowledge of the campaign

handling styles through a branded campaign and articulated party slogan of “change” and electorates felt needs manifesto. Also, PDP failed to be close to the grass root and conducted their campaigns within the elites and in major cities of the country. It further revealed that APC adopted a multi facet system of campaign which involves banking on the rhetorical prudence of the presidential aspirant, integrity as an honest and corrupt-free gentleman despite being former head of state and also the use of both two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical PR models were realized to be resourceful to the success of the 2015 APC presidential electioneering campaign. APC respondents also said that the lack of rhetorical ability of GEJ during the campaign with little to none in terms of integrity and leadership handling styles, despite six-years of stewardship but lacks branded and articulated campaign due to lack of purposeful leadership and corruption, insecurity, and hardship during PDP’s rulership caused both his campaign and election failure.

Fourth Question: How will you assess the impact of PR in the 2015 Campaign?

According to all the APC interviewee, the impact of PR in the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign has been “tremendous” and the major reason for the success of the party despite being an opposition party. However, the response of PDP respondents opined that PR has been poorly managed both within and outside the party and the campaign organization.

Fifth Question: PR supports the mobilization of party supporters Yes or No?

The findings showed that it was an unequivocal saying of the response “Yes” by both respondents’ of APC and PDP during the interview attempt. According to both APC and PDP respondents, they all have used different communication models of PR

during their campaign. Furthermore, they all testified to the relevance and significance of the PR during the 2015 presidential election.

Sixth Question: Why do you think the use of PR by politicians and political parties is vital?

In this research, based on the deep structured nature of the interview, it has indeed revealed that both the 6-APC presidential campaign managers from the six geopolitical zones and the six interviewees of PDP, that they used PR during the electioneering campaign to enable better strategic campaign management, for good awareness towards good political rapport and support to both aspirants and the political party for victory. It further reveals that adequate PR handling style enables good political scanning and spanning of the political scenario and development towards campaign success.

Seventh Question: What are the PR tools used by your party during 2015 campaign?

According to the response of the six-APC respondents, the 2015 APC presidential organization uses both print and audio systems of communication and used press releases, communiqué, the text of presidential speeches, newspapers, and live media coverage through an integrated all-inclusive PR and campaign tactics. PDP revealed that they also used press releases, newspapers and news media in a more professional way using the hired foreign expertise to manage the presidential campaign of 2015.

Eighth Question: What rhetorical approach did your party engage electorates with during 2015 electioneering campaign? A. Ethos B. Pathos C. Logos D Post-Truth.

All The findings in this case showed that the APC 2015 presidential electioneering campaign used both the experience and credibility of GMB “ethos” and also

emotional appeals through shared of feelings “pathos” to woo electorates which has been using emotional speeches that is full of hopes, encouragement and reassuring even though with much distinctions to regions and locations. It has also revealed that in both northeast and northwest zones “pathos” as a rhetorical tool has greatly been used by APC to empathize with the two northern geopolitical zones electorates due to the high rate of insecurity which has engulfed and caused damages of billions of properties and the lost of thousands lives of the people in the country as a result of what the respondents believe as negligence and lack of political will by the incumbent (government of 2015) to forestall genuine leadership. While it further revealed that APC presidential campaign of 2015 used “*ethos*” in other parts of the geopolitical zones. In this case, PDP which has been described by some campaign analyst as un-rhetorical played the campaign on the principles of “*logos*” and somehow “post truth” which invariably proves most campaign promises since 2011 and the 2015 are not in tandem with the government policies with no emotional ethos in the GEJ speeches. Thus, such as kept electorates in despair in the transformation agenda of PDP campaign is branded upon.

Ninth Question: SWOT analysis has been an effective tool for PR and better political engagement during electioneering campaign. How significant was it to your party's 2015 electioneering campaign success?

Findings relating to this question from the APC respondents reveal that SWOT analysis as an intrinsic part of excellence PR has been significant towards success of the APC 2015 presidential electioneering campaign. According to the respondents, the campaign directorate's abilities to study through scanning and spanning of the political clout towards decoding the four cardinals of SWOT analysis, made them to even predict their victory prior to the poll. PDP's respondent equally states that

SWOT analysis principles have not been keenly adhered to during the course of the campaign due to their negligence and believe that victory is theirs as usual since they are in power for the past 16 years and therefore they are in control of the politics. This dominant notion was based on myopic believe and practice of incumbent leaders in most parts of Africa due to high sense of impunity to the extent of either rigging or mutilate the electoral outcome to their favor. Such endeavor revealed that PDP's campaign worked on previous scripts and records of their SWOT outcome which is sharing public funds and unethical political arrangements and concessions to gain political advantage or victory.

Tenth Question: Poor campaign strategies and lack of adequate PR during the 2015 presidential election caused the failure of PDP. Yes, or No?

The overall response which became the findings of this question reveals that both APC and PDP had good campaign strategies and adequate PR since they all revealed that they have hired the services of some PR and campaign expatriates from both Europe and United State. This invariably satisfies the fact that both had the good technical prowess of managing electioneering campaign except to the fact that the management and handling styles of the rhetorical aspect of the aspirant and the lack of two-way symmetrical communication within PDP and the campaign organization speed up the failure of PDP. This is due to the inability of GEJ to follow due process in becoming the party's flag bearer; rather, he was adopted by few party chieftains who are believed to be his cronies thereby denying other politicians the chance to contest against him. Such action has caused big rancor which further destabilized the unity of the party which made a lot of party members to decamp to APC including five PDP serving governors and other foundation members of the party. Such

political catastrophe has further exposed PDP and GEJ presidential campaign into mockery, disunity and creating the impression of dominant PDP's impunity and thus qualifies the lack of internal democracy and two-way symmetric communication model which also affects the two-way asymmetric communication model of PR according to the response of both groups from the interviewee.

Eleventh Question: It's known that prior to the 2015 general elections, U.S predicted high possibilities of Nigeria's separation due to the forecasted political scenarios; how do you think those inciting hate speeches were handled within the parties and on the stage electioneering campaigns to have averted the U.S unhealthy prediction and also to have further shaped APC's victory or PDP's failure?

Response from the APC respondents and further findings proves that despite Nigerian heterogeneity, APC remained resolutely committed towards peaceful electioneering campaign. Even though, according to APC respondents, the office of the Nigerian national security adviser in collaboration with INEC and other state actors organized a "Pre-election Workshop" which experiences a peace pact between both presidential aspirants on a violent free and peaceful electioneering campaign devoid of hate and inciting speeches etc. I posit that the "Pre-election Workshop" has greatly helped toward reducing violence, hates and inciting speeches during and after the election even though not in its totality but relative success has been recorded. The PDP respondents also revealed that their presidential aspirant (GEJ) has on countless times pledged that "the 2015 general elections those not worth the blood of any innocent Nigerian" (Goodluck, 2015), such spirit has kept their campaign in checks despite fertile scenario for a crisis.

Twelfth Question: Electioneering campaigns involve the rhetorical engagement of antagonizing speeches which seem malicious and geared towards parties or candidates reputational damage by both parties to lure electorates, how do you think those crisis communications were managed by APC during 2015 Presidential elections?

It was definitely a difficult question for the majority of the respondents from both parties, because for a country as richly diverse as Nigeria and a developing nation campaign of calumny was inevitable with different malicious attacks toward each aspirant or party's reputational damage at various campaign forums and during press releases. APC respondents believe that they will never relent in telling the truth to Nigerians on all the malicious statements and lies been propagated by the PDP. During the course of the interview, the PDP respondents revealed that in their efforts not to be distracted by the APC campaign of calumny, they deliberately refused spinning or responding to all their (APC) political allegations. Because PDP believes that they are baseless and unfounded only geared towards misleading the electorates leaving electorates in doubt and to believe in all the APC misrepresentation of information on PDP during the presidential electioneering campaign which seems to affect their acceptability at the polls according to PDP respondent.

Thirteenth Question: Which of the mass media channels was best used as a means of engaging electorates rhetorically towards political victory by APC during the 2015 electioneering Campaign?

The responses both from APC and PDP respondents indicated that all the means of media and communication channels were adequately used during the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign with relevance to newspapers and new media by both parties based on its wide readership in all parts of the country.

Fourteenth Question: Which of the media platforms was best used by your party to reach to the public during press releases, press conferences, communiqué etc? Such as print, audio, visual, SNS etc and why?

Research indicates that parties, aspirants and campaign organizations use the same media crew for press briefings or releases of their routine communiqué while having much interest on live media coverage during the campaign. Even though APC mostly used channels TV for their 36-state campaigns and zonal town hall meetings they observed with live media coverage, while PDP used NTA because it is owned by the government and they are in control since they are incumbent and AIT news which belongs to one of the PDP chieftains. Although PDP throughout the 2015 presidential period could not commit opinion leaders, elites and stakeholders into town hall meetings across the zones like APC did through all the six geopolitical zones. Rather PDP were busy visiting Emirs, traditional leaders, chiefs, and other prominent elites across the country to hand over bags of monies or for political concessions to woo electorates according to the PDP respondents.

Fifteenth Questions: How will you rate the significance of social media during the APC and PDP 2015 presidential election campaigns and its influence on the election, and to the party, was it interactive in nature, symmetrical or asymmetrical?

It also proved that during the course of this research that since Nigeria is a developing state with limited and unequal distribution of social amenities across the geopolitical zones. Developmental and social responsibility press theory was mostly used in the country. Even though, during the year 2015 Nigerian savvies in social media was limited as compared to 2017 which the findings indicated that social media usage was not uniform, as it was higher in the southern part of Nigeria while lower in the north due to variation in literacy level right from time immemorial.

4.5 Text of Speech Analysis

As part of the sources of data used to determine the power of political rhetoric and PR of the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign, then from the primary data which was collected via structured interviews, secondary data was also used which includes text of speeches by both APC and PDP presidential aspirants which includes speech delivered at the early campaign days and the speech delivered towards the conclusion of the campaign season by both aspirants and the press releases from the campaign organizational level to enable strong scholarly research of the case study. The secondary data sources used for the research study were retrieved via APC and PDP official websites as recommended by the interviewee who has been part and parcel of the publicity and communication committee of the 2015 presidential elections from both parties. Those sources include, “the text of campaign speech of president Muhammadu Buhari during APC presidential primary elections” which was held in Lagos state on the 10th of December 2014, which was read at the beginning of (GMB) General Muhammadu Buhari’s campaign season; also his text of speech titled “Final Mission Statement” which was also rendered on 26th of March (two days to the elections) as the end of campaign speech; and the last text used from the APC campaign for this research is the press release by the party’s (APC) national publicity secretary/spokesperson --Alhaji Lai Mohammed’s speech(12th February 2015) titled “APC to Pres. Jonathan: You Can’t Intimidate Us”. While the three sources of data used in this study for the analysis of the PDP presidential speeches and campaign include, text of speech of Goodluck Jonathan during campaign launch as the PDP presidential flag bearer on 8th January at Tafawa Balewa square, Lagos state, Nigeria and the text of speech by President Goodluck Jonathan as the presidential aspirant at Katsina state on the 21st of January, 2015

titled Jonathan Escapes Mob Attack in Katsina. The third text used for the critical analysis of the power of public relations and political rhetoric of the PDP presidential campaign is the press release from PDP given by the director of media and publicity for the presidential campaign, Femi-Fani Kayode conducted on the 20th of February 2015. This above secondary sources, were not blindly selected, rather was extracted based on the recommendation from the interview participant towards meeting up to the research objectives. Also, only portions of the speeches that were in tandem to the excellence theory and rhetorical theory were used and analyzed using rhetorical discourse analysis (RDA).

4.6 Rhetorical Discourse Analysis of text of speech

With retrospect of the power of public relations and political rhetoric, it is convincing that the rhetorical discourse analysis is an appropriate analytical tool to analyze the text of presidential speeches and political party's press releases of the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign in Nigeria. In this context, the scholarly use of the above analytical tool is to decode the rhetorical content in the direction of power within text of speeches or press releases of campaigns which can be viewed as "the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data" (Wadok & Meyer, 2008, p.3). Rhetorical discourse analysis involves the underscore analysis of rhetorical content in a discourse using a pragmatic approach. Teun Van Dijk argued that rhetorical discourse analysis is an authentic approach that permits rhetoricians, researchers, PR experts, and campaign analysts to dissect various forms of speeches and press releases in order to take "explicit positions" based on the text and the messages conveyed towards "understanding, exposing, and ultimately resisting social inequality" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). Thus, the rhetorical discourse theory is the act of studying any means of persuasion within a context or a text and is known to be the

oldest linguistic and social science research theory which targets, “the way rhetoric persuades and constructs social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context during electioneering campaign” (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). Using the above purview, understanding the rhetorical relevance and significance during the 2015 Nigerian presidential electioneering campaign cannot be under emphasized based on the following under analyzed presidential aspirants (APC and PDP) text of speeches and campaign organizational/political party’s press releases during 2015 presidential election.

4.6.1 The Text of Campaign Speech of Muhammadu Buhari during APC Presidential Primary Election

This is the first campaign text of the speech of Muhammadu Buhari as APC presidential aspirant among five other aspirants which took place on the 10th of December 2014 at Lagos state stadium (South west) with over 8000 APC delegates to make a choice on the party’s presidential flag bearer. However, based on the content of the text of the speech as delivered by Muhammdu Buhari of APC prior to the election confirms that it was highly instrumental and emotionally persuasive to the campaign aim. Thus, was return elected with over 7000 delegate votes, such kind of speech delivered has proven high rhetorical prowess believed to be based on *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* appeal of the delegates.

...we seek a new Nigeria. It starts with us. It starts today. I have placed myself before you seeking your help to nominate me as your standard bearer for our progressive party, APC Personal ambition does not drive me in this regard. I seek to be the next president of our beloved nation because I believe I have something to offer Nigeria at this time of multiple crises. Insecurity, corruption, and economic collapse have brought the nation low. Time is past due that we work together to lift Nigeria up. I am ready to lead Nigeria to its rightful future..... (Buhari, 2014)

Such rhetorical expression has proven that his appeal for delegates mandate is based on the principle of an all-inclusive process through the use of “we” to signify that democracy that is practiced has power and the power lies within the people (delegates), which such expression hypes and at the same time persuades the delegates to feel elated and relevant in the election process. He further uses the “I” to describe himself which entails the degree of submission to the people and further scratched the major problems of the people through “insecurity, corruption, and economic collapse” which such appeal of the electorates felt needs was based on “pathos”. Such expression has further solidifies the confidence and hopes Nigerian repose on such aspirant by saying “I am ready to lead Nigeria to its rightful future”. Indeed such appeal on pathos and ethos of the aspirant has been significant towards the success of the elections. He further says that;

I have always served Nigeria to the best of my ability. I have always tried to give more to the nation than it has given me. This is the principle of service that has guided my public life. Thus, I am not a rich person. I can't give you a fistful of dollars or naira to purchase your support. Even if I could, I would not do so. The fate of this nation is not up for sale. What I will give you and this nation is all of my strength, commitment, sweat and toil in the service of the people. What I can give you is my all.... (Buhari,2014)

This expression proves the aspirants' experience, genuineness, integrity and commitment to the just course of Nigeria which proves that as a former minister, former governor and former head of state he has all the wealth of experience to take Nigeria to its best place in the comity of Nations and to the right track. Such rhetorical persuasion was done based on his “ethos” which is his credibility, strong willed character, and leadership quality. Furthermore, Muhammadu Buhari during the course of his earlier speech, tried to exude his uncompromising integrity through facts and genuine commitment by saying he doesn't have dollars to share and even if

he has the dollars he will not share as other aspirant have done; because to Mr. Buhari, Nigeria is a great nation and Nigeria is not for sale, therefore he pledged to give in all to the wanton task he is aspiring for it.

...PDP cannot stand before us and say things have gotten better under its direction. It has only gotten worse and it's now time for a change. PDP's government may request more time and what we need now is continuity – but we do not! What we need now is change! I know what it takes to achieve real change... (Buhari, 2014)

In the quest to rhetorically engage the electorates during the campaign, Muhammdu Buhari tries to tell the electorates why it should be him this time and why the electorates should embrace “change” not continuity, because he believes that the 16-years of PDP leadership and 6-years of GEJ administration is long enough for any responsive government to fix a country like Nigeria. He further opined in his speech that PDP may seem to woo for continuity, but to him in the strongest term feels that “change” is what the country and its populace need not continuity. GMB further states that there seems to be no justification for PDP's continuity after such longer period without any tangible achievement. Boosting his ethos further, GMB states that he knows how to achieve the real change if voted. I further realized that the “change mantra” which Muhammadu Buhari and APC chanted and adopted throughout the electioneering campaign period was drawn from the 2008 and 2012 president Barack Obama campaign strategies on the change campaign. Such change campaign was successful as a result of the hired services of some PR and campaign expert and managers who were prominent during 2008 and 2012 campaign of president Obama. These PR/Campaign firms are the AKPD which is a U.S based firm and the Burston-Marsteller from London. Indeed their campaign handling styles which include positioning both the party and the presidential campaign organization ahead of the

2015 elections, provided strategies for best image making activities and tackled the presidential campaign perceptions and reputational challenges which was inevitable as far as politics is concern during the election and such articulated handling styles was quite commendable and has been credited with the success of Muhhamdu Buhari and APC 2015 electioneering success.

4.6.2 Text of Speech of Goodluck Jonathan during Campaign Launch as the PDP Presidential Flag Bearer

This is the first speech delivered by the PDP 2015 presidential aspirant and flag bearer on the 8th of January 2015 at Tafawa Balewa square, Lagos state, Nigeria. The GEJ speeches has received wide condemnation by most of the campaign analysts and keen followers of the 2015 presidential aspirant speeches which was ruled out due to lack of rhetorical credence and remain inconsistent throughout the campaign talks and speeches. One of the reasons for the failure of the party (PDP) in 2015 apart from the lack of efficiency and dysfunctional application of public relations is the lack of good political will, persuading ability as enshrined in Aristotle's modes of political communication. During the 8th of January 2015 presidential campaign speech; the emphasis was laid on the youth most especially those voting for the first time.

...Today, I am going to address only a segment of the Nigerian population. I am going to address the people who are voting for the first time, those of you who will attain 18 years this year. That means I am addressing the young people. I do not want to address old people like me because we are spent already and I will crave your indulgence Nigerian youths, those of you who are here, and those of you watching us at home, listen to what I am saying. I am going to address political gatherings in 37 cities and I am going to dwell on three key things. I am focusing on the young people... (Jonathan, 2015).

Even though, I acknowledge the wisdom in the youth course campaign as a good strategy for the campaign since they have the exuberance, political, and election enthusiast which is a good political consideration and strategy if properly managed will yield a good political outcome. But some attached narrations to the speech seem contradictory and not persuasive because both presidential aspirant ages outweigh the youth bracket according to UN standard of youth age bracket. While Muhammadu Buhari was 72 years during the 2015 election born on 12th December 1942 and Goodluck Jonathan was 57 years in the year 2015 of presidential race, born on 20th November 1957, which proves GEJ is quite younger than GMB with almost 15 years difference and obviously such age gap seems advantageous during campaign in the 21st century under the auspices of younger breed campaign propaganda and not “youth” rhetoric for cheap support. Even though such campaign strategy if efficiently planned and managed would have been a good campaign tool which obviously Nigerian youth would have rallied round to support. But GEJ ended up ridiculing himself with the supposedly persuasive speech which was not articulate, inefficient and lacks better skills and campaign managing ability to present a more branded and empathy driven campaign despite the over 16-years of concomitant stewardship. The 16-years governance should have earned PDP and GEJ enough wealth of political experience towards showcasing political achievements and viable developmental strides which should have easily persuade electorate towards the PDP ‘continuity’ campaign agenda; unfortunately the party (PDP) has to turn into money politics as their electioneering campaign norm. According to his speech during the campaign launch as the PDP presidential flag bearer which took place in Lagos State, further proves that the two-way asymmetric communication model was used to persuade while has was saying “...and those of

you watching us at home” which was aimed towards persuasion of both those present at the stadium and those streaming live the campaign from home for political victory. “Nigeria must move forward, Nigeria is for the youths. Nigeria is not for old people like us. The young generation must redefine this country...” (Jonathan, 2015). To further complicate and discredit both the campaign and his persuading ability, the PDP presidential aspirant who doubts his ability to manage and win the election claimed that Nigeria is not for their age brackets rather it belongs to the youth. To his expression here he feels that with over 15years difference to GMB that alone should have made him youth since he is younger than PMB which obviously should have qualified him as youth friendly aspirant. Also, despite his exposure as a 21st century man, from academic background with an academic qualification to the level of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D) but seems to be outdated with the realities of time and believed to be the most ineffective president and tenure Nigerians ever experienced. Such has further proven that GEJ has nothing to offer and he seems to have lack the confidence in himself. Based on the body language and the content of his speeches which has been contradictory despite saying that “Nigerian presidency is for the youth” and he is not young rather younger than GMB but he insisted on the youth advocacy campaign believed to be in his favor after all he has out grown the youth age bracket which makes him disqualified for the presidency he is vying for according to his contradicting speech which he is still campaigning. Additionally, by his first speech of the campaign, he stated that for the past 16 years of their party’s leadership, Nigeria has not progressed developmentally which according to his text of speech, it’s high time to move forward. Such complicating and un-rhetorical speeches during campaign launch have personally been rated as unproductive and not

geared towards any form of political victory despite the over 16 years of his party's presidency...

...I am going to dwell on three things because those who say they want to take over power from PDP have been telling a lot of lies. They have hired people from all over the world and those of you in the social media carry all forms of lies, painting all kinds of color and giving me all kinds of face that I cannot defend. If you listen to us in the 37 places we will address these issues, you will now know where to cast your votes. I will address you in all the places on three issues. The first is the issue of insecurity. I am also going to address whether this administration is fighting or encouraging corruption. I am going to address the issue of weak government and unfocused government that has no plans... (Jonathan, 2015).

Such response doesn't sound political and is not engaging. It seems crystal clear that during the course of 2015 presidential campaign PDP acted as the opposition party and not as the ruling party. This is due to the confrontational campaigns by PDP thereby overheating the political clout within the society. Such development has further proven that PDP's campaign manifestos and speeches direction was towards campaign defense based on the three campaign agendas set and articulated by APC towards better presidential campaign branding based on the failure of GEJ's lead administration. Even though, while I expected a more policy and break-through campaign strategy from PDP based on the administrative journey so far with updates of the government and the levels of successes recorded which may further justify the need for more confidence or not for continuity which should have been easier to achieve based on the advantages of incumbency and the over 16years of uninterrupted governance administration. Unfortunately, that was a different experience from a 21st century academician who is believed to have money, influence, affluence and power of incumbent with over 6years of presidential experience at his disposal.

4.6.3 Muhammadu Buhari's text of speech titled "Final Mission Statement"

In an effort to deduce and analyze the power of rhetoric during the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria and the connectivity and consistency in the flow of speeches by each aspirant, such above speech was delivered on the 26th of March, 2015, which is exactly two days to the presidential elections. According to the context of the speech, it is in line with all the previous "pro-change mantra" speeches he has been given throughout the campaign. Such emotional and mind engaging speech has been analyzed to be highly rhetorical in *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. This forms the major canons of classical rhetoric as postulated by Cicero, Quintilian, and other Roman rhetoricians.

Fellow Nigerians as the presidential campaign draw close, my interaction with Nigerians from all over the country over the last few months have left me with an overwhelming sense of expectations the citizens of Nigeria holds for the future. The little girl who donated her savings because she believes in our campaign, the young men and women at our campaign rallies who ran after our motor cadres screaming "change", a fisherman in Bayelsa who lost his livelihood because of the polluted Ogobiri River, the welder from Ibadan who struggles under the weight of poor power supply... (Buhari, 2015).

Such worthy and interpolating speech has left every potential voter indebted based on the empathy and the adequate knowledge of their real situations. It further reveals the "I" and "We" he consistently used by saying that, this campaign struggles is not all about "I" but "We" which means our collective responsibility in an all-inclusive manner, through joint funding, support and campaign via sacrifices etc. According to the final mission statement of Muhammadu Buhari, on the 'change' mission, he posits that radical changes must occur which does not roll on the wheels of inevitabilities rather, it can only roll through concomitants service, sacrifice, and perseverance of the entire electioneering campaign processes. While he appreciates all Nigerians, GMB further pledged to lead from the front, not the center, which is

the real attribute of a good leader, not the way PDP lead administration ruled for the past 16 years with untold hardship. It has further proven that APC campaign organization adopted the two-way symmetric communication model of PR also during the presidential electioneering campaign to build relationship with Nigerians which GMB said "...my interaction with Nigerians from all over the country" has further solidifies APC's all-inclusive campaign strategies towards better campaign with not just the youth which GEJ and PDP lead campaign are focused on rather APC's campaign targets all Nigerians.

...experience has confirmed that there is no Muslim Nigeria or Christian Nigeria, no northern Nigeria or southern Nigeria. There is only one Nigeria, a country where citizens continue to forge ahead despite challenges, a country that we all boost of both home and abroad and pray achieve its full potentials... (Buhari, 2015).

This expression goes in consonance to 2008 most influencing campaign speech of Barack Obama. He has stated that "in America today, there is no Muslim American or Christian America, no black America or white America, no Latino America or Jewish America....all we have is United States of America" In line with the above speech, it was clear that Muhammdu Buhari hired campaign/PR expert packaged APC/Muhammadu Buhari's campaign like Barrack Obama's campaign. He also opined good future in the great Nigeria again which Obama also did on "hope" GMB was optimistic and remain hopeful that "...and pray achieve its full potentials" and such emotional campaign drive as used by Barack Obama has contributed significantly to the success of the APC presidential campaign by given the electorate hope for better future unlike GEJ lead campaign which was not consistent and more of defensive and only youth driven despite his 57 years of age.

Economic opportunity will be shared in an equitable manner across the country and will not be only for those who are close to the government. The youth will be gainfully employed; women like Taraba gubernatorial candidate senator Aisha Alhassan will continue to break new ground... (Buhari, 2015).

As part of his articulated campaign rhetoric, he was able to keep electorates hopeful, through practical plans of how to handle the ship of the nation when emerged victorious. Although PDP government has been described to be the government of family and friends which economic opportunities have been hijacked by few cronies and close associates of the government officials, even though optimistic Buhari as a sign of commitment pledges fair and equitable distribution of state earn resources judiciously. He further declares his stand towards gender inclusive government which has brought a woman as a flag bearer of their party in the gubernatorial race. Such endeavors to prospective voters are quite inducing and mesmerizing as the election holds forth.

4.6.4 Text of speech by PDP presidential aspirant Goodluck Jonathan at Katsina state rally, titled ‘Jonathan Escapes Mob Attack in Katsina’

In an effort to critically deconstruct and analyze the 2015 campaign speeches, this text of speech was delivered by Goodluck Jonathan towards the end of his electioneering campaign at Katsina state on the 21st of January 2015. The pitiable leadership of GEJ and lack of good political will by the PDP led administration for over 16 years made Nigerian aggrieved with the party and their aspirants making their campaign unsuccessful in Katsina state to have escaped mob attack from the residents....But when am in Katsina state I have to thank all of you, but for you, I would not have been here today. I am here because of Katsina, it is your own son that brought me as your vice president that is why I am here today... (Jonathan, 2015). Such disjointed, uncomplimentary speech by a presidential aspirant has been

condemn in totality, which signifies that the government and their leaders are self-centered that they can only visit because of their interest but not because of the masses who gave them the earlier mandate. I also posit that at the end campaign speech of such, it should have been a kind of summation of the government and general success of the campaign and the administration not such dispelling and opprobrious expression in an aggrieved state like Katsina. "...We are working very hard in turning Agriculture into a few businesses to improve the quality of our people..."(Jonathan, 2015). With over six years of GEJ as the president, which their (son) kinsman died and he took over the mantle of leadership, but yet, could not record any success most especially in agriculture which seems easier to achieve based on agrarian nature of Nigeria, rather GEJ feels they are working very hard despite the long period to have done that. Such un-rhetorical campaign speeches have continually made electorates to lose hope and confidence in the government and the party because the rhetorical contents and promises across the country seem not connecting with other campaign speeches delivered. In such vein, the political campaign managers and followers lost hope and confidence in the campaign movement with such words promises, which have never been persuading. "...the security challenges we are working, we are working very hard, we will surely get through, soon we will surely get through, and soon you will know yourself..."(Jonathan, 2015). Furthermore, as at 2015 election, the major threat to the national unity and peaceful coexistence has been the Boko Haram insurgent, which has ravaged all parts of the north including some parts of the south. However, despite such challenge, Nigerians were not convinced of any good effort recorded in the administration due to lack of better choice of words and persuasion with articulate PR managers. Despite hiring the services of Levick which is a foreign based public

relations and lobby firm from U.S to strategize and manage the PDP campaign image and reputational damage such as the Boko Haram¹-, the over 250 Chibok girls adopted, corruption, etc. but all efforts and tactics went in futility to the target aim and objective of the campaign.

4.6.5 The press release by the APC National Publicity Secretary/Spokesperson Alhaji Lai Mohammed titled, “APC to Pres. Jonathan: You can’t intimidate us”.

The national publicity secretary of the APC Alhaji Lai Mohammed delivered this press release on 12 February 2015. It is in the tradition of Nigerian politics that during electioneering campaign periods, communiqué and press releases on the general state of affairs on both the campaign and the party are been observed which always sets the public discourse. Such press release according to the context and the research was based on the impunity and use of incumbency powers to crush opposition with state apparatus under their control. In so doing, this is what the national publicity secretary of APC read...

...The All Progressives Congress (APC) has said the party’s leadership and members will not be intimidated by the latest antics of the Jonathan Administration to harass and intimidate the opposition, especially in the run-up to next month’s general elections....(Mohammed, 2015).

This has further highlighted the suppressing nature of the ruling government in their quest to clinch power by hook or crook, which warrants unnecessary humiliating and

¹Shuaibu, S. S., & M. A, Salleh. (2015, September). M.A Historical Evolution of Boko Haram in Nigeria: Causes and Solutions. Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin, Malaysia. Proceedings of International Conference on Empowering Islamic Civilization in the 21st Century ICIC2015 – e-ISBN: 978-967-13705-0-6 pp.217-226. Retrieved from; https://www.unisza.edu.my/icic/images/Fullpaper/20_-_Salisu_Salisu_Shuaibu.pdf.

harassing the opposition leaders, aspirants, and party stalwarts. Such campaign strategy has only succeeded in losing their political grip within the populace because they seem too desperate and not ready to give democracy its rightful course.

We are glad that instead of weakening the resolve and enthusiasm of Nigerians, the Presidency-orchestrated postponement has further galvanized them to be more determined not only to vote but also to defend their votes...(Mohammed, 2015)

The APC national press release further indicated that they are aware of all the evil plans to keep them off bars and to scuttle the success of the elections. However, they remain resolutely committed. Lai Mohammed further posits that they knew that their lives are in danger but they will not be disturbed since it is a just course and history will judge it right in their efforts towards ensuring a better and befitting Nigeria that will be fear and just for all and not for few as PDP government practiced. Such expressions prove the maturity in handling the possible crisis perpetuated by the ruling party to create friction to cancel or have an interim government in case the elections could not favor their interest, which was one of the reasons PDP lead administration used INEC to shift the elections according to APC claim.

4.6.6 The Press release delivered by Femi-Fani Kayode the Director of Media and Publicity of the PDP Presidential Campaign.

It was clear that as the 2015 presidential election drew closer, PDP became more desperate in both words and actions which are evidential in the content of this press release which was aired on the 20th of February 2015. The Jonathan/Sambo campaign director of media and publicity, states that;

We have decided to invite you to our office today to brief you on the latest act of desperation by the All Progressives Congress (APC) to undermine the security of lives and property in the course of the forthcoming March 28 and April 11 general elections. It is now very clear to us that the APC

is determined to cause security breaches in the next few weeks...(Fami-Fani, 2015).

According to such press release which has indeed set the agenda in the public domain, it seems unconventional for a campaign organization defending the military and security actors on the baseless grounds when there are fully fledged public officials and agencies meant for such responsibilities, but PDP went further to blame the opposition party that holds none of the security control in the country with claims that APC are the ones engineering how to scuttle the forth coming presidential elections.

With these dishonorable tactics and desperate acts by the APC, we are the ones who should be worried and who should be complaining but, unlike Buhari and the APC, our patience is not running out because we are committed to a peaceful election and we completely reject the option of violence ... (Fami-Fani, 2015)

Furthermore, the outcome of the rhetorical analysis has indeed proven that PDP has taken the opposition's responsibility through perpetual complain and show of fear of the APC, claiming that they are none violent when most of the previous elections conducted in Nigeria that PDP won has been attested to have been fraudulent and mutilated according to the international organization reports. However, here it goes deep into campaign of calumny with all sorts of malicious and obnoxious utterances. While APC remain resolutely committed in building good relationship with Nigerians in more branded form of a 21st century campaign with the aid of professional foreign PR firms such as the AKPD and Burson-Marsteller known in the world for efficient PR and electioneering campaign strategy and management. Such attributes was glaring that PDP have forecasted their failure, which was why they

wanted to create a fertile ground to put their heads in shame in case they lose the elections. Because all campaign indicators have shown that, they were losing ahead of the polls.

In conclusion, the analysis of the four presidential speeches and the press releases confirm the victory of APC and Muhammadu Buhari based on the high-powered campaign tactics and strategies employed against the PDP led electioneering campaign. I further opined that the power of public relations and political rhetoric possessed and subscribed by APC lead electioneering campaign was overwhelming based on the utilization of all the canons of rhetoric in Aristotle's treaties, the crisis communication management and handling styles, and the PR approach of branding campaign.

4.6.7 Data analysis

After retrieving the hard copies of the both speeches (APC and PDP), I further categorized each speech retrieved into groups based on its rhetorical content that is either ethos, logos, and pathos if any, then formative research, environmental scanning and SWOT analysis. Then, I began the data analysis through first, second and third readings of each of the presidential aspirants speech and party press release to determine the rhetorical flow of the political communication at each level. Then, I coded by highlighting in the text of speech key words and terms related to my research objectives. I noted the reoccurring themes within the text of both speeches and press releases. There again, I re-read the various text from both campaign groups (APC and PDP) starting with the APC (even though by starting with APC is not a generality of self-interest rather a view of alphabetical order). Then the PDP text of speeches as delivered by Goodluck Jonathan and the press releases from the both

political parties national publicity secretaries. I then highlighted within the text of speeches then I reviewed for first, second, and the last time based on the outcome of the interview from the six geopolitical zones of each political party towards answering my research questions.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This thesis adopts the principles of qualitative research method using both primary and secondary data sources. The Rhetorical Discourse Analysis (RDA) was used for the research analysis of the text of speeches and press releases. Two speeches from each presidential aspirant and also two press releases with one from each presidential campaign organization were analyzed and were drawn from both PDP's and APC's 2015 presidential election. In addition, twelve (12) respondents were selected via snowball sampling technique across the six-geopolitical zones of Nigeria and were all interviewed.

5.1 Discussions

The 2015 electioneering campaign of Nigeria involved the use of certain strategic management principles of excellent PR models with high rhetorical abilities within the act of persuasions, which formed the theoretical framework for answering the three research questions. The findings from the deep structured interview by 12 media experts and party members further highlighted the supporting themes of excellence principles of PR and rhetoric. This was derived from the data collected, and thus includes the Nigerian electioneering campaign of 2015 by both parties. Also used the integrated public relations function throughout the 90 days electioneering campaign from all the six geopolitical zones and reflects the use of both public relations and rhetoric as a persuasion tool for the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign even though at a point in time, APC which came victorious has

significantly involved the effective application of the above-integrated systems more professionally than PDP which has been in deep crisis due to lack of internal symmetric PR system. Also, based on the outcome of the two important data used, it has proven that the formative research, environmental scanning and the SWOT analysis has been quite significant and vital towards organized and objective driven electioneering campaign of 2015 in Nigeria through adequate management of the varying socioeconomic elements of campaign in a heterogeneous state like Nigeria. It was also crystal clear that during the 2015 elections in Nigeria, strategic planning and management was cardinal to the maintenance of good rapport and building good political relationships with the electorates for their support. As part of the research findings, it was authoritative that the 2015 electioneering campaign by both APC and PDP media and communication team used the principles of the two-way asymmetrical mode of communication, to persuade electorates as evident in their text of campaign speeches towards ideological support of their campaign movement towards achieving their campaign objectives.

Furthermore, the research findings further revealed themes supporting the inclusion of rhetorical principles and elements of political marketing and branding during the electioneering campaign of 2015. The rhetorical abilities of both aspirants during electioneering campaigns have been a great instrument of persuasion, done based on empathy and failed-needs of the people as subscribed by both APC and PDP during the 2015 electioneering campaigns which include ethos, pathos, logos, and even post-truth. The elements of political marketing and branding were the major factors that have distinguished the pattern at which both APC's and PDP's electioneering campaigns was analyzed. And APC have branded their campaigns on the three-point

agenda of; security, economy, and war against corruption. PDP also branded their campaign slogan on; transformation and continuity despite some flaws and the inability in protecting the country from all sorts of sectarian crisis including the inability to rescue the over 250 Chibok school girls from Boko Haram captivity,²- and the high rate of corruption in the country. The effectiveness of the 2015 elections has been the formative research, environmental scanning, and SWOT analyzing abilities of the both party's campaign styles. The success of APC during the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign has been credited to the all-inclusive pattern of electioneering campaign and PR tactics used which involves the speech of 'change' and 'hope' as a rhetorical driving force for the masses. Also, the integrity of the APC presidential aspirant was also instrumental to the success of the party, most especially his past antecedence, as a former governor, former minister of petroleum; which is the most lucrative ministry and major source of Nigeria's national income, and former head of state. But has no record of corruption or scandal of whatever sorts, with no house or landed property in the country's federal capital city (Abuja). Such has further added more ethos and pathos on the APC's presidential aspirant and his team.

The PR literature emphasizes the significance of managing good relationship with strategic public due to their powers to either hinder success or successfully facilitate success most especially of a campaign or organizational goals. Thus, the outcome of this research further demonstrates that creating and maintaining political relationships with the public is vital. Such can be possible through strategic planning and management of the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign through the use of

²BBC News, (8th May, 2017). Nigeria Chibok Abductions: What we know. Retrieved from; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32299943>.

formative research approach, environmental scanning, and SWOT analysis towards the best way of creating a two-way symmetrical mode of internal political communication to help build and maintain relationship towards achieving the electioneering campaign objectives. Also, according to the research outcome, the Nigerian 2015 presidential electioneering campaign has demonstrated Grunig's (1992) strategies of effective management principles in excellence PR campaign program. The result of this research proves that the campaign success of the APC can be credited to the three point agenda campaign strategy of APC which has reflected in the votes with Muhammadu Buhari of APC having 15,424,921 votes while PDP of Goodluck Jonathan had 12,853,162 votes.

Further findings on the 2015 presidential campaign as extracted from this research supports the Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) views, which states that packaging and repackaging of campaign can improve electioneering success if properly and strategically managed by PR experts using the two-way asymmetrical communication model and the two-way symmetric communication model. Thus, the power of rhetoric as used by both presidential campaign organization using public PR approach has provided enough facts and evidences that effective public relations campaign programs can build and maintain good political relationships with the public using the most effective handling styles and management of the campaign with appropriate slogan for the campaign objectives. The results indicated that at whatever level of persuasion during the campaign there was strategic management using SWOT principle of analysis towards achieving an excellent PR campaign program. However, the result of the thesis further proves that if a campaign program involves rhetorical tactics and PR then, choices of words and emotional speeches tend to be more persuading to the electorates as used by APC than the post-truth and

the seemingly un-rhetorical approaches used by PDP. Finally in this aspect, based on the literatures reviewed (described in the sections that followed) and the outcome of the current research, shows that the power of rhetoric and PR cannot be under emphasized and therefore suggested that for effective, efficient and successful electioneering campaign; rhetoric and PR should be efficiently involved but strategically handled for not just during the 2015 elections rather for every political campaign.

5.1.1 Integrated Communication Function: Combining Rhetoric and Public Relations

The findings of this research indicated that the Nigerian 2015 Presidential elections of both parties used the combined principles of public relations and political rhetoric as a comprehensive electioneering campaign. This outcome was revealed via the structured in-depth interview which made it difficult for the respondents to categorically state which one dominates the other during their campaigns arguing that the Nigerian 2015 presidential electioneering campaign used the combination of both PR and the rhetoric whereas I believe that both PR and rhetoric are equal and are inter-dependent. Engelberg, and Kirby (2001) posit that adequate PR in a campaign serves as a pivot that gives electioneering campaign good footings and coverage of its main concepts and realities. It helps in integrating the components of the campaign using Aristotle's treaties of rhetoric on showcasing the campaign slogans of each party and their manifesto. In consonance to Engelberg and Kirby's (2001) above view, the result of this research proves that the 2015 presidential electioneering campaign in Nigeria uses both PR and rhetoric adequately but to the more advantage of APC which has generated more political clout for the party to defeat over 16 years government of PDP at the polls, which is the first opposition

party in Nigeria's history to have kept that record. With retrospect to the entire scenario of the 2015 polls, success can be viewed as any effort done towards strategic planning and management of campaign designs and objectives towards the desired outcome or result of a campaign which APC adopted. But PDP under the aspiration of GEJ despite all efforts on various propagandas, campaign styles and strategies of planning, and management but failed due to unprofessional management of the campaign which makes the power of PR and political rhetoric questionable as evident in the text of campaign speeches. Therefore, based on comparative rhetorical analysis of the both parties during the presidential electioneering campaign of 2015 in Nigeria, considering both primary and secondary data of the research, the following analysis will support the argument.

5.1.2 Formative Research, Environmental Scanning, and SWOT Analysis

Formative research is one of the cardinal principles of excellent PR programs (Grunig, 1992; Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). While, Dozier and Repper (1992) states that environmental scanning should be observed at the initial stage of the electioneering campaign research. Thus, such act will enable campaign managers to strategically design a blue print of the entire electioneering campaign such as the message design and rhetorical approach, audience selection and categorization based on the geopolitical zones, cultures, tribes, and/or religion strategic means and medium of campaign and communication to various geopolitical zones and groups etc. Therefore, the SWOT analysis covers both the formative approach and the environmental scanning process, where the analysis concerns the study of the degree of internal successes or weaknesses of the campaign as well as organizational external opportunities and threats in an organization to better showcase and plan for the desired organizational objectives. Such analytical tools revealed that the 2015

APC presidential elections conducted significant formative research and the environmental scanning which are all very important and that's what lead to the strategic planning, management and success of the APC during 2015 electioneering campaign. Furthermore, the SWOT analysis during the electioneering campaign was vital according to the respondents because it provides information about the success level of PR and the rhetoric through the campaign slogan adopted and the PR tendencies to yield the desired campaign objectives of Dozier, & Repper (1992).

According to Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002), SWOT analysis of PR programs should form an integral part of electioneering campaign through the use of numerous approaches such as scientific, clip-file, informal evaluations etc, with the aim to determine excellent campaign based on the outcome of SWOT findings and its evaluations which should be reliable, factual and convincing to the electioneering campaign purpose which it was collected for. Therefore, the result of this research provided the facts that the 2015 APC presidential campaign has used SWOT principle of analysis to assess the degree of successes prior to the elections based on the achievements recorded within the campaign periods before the elections, which based on the outcome from the APC respondents, 2015 presidential electioneering campaign managers, PR experts, and some political commentators predicted APC's victory before the election. Such binocular analysis and outcome has been viewed to be the major strategy by the incumbency to distort the APC's presidential campaign clout and structure with the six-week extension of the presidential election, which was earlier, scheduled to hold on February 14th but was shifted to March 28th of the same year 2015.

Thus, such extension of election date was believed to have been influenced by the PDP's administration using their known impunity tactics which they have been perpetrating for the past 16 years to influence INEC through intimidation to shift the election under the guise of high insecurity situation in some part of the northern Nigeria which Boko Haram have ravaged. While the other flimsy reason to the postponement of the election is the inconclusive distribution of voter's card as announced by both INEC and the presidency³-. Such decision was necessitated by the GEJ's lead administration in order to feather their political nest and reduce the overwhelming campaign strategies and acceptance of the APC's lead campaign. Based on the above unveilings of the 2015 elections, Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002) posit that good PR related campaign, should inject some yardsticks to keep tracks of progress report, maintain and strengthen good political rapport with the stakeholders, opinion leaders, and other strategic members of the society towards political campaign success.

5.1.3 The Two-Way Asymmetrical Communication

The APC's 2015 presidential campaign strongly subscribed the two-way asymmetrical communication style which has been a strong tool to its success based on the facts and data obtained in the course of this research. According to Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002), which state that good electioneering campaign that is to APC 2015 presidential magnitude, should adequately invoke the principle of a "two-way asymmetrical communication model to help persuade, organize, coordinate and manage its organizational campaign, behaviors and contacts to its electorates devoid of creating hegemonic bad impression about the vision and mission of the struggles rather use such tool to develop reliable rapport and relationship with the electorates.

³BBC News, (8th Febuary, 2015). Nigeria Postpones Presidential Votes Over Security. Retrieve from <http://www.bbccom/news/world-africa-31221545>.

Such inadequacies have strongly been attributed to the PDP's lead campaign failure due to its poor management of such tool, thereby creating a dominant impression that the PDP's 16-years governance; particularly GEJ administration has created more conduit for corruption, insecurity, poor governance and lack experience of the Nigerian most exalted office. In the same vein, Keller (2000) realized that a people oriented campaign strategy as exemplified by APC during the 2015 electioneering campaign enabled the party to adequately coordinate, build and maintain strong relationships with the electorates by boosting their consciousness to the fact that it's an all-inclusive campaign struggles and governance if succeeded. The good rhetorical engagement that their voice[s] will be heard has further enhanced the APC's campaign strategies which have indicated that it is a true democratic movement based on the dictates and principles of true democracy.

The APC's 2015 presidential campaign have used the two-way symmetrical model of communication at the party level, while in a larger extent APC used the asymmetrical communication during the various campaign sessions in all the 36 states of the federation visited. It further confirms that, it was impossible to use the two-way symmetrical communication during the various campaign sessions due to the nature and large crowd level of the campaign while equally; the target of the campaign is to persuade using rhetoric and lure electorates for their mandate towards the forth coming presidential elections. Thus, the outcome of this thesis study reveals that political campaign objectives can easily be achieved by articulation of good rhetorical slogan, all-inclusive campaign strategy and a good rapport with stakeholders, opinion leaders and other strategic members of the society. Also, this study further demonstrates that SWOT analysis and feedback mechanism employed established an open ended dialogue and communication pattern with the electorates.

Furthermore, the APC's 2015 campaign manifestos and its campaign slogan for "change" and not for "continuity" as PDP used has been in the best interest of most Nigerian who seem tired of the PDP's leadership of over 16years. The ethos aspect of Muhammadu Buhari's integrity, who happened to be the APC's presidential aspirant, has also made it glaring to the masses that the APC campaign was inherently altruistic; seeking for power to change Nigeria for the better devoid of corruption, insecurity and to assure the next Nigerian generation of a safer nation and future. It further manifested that not just APC, but the most public campaign cannot be successful on just a good rhetorical package rather the findings provided adequate reasons to why the two-way asymmetrical communication was valuable and greatly instrumental to the campaign victory. This has also concretized the relevance and significance of the two-way asymmetrical communication campaign system in helping to boost the act of persuasion within electorates.

5.1.4 The Two-Way Symmetrical Model

The use of this model in a strong term also indicated that the 2015 APC presidential campaign program was in consonance to the doctrine and dictates of the two-way symmetrical model as postulated by Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier (2002), who states that the advantage of using such model of communication is that it tends to maintain stable mutual relationship between the party or campaign organization with its external public due to the fact that it, "attempts to balance the interests of the organization and its public, based on research and uses communication to manage conflict with strategic publics" (Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier, 2002, p.15). The APC's 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria was in conformity with Grunig, Grunig, and Dozier's (2002), description of a mixed-motive communication model which states that "organizations try to satisfy their own interests while simultaneously trying to

help a public satisfy their own interests” (p. 309). Such expression is in tandem with the fact that the 2015 APC’s presidential electioneering campaign organization has attempted to satisfy both their primary campaign objectives which are to persuade electorates to win the election and also to simultaneously satisfy the yearnings and aspirations of the masses for a change of government. As some of the interviewers of the APC categorically states that they established the campaign structure in an all-inclusive manner for a “win-win relationship” with the pro-change mantra masses.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Conclusions

This research set to answer three main research questions related to public relations and rhetoric. This chapter provides the conclusions of the research by reviewing the key research questions as drawn from the research objectives towards a comparative rhetorical analysis of the Nigerian presidential election campaign of 2015.

Using a comparative analysis, the researcher found that the public relations approach used by both All Progressive Congress (APC) and Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) are both viable. However, it has been proven beyond doubt that the APC employed strategic and integrated public relations approach, which was best complemented by its good rhetorical campaign elements that possibly contributed to their victory at the polls. Due to the effective use of articulated rhetoric (that is, the use of good *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*), utilization of the campaign practices of campaign organizers of APC use two-way asymmetric communication model to persuade the electorates. This is obvious in the various texts of campaign speeches and press releases all of which enjoyed appropriate publicity in various forms of mainstream media.

Moreover, both parties utilized the two-way symmetric model of communication to build good rapport in order to seek for public opinions, feedbacks and good

relationships with the electorates. Another commendable strategy employed by these political parties is to ensure audience involvement by collaborating with party stakeholders, opinion leaders as well as partners in campaign progress. The APC glaringly enhanced the participation of electorates in internal decision-making processes such as grassroots town hall meetings across the six-geopolitical zones of the country. This made it possible for them to critically analyze the party's manifestos within the societal elites and opinion leaders for collective resolution towards an all-inclusive campaign process.

The study also proved that, PDP presidential campaign was not professionally handled despite its effort to employ the services of acclaimed foreign-based public relations experts. Rather, to manage the presidential campaign and its reputation, the PDP relied mainly on their usual political campaign approach of splashing money, hate speeches, impunity, leading to an abandonment of strategic use of an ideal public relations approach. This further affected their public outreach during the campaigns and is largely one reason the party encountered whooping loss during the general polls.

Public Relations experts and rhetoricians defined and segmented their audience differently (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). In such case, the APC campaign branding and manifestos captured the interests of all Nigerians from different regions, tribes, religions and even went across party affiliations. However, the PDP campaigns focused majorly on youths with little or no articulation to persuade their campaign brand despite fielding a younger presidential aspirant, Goodluck Jonathan as compared to the flag bearer of the APC in person of Muhammadu Buhari. This is

best considered a failure to effectively utilize the rhetorical *logos* to persuade the electorates.

This study draws its conclusion on the premise that the APC won the election based on its erudite “Change” campaign brand and its all-inclusive strategy where all Nigerians were offered belongingness as progressives to reject the misuse of impunity and to fight against corrupt. In addition, the APC championed its manifesto on other crucial issues such as “better security for the citizenry”, and “good economy for the country” geared towards a solution to the collective yearnings and aspirations of the Nigerian masses as at 2015. The PDP on the other hand appeared to have lost the election based on its over-reliance on the message of “Continuity” agenda. In spite of the incumbency advantages, their campaigns branded in such a manner that projected the incumbent as having the right to continue for another tenure.

Finally, this research showed that both rhetoric and public relations as electioneering campaign tools are mutually interdependent based on the literature reviewed with the idea from Grunig’s (1992) excellence theory and Aristotle’s treaties of rhetoric. Specifically, the findings of this study will help rhetoricians and public relations experts, scholars, and practitioners to better understand how rhetoric and public relations programs can successfully incorporate and brand electioneering campaign as a good strategy to improve campaign organizational programs to excellence. The results of the current research also contribute to the understanding of rhetorical theory and the excellence theory by extending excellence to the act of formative research, environmental spanning and scanning of the sociopolitical clout through the use of SWOT analysis.

6.2 Suggestions for Further Research

This research dwelled on the power of public relations and political rhetoric of the 2015 APC presidential election in Nigeria, using the 90 days electioneering campaign period to analyze four text of speeches, two from each of the presidential aspirant and also two press releases from the campaign organizational level using twelve interviewee from six geopolitical zone of Nigeria with six respondents per party. I, therefore, recommend a much longer period of study, using more respondents and more text of speeches to analyze involving other minority presidential aspirants of the 2015 presidential elections.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: APC Respondent



ORAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Interviewee,

I wish to crave your indulgence for your response to the attached supposed oral interview questions; this is due to long distance and other inevitable factors to have warranted such a proxy contact. This is to enable successful objective driven research. The attached research study is a postgraduate academic thesis from Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, Cyprus. North Turkey titled: A Comparative Rhetorical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Election 2015: A Public Relations Approach. Kindly be guided and aware that all information supplied, will only be used for the research aim which is the purpose why it has been collected and will be utilized in accordance to the ethics of conventional research.

Thank you

Yours faithfully,

Musa Usman Terrang

(Student Researcher)

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1 Can you please introduce yourself, based on your geopolitical zone, religious inclination, ethnicity (Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba), gender (M/F), Political party affiliation and 2015 APC campaign responsibility held (if any)?
- 2 Do you think there was effective use of Public Relations by APC during the 2015 electioneering campaign? Yes or No.
- 3 Which aspect of Campaign and PR used caused the success of APC during the 2015 Presidential Electioneering Campaign.
- 4 How will you assess the impact of PR in the 2015 Campaign?
- 5 PR supports the mobilization of party supporters Yes or No?
- 6 Why do you think the use of PR by politicians and political parties is vital?
- 7 What are the PR tools used by your party during 2015 Campaign?
- 8 What Rhetorical approach did your party engaged electorates with during 2015 electioneering campaign? A. Ethos B. Pathos C. Logos D Post-Truth E. All
- 9 SWOT analysis has been an effective tool for PR and better political engagement during electioneering campaign. How significant was it to your party's 2015 electioneering campaign success.
- 10 Poor Campaign strategies and lack of adequate PR during the 2015 presidential election caused the failure of PDP. Yes or No?
- 11 Haven known that prior to the 2015 general elections, U.S predicted high possibilities of Nigeria's separation due to the forecasted political scenarios; how do you think those inciting hate speeches were handled within the parties

and on the stage electioneering campaigns to have averted the U.S unhealthy prediction and also to have further shaped APC's victory?

- 12 Electioneering campaigns involves the rhetorical engagement of antagonizing speeches which seems malicious and geared towards parties or candidates reputational damage by both parties to lure electorates, how do you think those crisis communications were managed by APC during 2015 Presidential elections?
- 13 Which of the Mass Media channels was best used as a means of engaging electorates rhetorically towards political victory by APC during the 2015 electioneering Campaign?
- 14 Which of the media platforms was best used by your party to reach to the public during press releases, press conferences, communiqué etc? e.g Print, Audio, Visual, SNS etc and which to be specific? And why?
- 15 How will you rate the significance of social media during the APC 2015 presidential electioneering campaigns and its influence on the election and to your party? Was it interactive in nature? Symmetrical or Asymmetrical?

Appendix B: PDP Respondent



ORAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Interviewee, (PDP)

I wish to crave your indulgence for your response to the attached supposed oral interview questions; this is due to long distance and other inevitable factors to have warranted such a proxy contact. This is to enable successful objective driven research. The attached research study is a postgraduate academic thesis from Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, Cyprus. North Turkey titled: A Comparative Rhetorical Analysis of Nigerian Presidential Election 2015: A Public Relations Approach. Kindly be guided and aware that all information supplied, will only be used for the research aim which is the purpose why it has been collected and will be utilized in accordance to the ethics of conventional research.

Thank you

Yours faithfully,

Musa Usman Terrang.

(Student Researcher)

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Can you please introduce yourself, based on your geopolitical zone, religious inclination, ethnicity (Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba), gender (M/F), political party affiliation and 2015 presidential/ state electioneering campaign responsibility held (if any)?
2. Do you think there was effective use of Public Relations by PDP during the 2015 electioneering campaign? Yes or No.
3. PR definition and meaning has been interpreted based on purpose and content in use. What is PR in your party's context?
4. Poor Campaign strategies and lack of adequate PR during the 2015 presidential election caused the failure of PDP. Yes or No?
5. How will you assess the impact of PR in the 2015 Campaign?
6. PR supports the mobilization of party supporters Yes or No?
7. Why do you think the use of PR by politicians and political parties is vital?
8. What are the PR tools used by your party during 2015 Campaign?
9. What Rhetorical approach did your party engaged electorates on during 2015 electioneering campaign? A Ethos, B. Pathos C. Logos D Post-Truth E. All
10. SWOT analysis has been an effective tool for PR and better political engagement during electioneering campaign. How significant was it to your party's 2015 campaign.
11. Haven known that prior to the 2015 general elections, U.S predicted high possibilities of Nigeria's separation due to the forecasted political scenarios; how do you think those inciting hate speeches were handled within the parties and on the stage electioneering campaigns to have averted the U.S unhealthy predictions and to have affected PDP's electoral outcome?

12. Electioneering campaigns involves the rhetorical engagement of antagonizing speeches which seems malicious and geared towards parties or candidates reputational damage by both parties to lure electorates, how do you think those crisis communications were managed by PDP during 2015 Presidential elections?
13. Which of the Mass Media channels was best used as a means of engaging electorates rhetorically towards political victory by PDP during the 2015 electioneering Campaign?
14. Which of the media platforms was best used by your party to reach to the public during press releases, press conferences, communiqué etc? Example; Print, Audio, Visual, SNS, etc andwhy?
15. How will you rate the significance of social media during the 2015 presidential electioneering campaigns and its influence on the election and to your party? Was it interactive in nature? Symmetrical or Asymmetrical?

Appendix C: Muhammadu Buhari Text of Speech during APC Primary Election Campaign

My Dear Delegates,

As you gather for our convention, please remember that history, change and the hopes of Nigeria are there with you. They are there to ask you to perform according to your best judgment and patriotic conscience. I also ask you to do the same.

We seek a new Nigeria. It starts with us. It starts today. I have placed myself before you seeking your help to nominate me as your standard bearer for our progressive party, APC.

Personal ambition does not drive me in this regard. I seek to be the next president of our beloved nation because I believe I have something to offer Nigeria at this time of multiple crises. Insecurity, corruption, and economic collapse have brought the nation low. Time is past due that we work together to lift Nigeria up. I am ready to lead Nigeria to its rightful future.

I have always served Nigeria to the best of my ability. I have always tried to give more to the nation than it has given me. This is the principle of service that has guided my public life. Thus, I am not a rich person. I can't give you a fistful of dollars or naira to purchase your support. Even if I could, I would not do so. The fate of this nation is not up for sale.

What I will give you, and this nation is all of my strength, commitment, sweat and toil in the service of the people. What I can give you is my all.

The PDP has been in power much too long for the little good it has done. For the past six years, Nigeria has walked backwards carrying the weight of PDP's incompetence on its shoulders.

Due to its broken leadership, Nigeria has been afflicted by a strange illness. We are a great nation riddled by endless crises. Instead of resolving problems, this government multiplies and manufactures them.

PDP cannot stand before us and say things have gotten better under its direction. It has only gotten worse and it's now time for change.

PDP's government may say that it needs more time – that what we need now is continuity – but we do not.

What we need now is change!

I know what it takes to achieve real change – I have led our nation before – in times almost as unhappy as these.

I know that to solve our problems we need real leadership, not warm words and empty promises. A leader needs integrity and strength – and an unbending commitment to do what is right.

I know that leaders must not just mouth words about change – they must embody it in their lives and their values.

My love for Nigeria is writ large across my heart and I have spent a lifetime in the service of its people.

Through a long career trying to build a better country for my fellow Nigerians in offices both high and low I have always tried to place my country before myself.

While some who have occupied those same positions have grown mysteriously rich, I still live on my army pension. I own no foreign bank accounts, I own no companies profiting from government contracts.

Why then do I seek office, if not for myself? While others might prefer to stay at home watching their grandchildren grow and leave the battle to others, I still see injustices that need to be righted and I still dream of a New Nigeria.

I am what you see before you – a simple man who believes in serving both God and his country. A man who is impatient for change, who loves Nigeria and seeks to serve it once again.

When I last led this nation I launched a War against Indiscipline – today, I pledge a Battle for Hope.

A battle against the dark forces of corruption and despair that have held our nation hostage to their greed for too long.

We simply cannot afford four more years of PDP's corruption and the corrosive cynicism that it has bred.

The time for hope, the time for belief, is now.

You cannot trust the corrupt to end corruption.

You cannot trust the selfish and self-interested to rule in the best interests of the people.

You cannot trust those who believe hope is a tool of government rather than a human right to plant the seed of belief.

Let's be clear. This is not a time for continuity. Failure does not deserve continuity.

Incompetence does not deserve continuity.

It deserves change; that is what the nation deserves and that is what we will bring.

Make no mistake – as is always the case for those who seek to bring change, it will not come easy.

And today I ask for your votes and support as I make these five pledges to the nation:

I will honestly govern Nigeria in accord with the constitution and rule of law.

I will bring all resources necessary to end poverty through ending corruption, promoting broadly-shared economic growth, investing in our country and creating jobs.

I will tolerate no religious, regional, ethnic or gender bias.

I will return Nigeria to a position of international respect through active and wise foreign policy.

I will select the best Nigerians for posts in my government.

I do not intend to rule Nigeria. I want to democratically govern it with your help. I seek a Nigeria where Christians and Muslims may practice their faiths in peace and security; a Nigeria that is just and where corruption no longer trespasses into our institutions and national behavior and a Nigeria where our diversity could be used for our national prosperity.

Nigeria is our home. Let us now turn it into the great nation we know it can and should be.

I thank you all.

Appendix D: Full text of Goodluck Jonathan speech as the PDP Presidential Flag Bearer on Campaign Launch in Lagos on Thursday, January 8, at the Tafawa Balewa Square, Lagos.

Your Excellency, the chairman of our great party, Alhaji Adamu Muazu, senior members of our party here on this great occasion, we have spent so much time here so I will not bore you with protocols.

Today, I am going to address only a segment of the Nigerian population. I am going to address the people who are voting for the first time, those of you who will attain 18 years this year. That means I am addressing the young people. I do not want to address old people like me, because we are spent already and I will crave your indulgence Nigerian youths, those of you who are here, and those of you watching us at home, listen to what I am saying. I am going to address political gatherings in 37 cities and I am going to dwell on three key things. I am focusing on the young people. Whatever I say, when you go back, call your aunts or call your uncles, your father or your mother, or your cousin, that is at least 60 years old and confirm and ask them what you heard that the Presidential candidate of PDP mentioned in any of the rallies because 2015 elections is about the young people: either you vote and continue to be relevant in Nigeria's political history or you vote for you to be irrelevant. And I will repeat it, those of you who are voting for the first time, your decision to vote could mean you vote for a Nigerian youth to be important, to be relevant in this country or be a Nigerian person to be treated as a nonsense person and I believe all of you want to be relevant. Of course you have seen...we have just introduced our governorship candidates and you see how many of them that is of your age bracket. Which other party will give that kind of opportunity? I am going to

dwell on three things because those who say they want to take over power from PDP have been telling a lot of lies. They have hired people from all over the world and those of you in the social media carry all forms of lies, painting all kinds of color and giving me all kinds of face that I cannot defend.

If you listen to us in the 37 places we will address these issues, you will now know where to cast your votes. I will address you in all the places on three issues. The first is the issue of insecurity. I am also going to address whether this administration is fighting or encouraging corruption. I am going to address the issue of weak government and unfocused government that has no plans. Yours is to listen and compare with everything that has been done before in this country and take a decision. I will not keep you here for too long because we still have the opportunity... I am going to raise just very few issues today and tomorrow I will continue in Enugu and then on and on and on. First let me tell you about the voter's card. First when we came in here we saw some placards, some of you complaining that we are yet to get a permanent voters card. Only yesterday, I directed that every Nigerian (of voting age) must vote. INEC must make sure and government will not allow a situation where some (eligible) Nigerians will not vote; we will not allow it. All Nigerians must vote and I mean it. I told you that I am addressing those of you who are voting for the first time. Those of you in the age bracket of 20 to 24, if you go back, ask your uncles, before 2011 no Nigerian complained that he had no voters card. People voted themselves into office. We came and said every Nigeria vote must count and since then, the voter's card has become relevant. This is the party that is giving political strength to all Nigerians. Already you have been told from intelligence reports that some people are already cloning cards so that your voter's card will no longer be relevant. Is that the kind of people you want to take over

government? (Crowd shouts NO...!) They want to take us to the old days when nobody saw voter's cards but results were announced. They want to take us to the old days when ballot papers would be in South Africa and results would be announced. Are you going back to the old days? (Crowd shouts NO...!) Nigeria must move forward, Nigeria is for the youths. Nigeria is not for old people like us. The young generation must redefine this country. We must take this country to where we want it to be. Nobody can push us backwards. The past is past. They have led us backward and backward. In fact when we were young, we were told that at Independence, Nigeria, Brazil, Malaysia, Indonesia and even India were all at the same level. That was what we were told when I was in the secondary school and the university. Now all those countries have left us behind and now some people want to take us backward. Do you want to go backwards? (Crowd shouts NO...!) Nigerian youths do you want to go backwards... (Crowd shouts NO...!) Young Nigerians were doing things fantastically well, they were acting films and these very people were snubbing them, they were playing music and these very people were abusing them. But we are encouraging them and the world has accepted them. Do you want to move forward? (Crowd shouts YES...!) Do you want to go backward? (Crowd shouts NO...!) I told you I was going to address things and I will be very brief. They talk about insecurity. That they will fight insecurity. And you will ask are our armed forces weak? Are the Nigerians in the Armed Forces weak? If we have problems what is the cause—equipment. And somebody who wakes up and tells young people of 23 years old that he wants to fight insecurity, ask him when he was the head of government did he buy one rifle for a Nigerian soldier. (Crowd shouts NO!...) These people did not buy anything for the Nigerian soldiers. They refused to equip them. No attack helicopter, nothing. Ask them what they did with the defence budget for the whole time they

were in office. No country equips armed forces overnight. What they use is quite expensive and they are built over the years. Even if you spend 10 billion dollars today, you cannot equip the army, navy and air force. The capacity is built overtime. They refused to build the capacity. They instigated crisis and now they are telling us they will fight insurgency. Ask them and they will answer. I will elaborate more as we progress to other places. The next is that they say government is corrupt; or we are not fighting corruption. Only yesterday, I addressed the anti-corruption agencies. I said look people are deceiving young Nigerians. You must tell Nigerians what you are doing. We have arrested more people within this period. Gotten more convictions within this period but everyday they tell us lies. At this point, let me apologize to some Nigerian civil servants who did not receive their salaries in December early enough and I will tell you what happened. I apologize to those families that suffered because we believe that for you to fight corruption; you must take measures, establish and strengthen institutions. You just don't wake up, enter the street, arrest one person and lock up and show on television and say that you are fighting corruption. If they had succeeded in fighting corruption, corruption would not have been with us here today. If they had set up structures and especially in today's modern science using ICT to manage resources, we would not have been talking about corruption today. What happened in December was that IPPIS, software for processing salaries, -- sometimes people steal through salaries- and some federal government agencies including some ministries tried to divert funds to pay some allowances. The system is scientific, it is not a human being, and as long as money meant for salaries is about to be diverted to other things, it shuts down. Those departments of government were shut down; this is the only way that you can prevent corruption. (Crowd claps ...) I served in Bayelsa as deputy governor and

governor for eight years; I also served as Vice President and President for another four years at the centre, for all this period, the fertilizer area is where states and federal governments spend billions of naira but less than 10 per cent of fertilizers go to the farmers. The rest is stolen and sent out of the country. Even the 10 per cent sometimes is adulterated. We came and cleaned up the sector and today there is no corruption in the fertilizer industry again. What did we do? We assembled some young Nigerians that are IT gurus and we developed the e-wallet system and through that the farmers now get their fertilizers directly and nobody is cheating the government again. Is that not the way to stop corruption? (Crowd shouts YES! ...) If somebody tells you that the best way to fight corruption is to arrest your uncle or father and show him on television, well, you won't stop corruption, you will even encourage corruption. I used to tell people and I will also address press conferences so that people can ask me direct questions. Armed robbery is still with us, despite the fact that we are shooting (death penalty) armed robbers. Is that stopping armed robbery? (Crowd shouts NO...!) So arresting people and demonstrating on television will not fight corruption, we must set up institutions, strengthen them to prevent people from even touching the money and that is what we are working on and we are succeeding. Some people say they are finding corruption... some of you know, I am not addressing people of 20 years and below but people from 30 years and so on... Nigerians go to fuel stations and sleep overnight to buy fuel or tip those who sell fuel to buy fuel. They hoard fuel and they benefit from the hoarding. Who are those who benefitted from hoarding fuel? Since we came on board, have you suffered? Do you need to bribe someone before you get fuel? When the crisis of insecurity came up, we had nothing. So to get things very quickly, we used some vendors to make procurement. But now what we are doing is government to government. Now any

new procurement we are doing whether for the air force, navy or army it's government to government, so there is nothing like corruption anymore. Even if we have some issues, maybe... is that not the way to fight corruption? You must prevent people from touching money, you don't give them the opportunity or test them with money and this is what government is doing and we are succeeding in a number of areas in our procurement processes. The relevant agencies will address Nigerians for you to appreciate what we are doing. They say the government is weak, they say we are un-focused; we have no plan. They say we are weak because there were some people who took our fathers, our mothers and our uncles while they were abroad put them in a crate and flew them to Nigeria but they were intercepted by superior powers. That blocked Nigerians from even going to Britain at a time and the relationship between Nigeria and Britain... the whole world isolated Nigeria. They said that is the way to fight corruption. So immediately I suspect your uncle, I can just crate him and throw him into Kirikiri. Is that the way to stop corruption? (Crowd shouts NO!) If somebody tells you that he will not follow due process... I came in with Yar'Adua and he advocated due process and I stand by due process. Any country that does not abide by the rule of law is a jungle. Do you want Nigeria to be a jungle society? (Crowd shouts NO!) Immediately I suspect you that you have done something wrong I just ask the police or army to arrest you and throw you into jail. Is that the country you want? (Crowd shouts NO!) They say to be strong is to jail people indiscriminately for 300 years. Is that where you want to go? (Crowd shouts NO!) A country is like an industry. It must be managed properly by people who have brain and great ideas upstairs. Let me just give you some highlights: they say we are not focused; we are not planning. But our economy has become the biggest in Africa; it was not the biggest in Africa before. Without planning, can your economy become

the biggest in Africa? (Crowd shouts NO!) They say we are not planning, we are not focused but we have cleaned up the corruption in fertilizer distribution in the country. The farm inputs are getting to the farmers and our import bills, the money we use in buying things from outside is coming down. Can you get that without planning? (Crowd shouts NO!) You are no longer queuing up and leaving your cars in fuel stations. Can you do that without planning? (Crowd shouts NO!) I believe that some few years back some young people have not seen trains except when you travel abroad and you have never boarded a train. Now our trains are moving. Can you do that without planning? (Crowd shouts NO!) In the power sector, we are in Lagos, Egbin power sector got burnt in 2005 and remained so until now when we are fixing it. We have been able to finish the privatization of the power sector. This is an interface period but you already know that the generation capacity is almost double. Can you do that without planning? (Crowd shouts NO!) This government feels that Nigerians are very dynamic people, very creative, very industrious, very talented in music, arts and business. Many of them do not have money and you know we are almost 200 million in Nigeria and we cannot reach everybody the same day. We came up with the concept of YOUWIN to give grants not loans to young Nigerians that have ideas. If you interview them, some of them are already manufacturing and in the next four to five years, we will be exporting things from this country. And they say we have no plans for the youths? They should come and tell us what plans they have for the youths. I believe that young Nigerians, not people who are spent and finished. not people of my age, we are gone... that is why I said I am addressing people from the ages 18- 23 those who are voting for the first time, we believe that you people will take us to the moon. My generation has failed we couldn't take Nigeria to the moon. Look at what India is doing. Look at what countries we were at

par with at independence are doing and I said for us to get to the moon, that's a special area; you need to expose your best brains. I came up with a special scholarship that you must first of all make a First Class in the university. We have scholarship for everybody but you must first of all make First Class from your university and then we test the best brains and send them to the best 25 universities in the world. Can someone who has no plans for the future of this country do that? (Crowd shouts NO!.) Can somebody who does not think about the Nigerian youth do that? (Crowd shouts NO!) Do you want to go back to those days when they had no plans for us? (Crowd shouts NO!) When I came on board as President, I noticed that though in the country and on paper, there is this programme or policy of government that every state must get a Federal government owned university. Out of the 36 states we have, 12 had no federal universities and people were deceiving Nigerians that they were doing something. I said we must establish these 12 universities in the remaining 12 states, start as small universities and grow and we have done that successfully and they are growing gradually. We did not stop there. We looked at the school drop-outs in some parts of the country and they were quite high. We came up with the Almajiri educational programme and we thank the Governors from many of the states where we have those set of students. We have programmes for Almajiri students and we have the programme for out-of-school children. Can somebody who has no plan for the country think about that kind of programme? (Crowd shouts NO!). You will ask some of those people who are deceiving you now and who hired some people from outside the country to go on social media and tell all kinds of lies, that when they were in power did they build any nursery school for anybody? (Crowd shouts NO!) Ask them, ask them, I say go and ask them. If they did not build nursery schools for anybody, what did they use our money for? They built prisons or

universities for you? I will build universities for you, I will build secondary schools for you, I will build primary schools for you. They say we have no plans for this country but we established the Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF)—out of the money that comes into this country we reserve a little so you just don't squander it. This is a government that introduced for the first time what we call the SWF and I want to thank the Governors from the states who keyed into the SWF idea. In addition to the SWF, you know that there are some stolen monies, which from time to time government gets back. They have been getting these monies back but we do not know how they are spending it. The ones that have come in within this period, we have not even started spending it but first of all we agree on how to spend it. Because we have security challenges and this money is primarily for security and they used security channels to take it, 50 per cent of it will be used for security, 25 per cent of it for development and 25 per cent of it will be used for future generations. This is the decision we have taken even before we start spending the money. Can somebody who has no plan for the future of the country do that thing? (Crowd shouts NO!) They should come and tell you what they used our monies for. We believe that so many young Nigerians, some young workers find it very difficult to own a house of their own. We introduced the Mortgage Refinancing Company. It is just coming up, estates are being built and we are working with the Labour unions. As we pursue that programme in the next five years, most Nigerian workers either working in private sector or in government can own houses. They have no plans for you; they are coming to tell you false stories. We have said you do not need to have so much money to own a house. Do you want to go back to the old days? (Crowd shouts NO!) We have plans for employment generation. We know one of the greatest challenges for most governments including Nigeria is to get jobs for our youths but we are not

sleeping. So far we have been able to create a number of jobs... I have set up two bodies headed by the Vice President made up of people in government and the private sector. We call them Presidential Job Creation Board and Micro, Small and Medium Scale Enterprises Council, working very hard to ensure that every year two million jobs are created. Can somebody who has no plans do that? (Crowd shouts NO!) Of course we have been told that I have other opportunities. I have many other things to say but people are getting tired ... (Crowd shouts NO!, go ahead) ... we'd have the opportunity to talk and talk and talk. Some groups of people have said that you have to vote for your liberation or imprisonment. Some groups of people came, and I read it in the papers, when they see people in government maybe governors, ministers, commissioners and so on ... they will say we will draw a line, we are not probing the past because they want to deceive them to get their support. So they will draw a line and start fighting corruption after they cross the bridge. Only two days ago, somebody stood in Port Harcourt and said he was going to catch people in the streets and throw them into Kirikiri. The same mouth says something from the right, and from the left, making contradicting statements. Can you trust those people? (Crowd shouts NO!) Are they not deceiving you? (Crowd shouts YES!) They want power by all means and all what they want to use power for is to lock up and imprison their enemies. I have no enemy to fight. My interest is your interest. My interest is the Nigerian interest and for the future generations and young Nigerians to develop. Not to fight enemies. We must stop corruption. I will not stop corruption by catching people, putting them in trailers and dumping them off to be killed. You can't stop corruption that way. Someone wakes up and he feels he can jail all his enemies and he thinks that is how to fight corruption? I think we have advanced beyond that point. Somebody wakes up and says ``O, Nigerian women I am going to

give you position.’’ And you ask him when you were a Head of Government, you had a cabinet, I have the list of the cabinet members, there was no one single woman. Not even one in the cabinet. So Nigerian women, you cast your votes and go back to the kitchen and die there or you cast your votes to liberate yourself. The Nigerian women must decide where to cast their votes: you vote and go back to the kitchen and die in the kitchen or you cast your votes to liberate yourself. We are ready to liberate all Nigerian women.

Let me say one more thing and conclude. I read a headline in one paper yesterday: MEND DUMPS JONATHAN... did you read it? (Crowd shouts Yes!) I am from the Niger Delta. The leader of MEND is one Okah. He is in South African prison. Why is he there? South Africa is not Nigeria where people will say Oh, President (Jonathan) manipulated it. Okah is in the prison because 1st October 2010 when we were to celebrate our independence, our golden year of independence, Okah was procured by some Nigerians to assassinate me. Okah bombed Abuja, but the attempt was to assassinate me and South Africa intelligence system caught him in the plan to assassinate me. He is now in jail in South Africa and they say MEND dumps Jonathan. Okah that wanted to assassinate Jonathan, will he support Jonathan? (Crowd shouts NO!) I am told that Okah is supporting some people... I am told that Okah who is in a South African prison for killing Nigerians is endorsing some people. Is that the country you want to live in? (Crowd shouts NO!) Count me out. Let me conclude by thanking all Nigerians, especially Lagosians. Let me sincerely on behalf of my party apologize to you because we are having this rally today so the whole of Lagos is at a standstill. We beg you, we have to do it and we know you love us, will support us and we promise to make sure that... this is the very first government that has supported the industrial sector very well. Ask your brothers and

sisters in the private sector, if they are sincere they will say that we have come up with policies that have encouraged commerce and industry. Government alone cannot employ people. The private sector must grow to create jobs for the people. Bear with us because the PDP government will continue to encourage the private sector to create jobs for Nigerians.

Finally, let me tell all of you especially those of you, who want to go to the National Assembly that we just had a national conference. The document from that conference, because of the controversy we have in the present National Assembly, you know how chaotic the present Assembly is, we know that if you bring that document to the Assembly they will dump it. So we want to present it to the next Assembly. So those people you are sending, if you mean well for this country, you must vote people who can go to the National Assembly, discuss and adopt that document that our leaders have agreed so that this country can move forward. I stand today in the city of Lagos, in the south west on behalf of the leader of our party, Alhaji Muazu, the Vice President and all the leaders and promise that if you vote the PDP en masse to the National Assembly and to the Presidency, we will adopt that document so that this country will move forward. That document is to liberate you, we did not influence it, our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters that are credible came up with it. Ask them, we did not influence it. I did not ask them to dot any `I` or cross any `T` because I have no personal interest. My interest is the Nigerian interest. It is either we vote to be prisoners as we were- and I will tell you maybe some of you do not know, in 1983, I don't know for the young people, some of you who are writing all sort of things on the social media. In 1983/84, what they called discipline as a post graduate student instead of reading my book, the whole night I queued up to buy two tins of milk. And they say that is discipline. So we should

make you queue up the whole night as students to buy two tins of milk? Is that the discipline you want? (Crowd shouts NO!). You must vote for your liberation, you must vote for your development, you must vote to take Nigeria to the moon. You cannot vote to take Nigeria backward. Leave us who are half dead to bury our dead. You must vote for the progress of this country, you must vote for the Nigerian youth, you must vote for the Nigerian women.

PDP!.....POWER!

Thank you all.

Appendix E: APC Presidential Candidate Muhammadu Buhari's Final Mission Statement

Transcribed by me:-

Fellow Nigerians as the presidential campaign draws close, my interaction with Nigerians from all over the country over the last few months have left me with an overwhelming sense of expectations the citizens of Nigeria holds for the future. The little girl who donated her savings because she believes in our campaign, the young men and women at our campaign rallies who ran after our motor cades screaming change, a fisherman in Bayelsa who lost his livelihood because of the polluted Ogobiri River, the welder from Ibadan who struggles under the weight of poor power supply. This campaign has been about them and millions of others who have been laid down by their government from Enugu to Edo, Cross River to Kano, Ondo to Benue and everywhere in between Nigeria are tired of the status quo, without exception they want a more secure environment, better economic opportunities and a more accountable government.

Their experience has confirmed that there is no Muslim Nigeria or Christian Nigeria, no northern Nigeria or southern Nigeria. There is only one Nigeria, a country where citizens continue to forge ahead despite challenges, a country that we all boost of both home and abroad and pray achieve its full potentials. I have dedicated myself to the service and continue existence of this one Nigeria more so as a military officer and as a civilian, on the course of this service I have overseen the building of refineries and protecting Nigeria from aggression both internal and external. My time as head of states was not perfect, mistakes were made and some of you may not support me because of those mistakes but I assure you I feel the pains of everyone

who experienced and undue hardship others like Nolar Shemin, Adeyemi Adefulu and Tunde Thompson have been gracious enough to look beyond those mistakes and accept my offer of partnership to build a new Nigeria that we can all be proud of, my appeal to you is that you find it in your heart to do same as I said at Chatham house being the leader at that time I take responsibilities of these mistakes as I state again before you is a converted democrat who has submitted to and will continue to submit himself to a democratic process. I talked about partnership because to surmount the great issues Nigeria will have to contain with, leader will require your commitments and cooperation. Our country is an at all time low, poverty and unemployment has reached an unprecedented height and insecurity threaten the lives and wellbeing of every single person within our borders; a situation that I myself have experienced it 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 corruption and the respect of the rule of law, things can change for the better.

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 are been circulated about my person like I always say while they continue to lie, we shall continue to reinforce the truth. I will lead this country from the front and taking problems ahead on rather than following them to fester. Your children will go to school and they will return safely, you will no longer be afraid in your own homes, the naira in your pocket will be of great value than it is now, our economy will no longer rely on oil alone to survive, the corruption which has eaten deep into the fabric of our society will be a thing of the past. Economic opportunity will be shared in an equitable manner across the country and will not be only for those who

are close to government. The youth will be gainfully employed; women like Taraba gubernatorial candidate senator Aisha Alhassan will continue to break new ground. I will like to thank everyone who has been on this journey with us and thank Nigerians who received us with warmth everywhere we campaigned for the 28th of March and 11th of April use your PVC's to get the desired change that will enable you and your children to be proud of this country once again.

God bless you and God bless Nigeria

Appendix F: Text of Speech of PDP Presidential Aspirant on the Occasion of 2015 State Campaign at Katsina State

Transcribed by me:-

PDP! PDP!!

Power to the people!... Power to Katsina state!!...

Jama'a Assalamu Alaikum (Native salutation)

I will not spend much time because of the things I would have mentioned to you have either being mentioned by the national chairman, the vice president, the governor of Katsina state and others especially the minister of mines and steel development. But when am in Katsina state I have to thank all of you, but for you I wouldn't have been here today. I am here because of Katsina, because it is your own son that brought me as your vice president that is why I am here today. Unfortunately within his first tenure we lost him may Allah bless his soul, my great people of Katsina one thing you will know from me is that anything that you need or want that government is in position to do it will do it without you asking for it.

The governor mentioned it to you the issue of Education, Katsina state is a state that has Katsina college that was the very first college in the whole of northern Nigeria, our pioneer leaders Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sir Tafawa Balewa all of them were products of Katsina college, one would ordinarily expect that either the 1st or 2nd generation of Nigerian universities one should have being in Katsina state. But none, the 3rd generation of Nigerian universities came none was located in Katsina even the 4th generation of Nigeria universities non was located in Katsina, that is why when I

came on board I felt like Katsina people that loved education because I knew Musa Umar Yar'adua is a scholar because I worked with him, that the Katsina people, Katsina state was overdue for a federal university even though the governor said that there were two (2) universities before, I think the governor or the minister but they were not federal universities. I felt that it was not right, that the Katsina that could be described as the cradle of education in the northern Nigeria had no university when the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation universities were created in this country and that is why we established federal university in Katsina state as one of the first universities we established, that should give you the idea of who we are, we are ready to work with you to improve the quality of lives of our people, we are working very hard in turning Agriculture into a few business to improve the quality of our people, In Katsina state we are training young men and women in various technical areas, may be some of you doesn't even know that through the Petroleum Trust Development Fund (PTDF) of which the immediate past executive secretary is even your son. Now we just brought some people we trained in South Africa as helicopter pilots and Katsina we mention to you that Katsina college is the oldest northern Nigeria the whole country were producing the first female helicopter pilot again and is from Katsina state. We thank the people of Katsina state, we love you because you love education, without education I couldn't have being here and that is why we are emphasizing on education and agriculture.

We launched the Almajiri (itinerant) program because it is our belief that all our children should have the opportunity that Goodluck and Namadi have, that is why we are here. We have 38 Almajiri schools which have 19,000 enrollment total and we are doing more in Agriculture in the micro scale and medium enterprises. Katsina state is participating fully in Agriculture, ask our farmers they will tell you that this is

the government that have associated with them more than any other federal government. We will continue to work with you, with your young men and women, work with your government and we will change this country and we will change this state, we will improve the economy of this country, yes we have challenges like every other country in the world even the oil price does not affect Nigeria alone there are some countries that the value of their currency has depreciated much bigger countries, dollarized countries, we are still managing because of focus and plan and we assure you that no matter the turbulence that we will face because of the drop of oil price we will get through, the security challenges we are working, we are working very hard and we will surely get through and soon we will surely get through and soon you will know yourself. So for today I wouldn't want to say much, my duty and commitment is to thank my brothers and sisters from Katsina state. I have to repeat today without Katsina state I wouldn't have being here. I pray I should also have the privilege of helping Katsina state.

I thank you all.

Nagode (Thank you)

Appendix G: APC to President Jonathan: You can't intimidate us

The All Progressives Congress (APC) has said the party's leadership and members will not be intimidated by the latest antics of the Jonathan Administration to harass and intimidate the opposition, especially in the run-up to next month's general elections. In a statement issued in Lagos on Thursday by its National Publicity Secretary, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, the party said the recent military siege on APC National Leader Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu's residence and the Imo State Government House and the police harassment of APC's Presidential Campaign Spokesman Garba Shehu fit perfectly into this emerging pattern. The National Chairman Chief John Oyegun, National Leader Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu, Gov. Rotimi Amaechi, former Gov. Timipre Sylva, Senator Bukola Saraki and National Publicity Secretary Alhaji Lai Mohammed, are under surveillance and their phones being hacked.

"We are aware that several of them, especially the National Publicity Secretary, have been marked down for arrest in the days to come. We know there are evil plots to frame some of them on trumped-up charges. We know our lives are in danger. But these and more will not deter us from continuing to act in the national interest or from seeking to effect change through the ballot box.

"Yes, we are alerting Nigerians that if anything happens to us they should know where it is coming from, but for us there is no going back because we are resolute," it said.

APC thanked Nigerians for their immense and unwavering support, especially since the postponement of the elections which was aimed at dampening the enthusiasm of the citizens, and urged them not to relent.

”We are glad that instead of weakening the resolve and enthusiasm of Nigerians, the Presidency-orchestrated postponement has further galvanized them to be more determined not only to vote but also to defend their votes.

”Nigerians must demand and insist that the elections be held as rescheduled, that there will be no interim government or tenure elongation. Nigerians have the power to forge change with their voter’s cards and no one must deny them that right,” the party said

APC called on President Jonathan to remember the verdict of history and put his dogs of war on a leash, realizing that history will judge no one but him even for the actions of his supporters, who are all acting in his name.

Alhaji Lai Mohammed

National Publicity Secretary

All Progressives Congress (APC)

Lagos, Feb. 12th 2015

Appendix H: Press Release from PDP given by The Director of Media and Publicity for the Presidential Campaign, Femi-Fani Kayode

Gentlemen of the Press,

We have decided to invite you to our office today to brief you on the latest act of desperation by the All Progressives Congress (APC) to undermine security of lives and property in the course of the forthcoming March 28 and April 11 general elections.

It is now very clear to us that the APC is determined to cause security breaches in the next few weeks. This has been confirmed by their vigorous campaign of calumny against the military and their consistent demand that soldiers must not be deployed for security surveillance at the polling booths in the forthcoming elections.

The opposition party's latest gambit of latching on to some footage of a purported meeting involving some of our party leaders in the southwest zone (amongst them Governor Ayodele Fayose of Ekiti state, Senator Musiliu Obanikoro of Lagos state, Honourable Minister Jelili Adesiyun of Osun state and Senator Iyiola Omisore of Osun state) which purportedly reflected attempts to rig the Ekiti governorship election, is both petty and despicable.

We have listened to the audio clip, which we will play to you shortly, and we make bold to say that the discussion that took place in it did not make any mention of any form of rigging in the Ekiti state governorship election and neither did it contain any evidence of any conspiracy to rig.

(PLAY EKITI AUDIO TAPE)

Rather than attempting to orchestrate rigging, what the audio clip clearly reveals was Governor Fayose expressing concerns that a Military commander was not acting on

information about illegal movement of weapons into certain parts of the state. The Governor and others were apparently worried that safety of the voters and INEC officials could be compromised if security measures were not strictly enforced.

We challenge the APC to do a critical content analysis of the discussions in the audio clip and we are confident that their claims of rigging against Governor Fayose and all the others that were mentioned cannot be sustained. Sadly the same cannot be said about the electoral perfidy which the APC perpetrated in the Osun state governorship elections. During the course of those elections, some of their agents gathered in secret locations where they thumb-printed ballot papers in favor of their governorship candidate, Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola.

Gentlemen of the Press, we call your attention to the following, which has been aptly dubbed in the Yoruba language, “Eru-Ibo” (meaning Electoral Manipulation or Rigging). This video has been trending on www.youtube.com since October last year which you may please verify.

(PLAY OSUN VIDEO)

What you have just watched is how the retrogressive forces in Osun State rigged out our candidate, Senator Iyiola Omisore, in the 2014 governorship election. It is ironic that instead of purging itself of its own insatiable appetite for rigging and cheating, the APC, through its Presidential candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari, chose to call a press conference in which he alleged that our leaders were ordering soldiers to rig in Ekiti state.

This is a clear case of the pot calling the kettle black. The tape that the APC referred to made no mention of rigging and did not expose any attempt to rig by Fayose or anyone else whilst the tape that we have just played exposes ample evidence of rigging by the APC in Osun state.

In addition to this, the PDP Presidential Campaign Organisation wishes to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Nigerian people and members of the international community to the subtle threat of violence in a statement by General Muhammadu Buhari, at the APC stakeholders' meeting in Abuja on Tuesday.

General Buhari said that the patience of the APC and its leaders were on test. One wonders what he means by that and what he and his supporters intend to do once that patience runs out. In an AFP news report of Friday, February 6, 2015, he was asked if he would accept the outcome of the presidential election no matter how unfavourable. Listen to his answer: "I am not going to lose; so I won't answer that question." Again, only yesterday, Wednesday, February 18, 2015, in an interview on ARISE Television, General Buhari was asked what his reaction would be if he loses the election. His answer was: "We shall see."

As far as we are concerned, these are ominous and subtle threats to unleash violence on the Nigerian people and all those that he perceives are his enemies in the event of his losing the election. General Buhari, with his characteristic incendiary and inciting statements, has succeeded in inflaming the destructive passion of his supporters in the northern part of the country on many occasions in the past. We recall his unacceptable remarks on May 15, 2012 when he said "if what happened in 2011 should happen again in 2015, the dog and the baboon would be soaked in blood."

We witnessed the orgy of violence that they unleashed shortly after the announcement of the results of the 2011 presidential election, which the Sheik Lemu Committee, in its report to the Federal Government, said was caused by Buhari's inflammatory statements.

We recall with sadness the massacre of some of our vibrant youth corpsers who participated in the 2011 election as INEC's ad-hoc staff in Bauchi State. We are

concerned that the same thing may happen again given General Buhari's divisive and inciting comments coupled with the APC's violent disposition.

What happened in Maiduguri last Monday when General Buhari went there gives cause for concern. His irate supporters burnt down the campaign offices of our party and torched our vehicles. We also saw pictures of some under-age boys carrying lethal weapons such as AK 47 and Dane guns. (See picture attached) This is irresponsible and dangerous. The question must be asked: are we running elections or going for war?

The PDP Presidential Campaign Organization hereby declares unequivocally that the sordid killing of Youth Corpers or anyone else must not be repeated in the forthcoming general elections. It is for this reason that the Federal Government must deploy soldiers to ensure peace, stability and security during and after the elections.

The attempt by the APC to discredit the use of soldiers by promoting some misleading audio footage of the so-called rigging during the Ekiti governorship election, in which one Captain Sagir Koli was the *dramatis personae*, is childish and absurd.

The Federal Government deployed soldiers In the Anambra, Edo, Ondo, Ekiti and Osun gubernatorial elections and all those elections were devoid of violence. Remarkably, the APC won in Edo and Osun; APGA won in Anambra, Labour Party won in Ondo while PDP won only in Ekiti State.

The basis on which the APC is agitating for the exclusion of soldiers from the election by sponsoring court cases is patently dubious and untenable. The reason that the APC and its leaders do not want soldiers deployed is to be able to intimidate voters and unleash violence on the polity once they lose the elections. They know that it would be far more difficult for them to do that when soldiers are on the streets.

With these dishonourable tactics and desperate acts by the APC, we are the ones who should be worried and who should be complaining but, unlike Buhari and the APC, our patience is not running out because we are committed to a peaceful election and we completely reject the option of violence.

On a final note we would like to state clearly and categorically that we will keep faith with the spirit and letter of the Abuja Accord and we plead with well-meaning Nigerians to urge General Buhari and the APC to do the same.

I thank you for your attention and I will be willing to take some questions.