

**THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN POLITICAL MOBILIZATION:
A CASE STUDY OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP) IN BIDA
EMIRATE OF NIGER STATE, 2011-2015**

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ZARIA, NIGERIA**

MAY, 2018

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE
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ZARIA, NIGERIA**

MAY 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation entitled “**the Role of Political Parties in Political Mobilization Education: A Case Study of the People’s Democratic Party in Bida Emirate of Niger State, 2011-2015,**” has been carried out by me in the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria under the supervision of Dr. Audu Jacob and Dr. Moveh D. Omeiza. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other institution to the best of my knowledge.

Ahmad Mohammad Yabagi
Name of student

Signature

Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled “THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN POLITICAL MOBILIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE PEOPLE’S DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN BIDA EMIRATE OF NIGER STATE, 2011 – 2015 by AHMAD MOHAMMAD YABAGI meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Masters in Political Science of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Dr. Moveh D. Omeiza (Signature)_____ Date_____
Member, Supervisory Committee

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Dean, School of Post Graduate Studies

DEDICATION

To God Almighty and to the loving memory of my late parents: Alhaji Mohammad Jiya and Mallama Adama Shehu who laboured to see me educated in life.

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I thank all that added value to this Dissertation whether in monetary or academic form.

My first gratitude goes to Allah (SWT) for Life and good Health. I wish to put on record the significant influence of some individuals towards the completion of this study.

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I pray Almighty Allah to reward them all in abundance (Amen).

Abstract

This study assessed the role as well as the strategies of political mobilization employed by the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) which accounted for its electoral victories in Bida Emirate in Niger state between 2011 and 2015. The study was carried out to generate requisite empirical data on the nexus between political mobilization by the PDP and how it influenced political participation of citizens at that level which led to its electoral victory ward as well as local government levels in the study area within the period under review. In doing this, the Structural functionalist theory was suitably adopted as a framework for analysis in the study. The study utilized both secondary and secondary sources of data to generate requisite data needed for the study. For the primary data, the study employed the administration of structured questionnaires to target respondents as well as personal in-depth interview of party officials, while secondary sources of data was generated from existing literature related to the subject matter of the topic. The data generated from primary and secondary sources were analyzed using qualitative method of analysis. The study revealed that PDP was effective in the mobilization of prospective voters in Bida Emirate using the instrumentality of rallies, town hall discussions, distribution of leaflets, magazines, radio jingles and television advertorials, use of town criers as well financial inducement of voters on election days etc. Based on these findings, the study recommends that the PDP should also utilize non-election periods to drive political mobilization of the electorate in order to avoid the 'last minute rush' which usually characterize PDP's political campaign mobilization efforts in the run-up to elections in the study area; the study also recommends the maximal use of internet blogs and social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, YouTube etc. to mobilize prospective electorate in support of the part to complement the traditional instruments of mobilization presently employed by the party such as television advertorials, radio jingles etc. more so, extensive house-to-house visitation and mobilization tours should be carried out by PDP officials and supporters to enhance their reach and to create more political friends from every household in the study area.

Key words: Political Mobilization, Peoples' Democratic Party, Structural functionalist theory, Elections, Electorates.

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ACRONYMS

APP	=	All Peoples' Party
APC	=	All Progressive Congress
ANPP	=	All Nigeria People Party
APGA	=	All Progressive Grand Alliance
AC	=	Action Congress
AFRC	=	Armed Forces Ruling Council
AD	=	Alliance for Democracy
CAN	=	Action Congress of Nigeria
AG	=	Action Group
CNC	=	Congress for National Consensus
CPC	=	Congress of Progressive Change
CNPP	=	Conference of Nigeria Political Party
DPN	=	Democratic Party of Nigeria
DSIEC	=	Delta State Independent Electoral Commission.
FEDECO	=	Federal Electoral Commission
GNPP	=	Great Nigeria Peoples Party
GDM	=	Grass root Democratic Movement
INEC	=	Independent National Electoral Commission
IDPs	=	Internally Displaced Persons
IT	=	Information Technology
ING	=	Interim National Government
MAMSER	=	Mass Mobilization for Social and Economic Recovery
MWDF	=	Mid-Western Democratic Front
NEPU	=	Northern Element Progressive Union
NCBWA	=	National Congress of British West Africa
NNDP	=	Nigeria National Democratic Party
NYM	=	Nigeria Youth Movement
NCNC	=	National Council of Nigeria Citizen
NPC	=	Northern People Congress

NDC	=	Niger Delta Congress
NPN	=	National Party of Nigeria
NPF	=	Northern Progressive Front
NPP	=	Nigeria Peoples party
NAP	=	Nigerian Advanced Party
NRC	=	National Republican Convention
NCPN	=	National Centre Party of Nigeria
NIALS	=	Nigeria Institute of Advanced Legal Studies
NGF	=	Nigeria Governors Forum
PRP	=	Peoples Redemption Party
P D P	=	People Democratic Party
PDM	=	People Democratic Movement
SDP	=	Social Democratic party
SMS	=	Short Message Services
UMCB	=	United Middle Belt Congress
UNIP	=	United Independent Party
UPN	=	Unity Party of Nigeria
UNCP	=	United Nigeria Congress Party
UYN	=	Union of Young Nigerians

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Political Mobilization: Political mobilization in relation to party politics can be explained as the activities of a political party aimed at keeping the electorates well informed of their civic responsibilities (duties) on one hand, and party programmes on the other hand. In other words political mobilization is the process of sensitizing the citizenry, increasing their cognition and political consciousness with a view to engender active participation of the citizenry in the political process.

A political party in the context of PDP: in Bida Emirate can be define as organization or body of men united for the purpose of promoting their interest and principle with the aim of winning election at all levels of governance, and these aims are pursued in line with the party national objective.

Bida Emirate: Bida emirate is a geographical location in zone ‘A’ senatorial district of Niger State that comprises six local government areas. The emirate is headed by the EtsuNupe who is the traditional leader of all Nupe-speaking people at home and in diaspora. Its inhabitants are majorly Nupe.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

One central function every political party does not treat with triviality is the function of political mobilization. This is so because every political party is out to win election and form a government. Whether small or large, a political party has the need to win the mind of the electorates to its fold in order to form a new government or unseat an existing one. To champion such a need, a political party needs to use techniques of political mobilization. This singular goal is achievable through active and dedicated participation in democratic politics through party system.

The successive electoral victories of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) since its inception in 1999 until 2015, is attributable to certain factors, among which is political mobilization. Although these victories, in most cases, were held in controversies and were often characterized by violence and bloodshed, such victories did not occur by chance. The democratic political arena was quite conducive for the ruling party of that time.

From generic perspective, politics could be described as “the process of organizing how we live together in a society”. In a democracy, every citizen can participate in this process by freely accessing information about political issues, by openly expressing their own opinion on public affairs, by formulating expectations, proposals or requirement without fear of repression, by voting in elections, by engaging in civil society organizations or political parties, or standing up as a candidate in democratic election (Yaqub 2002).

In this way, democracy is the “government of the people, by the people and for the people”, in the famous words of Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States of America from 1861-1865. To fully meet all the requirements of a government of the

people by the people and for the people, political activities in a democracy must satisfy certain conditions. These conditions include:

- a. Ideas and values that set the goals and standards of political organization
- b. Freedom, justice and solidarity are such principles that can guide the political organization of any society
- c. Social organization that collects interests, aggregates and communicates them to the political and governmental institution, political parties, business and workers associations as well as other non-governmental organizations of the civil society are such organizations that collect and aggregate social interests.
- d. Institutions that collect proposals for organization of society and then present, discourse, decide and implement them parliaments and governments which normally rely on political parties are most important institutions of politics in a democracy state.
- e. Active citizens who take part in political discussion with ideas, demands and expectations, and actively contribute to the functioning of political institutions.

Democratic polities demand that most citizens be involved actively in political activities. However, this is not possible in a direct democracy where every citizen participates directly in political decision-making process. This impossibility which is a result of population explosion and complexity of modern society ushers in the modern style of democracy which is the politics of representation. This is why a modern democracy needs institutions and organizations that represent the will and the interest of the citizens as authentically as possible. These institutions and organizations can be political parties, associations, formal groups, informal groups or non- governmental organizations. In particular the political parties carry out such a representative functions they offer to the citizens the possibility to influence politics and political decisions. They are no doubt important instruments and institution of politics (Diamond, 1996).

Through its numerous functions, political parties are able to create platform for the formation of new government by presenting candidates to be elected, they mobilize voters to champion that goal and affect a gender of government.

Without political parties, a modern representative democracy is not conceivable. They articulate and integrate different interests, visions and opinions. They are also the main source for the recruitment of political elites. In order to participate successfully in election, the political parties have to be the voice of broad sectors of the society. Associations, social organizations or citizens' initiatives normally concentrate more on individual and a limited scope of issues. Political parties, in contrast, are expected to take positions on all does questions and topics that are related to public other and the organization of society (Duverger, 1959).

The whole essence of political party is not all about political decisions and actions or to satisfy any abstract ideals, but to enlighten the citizen terms of voting behaviors, mass participation and education. Modern democratic practice worldwide assumes that political parties derive their mandate from the people and the major goal of political party is to sensitize them about their activities. People accept any political party based on their enlightenment to the public (Duverger, 1959).

The birth of People Democratic Party (PDP) dates back to 1998 following preparations to usher in the Fourth Republic. From its inception in 1999 to 2014, PDP won every presidential election although in most cases its electoral victories were held in controversial and disputed circumstances and were often characterized by violence and bloodshed. These electoral victories did not come by chance. A number of factors were responsible. The party's political mobilization strategies could be one of them.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Prominent political parties that dominate the political sphere of their countries mostly mobilize voters to their fold when elections approach. Being the dominant party in Nigeria between 1999 and 2014 the People's Democratic Party (PDP) won all presidential and most gubernatorial elections. These electoral victories were attributable to a number of factors among which is political mobilization. The level as well as the strategies employed by the PDP in mobilizing the electorates which has largely been responsible for its electoral victories especially in sub-urban areas has become a subject of interrogation by researchers and analysts ostensibly to generate requisite empirical data on the nexus between political mobilization by the PDP and how it influences political participation of citizens at that level. Hence this study assesses the role as well as the strategies of political mobilization by the PDP which accounted for its victories in Bida Emirate in Niger state between 2011 and 2015.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To identify the role of PDP in the political mobilization of the electorate in Bida Emirate in Niger State between 2011 and 2015.
- ii. To examine the strategies adopted by the PDP in political mobilization of electorate in Bida Emirate of Niger State between 2011 and 2015
- iii. To identify the challenges faced by PDP in its political mobilization of electorate in Bida Emirate of Niger State between 2011 and 2015

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What is the role of PDP in political mobilization in Bida Emirate between 2011 and 2015?

- ii. What political mobilization strategies did PDP adopt in its mobilization of electorates between 2011 and 2015?
- iii. What challenges did PDP face in political mobilization in the study area between 2011 and 2015?

1.5 Research Assumptions

- i. PDP was active and consistent in its political mobilization in Bida Emirate
- ii. PDP's political mobilization technique in Bida Emirate was effective.

1.6 Justification/Significance of the Study

Most of the extant literature reviewed in this study especially those that deal with agents of political mobilization such as Rainey (2014), Glass (1986), Almond and Verba (1986), Becker (1975), Almond and Powell (1966) and Almond and Colman (1960) as well as those of political mobilization such as Stephen (2002), Alkali (2014), Lawrence (2011) and Duschinsky (2006) all fail to review the roles and strategies adopted by the Peoples' Democratic party in Bida Emirate between 2011 and 2015. This therefore constitutes our point of departure from the existing literature in attempting to put forward a modest contribution to body of knowledge on the role as well as the strategies employed by the PDP in political mobilization in the study area within the period under study.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this study is to examine the role of PDP in political mobilization in Bida emirate of Niger State between 2011 and 2015. The rationale for the choice of Bida emirate as the case study was informed by the fact that this researcher has an extensive knowledge of the research area and is also proficient in the language that is widely spoken in the area under study (i.e Nupe). Hence it would be easy for the researcher to elicit relevant data for the study.

Secondly, the choice of Bida emirate was motivated by practical dominance of the People Democratic Party (PDP) in the area.

The choice of time-frame (i.e 2011 – 2015) was borne out of the observed high level of political activities in form of awareness and interest of the masses in partisan politics in Bida emirate of Niger State.

Although, this researcher has encountered challenges in accessing respondents in the study area for the purpose of questionnaire administration as well as interviews, the weakest point of this research is that it is a single case study in addition to the fact that the study area covers just two federal constituencies out of 360 in the country, hence it is not representative enough to allow for scientific generalization. Not only that, one variable was examined, political mobilization, ignoring other importance intervening variables that could have accounted for PDP's victory in the period under study and the absence of which probably accounted for its resounding defeat in the 2015 general elections.

1.8 Outline of Chapters

This study is arranged into five chapters. The first chapter contains the general introduction including statement of research problem and objectives of the study, etc. Chapter two covers the literature review and theoretical frame work. The third chapter constitutes the research methodology. Chapter four focuses on data presentation and analysis. The fifth chapter deals with summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

The concept of political party is divergent in meaning. Different scholars such as Ball (1988), Yaqub (2002), Curtis (2008) and Burke (1920) have given different meanings to the concept of political party.

In conceptualizing political party, scholars have come up with myriad of definitions which tend more to strengthen the nature and role of political parties in democracy (and which also reflect the major aim of political parties) especially in terms of the electioneering process and control of governmental powers. It is in this context that Ball (1988:73) cited in (Sunday and Wuam, 2010:22) has noted that political parties may be principally defined by their common aim of seeking political power either singly or in co-operation with other political parties (see also Yaqub 2002:122).

According to Curtis (Johari, 2008:423), it is notoriously difficult to define accurately political party. He gave his reason based on the view of the liberal and Marxist writers who differ sharply on the concept of political party. He did not restrict the differences of view to liberal and Marxist writers alone but added that even the views of the English liberals differ from that of their American counterparts on the concept of political party. According to him, the most celebrated view among the English leaders and writers is that of Edmund Burke (1920) quoted in Chikendu (2003:42) who holds that a political party is “a body of men united for promoting the national interest on some particular principles in which they are all agreed”.

However, American view on the meaning of a political party is different in the sense that it is taken as an instrument of catching power, nothing more and nothing less. No significance is attached to the key point of ‘principle’ of national or public importance in which ‘all are agreed’. To Americans, a political party is not more than a mere platform

or a machinery for taking part in the struggle for power. It is seen as a device for catching electorate's vote; it is an agency to mobilize people's support at the time of elections; it is an instrument for the aggregation of interest that demand their vociferous articulation (Johari, 2011). It is from the foregoing that American Political Scientists deduced their definition of a political party thus: "we define a political party generally as the articulate organization of society's active political agents, those who are concerned with the control of government powers and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views. As such, it is seen as the great intermediary that links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community" (1976:396).

American political scientists' definition of political party hardly creates distinction between it and a pressure group and even an interest group. But an ideal political party is far beyond a pressure or interest group. A specific interest may constitute the foundation of a political party. Thus, differences between or among political parties may be brought on the basis of specific interest. In the interpretation of Grotty (2005), a political party is a formally organized group that performs the functions of educating the public...that recruits and promotes individuals for public office and that provides a comprehensive linkage function between the public and governmental decision-maker. Political parties are special form of social organization. They should not be confused with association, federation, pressure group, social clubs or interest groups. A well-known definition of political party comes from the American political scientist Antony Downs, who wrote: "a political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election" (1971:137).

Though these definitions demonstrate some differences in the understanding of political parties, they all emphasize the participation in elections and the interest to gain

public offices and mandates as essential elements that characterize political parties in a given society (Johari, 2008:424).

According to Curtis, in (Johari 2009:424) definition of political party has three essential ingredients. First, it is an organization of persons who are more or less agreed on some important matters of public policy. Second, it is an organization whose main aim is to take part in the struggle for power. And third, it is a body whose members make concerted efforts to implement their policies and programmes by constitutional (democratic) means. Curtis says: “Essentially, a party signifies a group of people who hold certain political beliefs in common or who are prepared to support the party candidates, work together for electoral victory, attain and maintain political power”. Although Curtis makes no specific mention of the use of constitutional means, it is inherent in it. It is for this reason that the American theorists decline to accept communist party as a political party in view of the fact that the communists have no reservations in making use of violent and bloody methods. In their view, a political party is distinguishable from other groups by its dedication to influencing policy-making on a broad scale, preferably by controlling government and by its acceptance of institutionalized rules of electoral conduct, more specifically by capturing public office through peaceful means.

Western countries’ definition of political party digs deeper more in functional than in structural terms with two core elements namely, that a political party helps to (a) structure electoral choice and (b) conduct the business of government under a party label or banner. A party needs not perform both functions but generally all parties tend to perform both functions, more or less. It also follows from the functional definition that the significance of political parties for liberal democracy is that under conditions of competitive party and electoral politics, a political party (i) presents the electorate with a

choice of candidates and programmes from which to choose; and in doing so (ii) helps to decide which party or coalition of parties should govern for a fixed number of years.

Thus, in a liberal democratic system, parties provide the medium through which the executive and the legislators are held accountable by the electorates in periodic elections under a multiparty electoral politics. This is of course the theory. The reality is and can be much different because of the constricting effect on the choice of the electorate of

- (i) contradictions such as oligarchic and undemocratic tendencies in political party organization; and
- (ii) market imperfections and structural distortion in the economic organization of the liberal democratic state

A political party strives to influence the formation of political opinion and aims to have a general political impact. The active influence of political opinion making is aimed at a longer period of time as well as a wider region and should not be concentrated on a local level or a single issue. A party is an association of citizens holding individual membership, and shall have a minimum number of members, so that the seriousness of its targets and the prospect of success remain clear.

A political party has to demonstrate the will to consistently take part in the political representation of the people during elections. It therefore distinguishes itself from unions, non-governmental organizations and other initiatives that does not want to carry any political responsibilities for larger sector, but only try to have selective influence, and that do not participate in elections. A party has to be an independent and permanent organization; it shall not be formed only for one election and cease to exist afterward. A party must be willing to appear in public. A political party does not necessarily need to win a seat in parliament, but it has to fulfill all the other criteria.

Agbaje (1999:195) quoting Wilson (1992:138) “that a political party is a group that seeks to elect candidates to public office by supplying them with a label which is a party identification by which they are known to electorate”. In his view, a political party should have three clear elements:

- (1) A label in the minds of its members and the electorate
- (2) An organization campaigning for candidates seeking elective office
- (3) Leaders that control legislative and executive arms of government.

When we consider popular attitudes of political parties around the world, many of them reflect strongly negative views held by the general public. Popular views on parties range from identifying parties as power-hungry corrupt either excessively partisan or on the other extreme, lacking in ideology; male-dominated, elite-dominated, lacking internal democracy, lacking meaningful connection to the grass root, responsible for gridlock and obstructing the smooth functioning of government and in some cases, violent and dangerous (Carothers, 2006 cited in (Deme, 2013:2).

A number of these views have not only been held by the general public but also such widely respected leaders as George Washington, who once said, “political parties... are likely in the course of time and thing, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominions” (Deme, 2013:2). Political parties, despite all these drawbacks fulfill a number of vital functions that help a multi-party democratic system function.

2.1 Functions of Political Parties

Political parties perform a number of functions in any political system. Some will be mentioned here to buttress their expected contribution(s) to the achievement of a

democratically stable polity. Political parties are principal instruments for contesting elections, the election being staged to select candidate as well as parties to exercise political power (authority) (Yaqub, 2002). It can be recalled that in democratic theory analyzed by Schumpeter, it is stressed that the foregoing function is a requirement for a party system to be tagged truly democratic (Johari, 2009).

Parties are equally expected to serve as instruments of political education, interest aggregation, political socialization and political recruitment. Parties are institutions that help organize, move or affect agenda of government, etc. Functions specifically performed by political parties include educating, articulating and aggregating issues that the parties feel the public is not well informed about or about which they want to make their position clear. In the words of Yaqub (2002) “it is the basis of performing these roles that a political party can stand a good chance of displacing and thereby taking power from a political party currently in the saddle.”

In the course of preparing to capture the state power and exercise authority in the future, the party must devote its attention to recruiting and training people to occupy political positions in the state.

They thus, articulate alternative policies, while serving as legal opposition to the party in power. By performing these functions, it is expected that parties will reduce the incidents of anti-nation building factors like ethnic chauvinism, bigotry and other “communal and cultural diverse countries like Nigeria” (Yaqub, 2002). Yaqub warns further that if such parties do not perform their democratic functions, it would not be possible, for instance, to recruit a broad section of the people of the country concerned into the party, nor, as a result, would it be capable of mobilizing and deploying resources to obtain majority votes in support of their programmes

In socialist states, political party is one of the important organs of mobilizing the people in favour of government policies. In Liberal democratic states, parties that are not in support of government policies use the same method to mobilize the people against any policy (Akinbode, 2008: 199). It is an avenue for changing government. In a cabinet system of government, the party that wins the majority of votes is asked to form government and the party that fails to win forms the opposition. Besides, in the presidential system of government, the candidate that wins the highest number of votes in the general election is elected the president. A political party that wins in the general election seeks to implement policies and programmes stated in the manifestoes and generally provide national direction of the affairs of the country.

Political parties also help to mobilize people to vote on election day. The hope is that the more people that are involved in helping with the election, the more interest there will be in the outcome, which should increase voter turnout. The ultimate goal is to get the person the party supports to win an election.

While political parties do end up endorsing or supporting candidate, they do so because those people share very similar ideals and political positions of the entire party. Thus, another function of political parties is to present alternative policies to the electorate. To participate successfully in the political process and contribute to the consolidation of democracy, political parties have to demonstrate certain capacities. In Political Science, these capacities are called “function”. They articulate and aggregate social interests. Parties express public expectations and demands of social groupings to the political system (function of political opinion-making). They recruit political personnel and nurture future generation of politicians; they select persons and present them as candidates for elections (function of selection (google.com.ng/political parties /2015). They develop political programmes; parties integrate various interests into a general political project and

transform it into a political programme, for which they campaign to receive the consent and support of a majority (function of integration). They promote the political socialization and participation of citizens; parties create a link between citizens and the political system; they enable political participation of individuals and groupings with the prospect of success (function of socialization and participation). They organize the government. They participate in elections to occupy political offices. Normally in party democracies, good parties of government authorities arise from political parties (function of exercising political power). They contribute to the legitimacy of the political system. In establishing the connection between citizens, social grouping and the political system, the parties contribute in anchoring the political order in the consciousness of the citizens and in social forces (function of legitimating).

In modern societies, the process of political opinion-building is a polymorphic process. The mass media, social organizations, associations, citizen's initiatives, religious communities and the modern forms of electronic communication via internet, SMS, Face book, Twitter and other virtual communities, exercise enormous influence on political opinions and political decision.

Nevertheless, political parties are still the principal agents to aggregate public opinion and represent it in the political decision making process-and they finally also take the political decisions through their representatives in the parliament and government (google.com.ng/political parties / 2015).

By following the work of the parties, perceiving and evaluating its argumentation during political debate, citizens can orient themselves politically through the parties. Furthermore, by engaging with a party, every citizen can exercise some influence on the political decision-making process. Besides its candidates the political programme is the "merchandise" of a party, which it offers to the voters. The party programmes fulfill in

particular, two main functions: on one hand, they shall articulate the interests of the population (parties as “organs” of the people) and on the other hand, they orient and influence the opinions of the citizens (parties as “former” of public will). With regard to the party programme, the voters can evaluate if a party has sufficient sensibility for societal problems and if they are able to propose adequate suggestions for the resolution of problems and challenges.

Opposition parties have the function to criticize the government, control it and put up constructive alternatives. This function is of great significance for a democracy, because without opposition, a government tends to drift towards complacency and presumptuousness and fails to search for alternatives. By fulfilling these functions, political parties are providing important services for the democratically organized society. The Quality of the “delivery”, that is, the way they comply with their functions contributes decisively to the reputation and the potential of the political parties (google.com.ng/political-parties/ 2015).

Johari (2009) identifies eight exclusive functions of a political party thus; the parties unite, simplify and stabilize the political process. They bring together sectional interests, overcome geographical disturbances and provide coherence to sometimes divisive governmental structures. For instance, the American Democratic Party provides a bridge to bring together the southern conservatives and northern liberals; German Democratic Party bridges the gulf between the Protestants and the Catholics in the country. In federal systems, all political parties emphasize the writing of different government structures. In this way, political parties tend to provide the highest common denominator.

Political parties struggle for capturing power; they strive to form order out of chaos. They seek to widen the interests they represent and harmonize these interests with

each other. Though interest articulation is performed by pressure groups, the work of interest aggregation is done by the parties. For instance, the Conservative party of Britain, in spite of the nature of its internal organization and distribution of power, depends upon the support of diverse economic, social and geographical sections in English politics. All parties strive to extend the area of their support.

Political parties provide a link between the government and the people. They seek to educate, instruct and activate the electorate. That is, they perform the job of political mobilization, secularization and recruitment. In a liberal democratic system, the parties use means of mass media to give political education to the people. The parties may organize and control some unions or organizations for ‘occupational and social implantation ([google.com.ng/political parties/](http://google.com.ng/political%20parties/) 2015). In a totalitarian system, the party in power works for the mobilization of support by activating the population by means of rallies uniforms, flags and other displays of unity to emphasize the identification of the individual with the political party.

While increasing the scope of political activity and widening the base of popular participation, political parties perform the important function of recruiting political leaders. Many political leaders are recruited through this channel. In political system having weak and ill-organized political parties, power remains in the hands of the elites that are recruited from the traditional groups like hereditary ruling families or military organizations in totalitarian countries where only one party is in power, political recruitment is made from the ranks of the same party. It is only in countries having a liberal-democratic order that competitive party system prevails and political recruitment is made from different political parties.

Political parties present issues; they set values and goals for the society. All parties have philosophical bases, no matter how blurred and no matter how divorced from the

actual political behavior of the party they are. Though American political parties, as Dahl says, have ‘ideological similarity and issue conflict’ they have no disagreement on the fundamental goals of the society (Dahl, 1963). The two parties of Ireland (Fianna Fail and Fine Gael) are prototypes of two parties of United States in respect of ‘ideological similarity and issue conflict’ nature. Single political parties in totalitarian systems set more rigid ideological claim socio-economic equality of all after establishing the ‘dictatorship’ of the proletariat.

Political parties serve as the broker of ideas by selecting a number of issues and focusing attention on them. In a democratic system, revolutionary parties (or those hostile to the established order as such) act not as conciliatory elements to aggregate the largest number of common interest but as focal points of discontent and organized opposition. The compromise needed in democratic political behavior is never acceptable to them. The parties may adhere to the political left, as the communist parties do, or to the right as done by the fascist party in Italy and Nazi party in Germany (in the period before the Second World War), or the Poujadists in France, or to revolutionary nationalism as with Aprisa in Peru, or the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement as in Bolivia. In a non-democratic system, revolutionary parties may not simply be the mechanism through which the political system operates. They may be the real core of the system itself with power being exercised by party leaders rather than by the government officials.

In newer and developing nations of the world where political habits and tradition are yet to grow up, political parties perform the job of political modernization. That is, they strive to give a particular shape to the government, provide the main link between different social and economic groups, constitute the chief agency for political education and socialization, break down traditional barriers and act as the binding force in communities divided by groups based on tribal affiliations, religious denomination or

national origin. The role of the Congress Party in India may be said to be the best example of this kind where the great leaders played a significant role in framing the constitution and then running the administration on the lines of parliamentary democracy

Political parties also perform social welfare functions that may be termed their 'non-political' activities. The parties work for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people during the days of famine, drought, epidemics, wars, etc. They also work for the eradication of social evils like illiteracy, untouchability, ignorance, disease, etc. In Australia, citizens may lead their life from cradle to grave within the frame of organizations linked to a party which include not only trade union and welfare groups but also stamp collecting societies, pigeon clubs and weight-lifting associations.

Viewed thus, we may not endorse the views of Bryce (1976: 128) that political parties "have two main functions- the promotion by argument of their principles and the carrying of decisions," though this part of this statement may be accepted that the main functions of political parties is to offer policies and programmes and translate them into action after being in power. As he says; "in both the motive and regulative force, that keeps them united together, consists in the common wish to give effect to their doctrines by legislation, and in both, moreover, the party leaders have a prospect of winning authority, distinction and emoluments, when their turn comes, in getting or securing for their friends, whatever patronage as may be going" the fact is that writers subscribing to the traditional approach have kept their attention confined to the key role of a political party.

2.2 History and Development of Political Parties in Nigeria

It was not too long that other countries that are practicing electoral democracies copied the idea of political parties. Political parties had spread to eastern European states; an autocratic state like Egypt has the National Democratic Party and Zimbabwe has

African National Union – Patriotic Front, etc. In West Africa, political parties developed as a result of self-improvement associations with the sole aim of influencing colonial government to grant independence to various countries (www.google.com.ng/political-parties/2015).

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was formed in Accra, the Gold Coast, now Ghana, in the early 1920s by Joseph Casey Harford and Dr. Akinbade Savage of Nigeria. The main demand of this body was granting elective principle to various countries. They sent a delegation to London to meet the Foreign Secretary, Lord Milner. The request was turned down and they came back home disappointed. However, the Clifford Constitution of 1922 granted Elective principle to the Legislative Council of Nigeria which was subsequently approved by the new British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Winston Churchill.

Herbert Macaulay's party won the entire three seats reserved for Lagos in the Legislative Council of 1923, 1933 and 1938 respectively. Similar rival political parties emerged on the political scene. These were the People's Union (1923), Union of Young Nigerians (1923), the Nigerian Youth Movement (1937), the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (1944), the Northern Element Progressive Associations (1945), the Northern Element Progress Union (1950), the Action Group (1953), the United Middle Belt Congress (1955), formed through the merger between the Middle Belt League (1950) and the Middle Belt People Party (1953), Borno Youth Movement (1956), the Dynamic Nigeria and the Cameroon (1958), etc. (Adele, 2011:3).

In spite of the limited nature of the 1922 constitution Nigeria has had several parties since that time. These parties have been categorized in terms of first, second, third and fourth generation political parties (Ujoh, 2002). Specifically, the first political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), was a reaction to the introduction of the

elective principle in 1922. The party was formed by Herbert Macaulay and it was to contest for elective positions into the legislative council in Nigeria. In all, four seats were allocated to both Calabar (one) and Lagos (three) in the colony of southern protectorate of Nigeria. (sklar, 1983: 46). Later, the Lagos Youth Movement emerged in 1934 as the second political party to challenge NNDP, because it was not national in outlook. The party changed its name to Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM) in 1938. The party had in its fold prominent Nigerians such as Kofo Abayomi, Nnamdi Azikiwe, H. O. Davies, Obafemi Awolowo, Chief Akintola and Samuel Akinsanya. However, the strength of the NYM declined following the introduction of ethnic and tribal sentiment sequel to the disagreement between Awolowo and Azikiwe over appointments.

The second generation of political parties in Nigeria came in 1941 when Herbert Macaulay formed National Council of Nigeria Citizen (NCNC). The secretary of the party was Nnamdi Azikiwe. Other parties in this period include the Action Groups (AG) formed in 1951 which emerged from a Yoruba socio-cultural Organization, *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* under the leadership of Obafemi Awolowo. In 1957, another political party was formed; Northern People's Congress (NPC) and Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) under *Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa* whose membership was open only to the people of the "Northern Nigeria descent" and was headed by Ahmadu Bello.

The parties were essentially ethno-centric in terms of membership, leadership structure and voting pattern. The parties were rigidly confined to the three structured region of the West (AG), East (NCNC) and North (NPC). However, at this period, there are also parties whose major task was to advance the interest of the minorities. These were the Niger Delta Congress (NDC), the Mid-Western Democratic Front (MWDF), the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), the Northern Progressive Front (NPF) and the United Independent Party (UNIP). (As a result of the crack between the National Leader

of the AG, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and his deputy, Chief S. L. Akintola, a splinter party- Nigeria National Democratic Party emerged from the AG. This posed a challenge to the AG in the western region.

The third generation of political parties in Nigeria came on board after the lifting of the ban on partisan politics in Nigeria in 1978. In all, 18 political associations applied to the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) for registration (Oyediran, 1982). However, after the verification of the claims of the political associations, only five of them were registered. These included the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP), Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) and the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP). These parties contested in the 1979 general elections. In 1982, another party, Nigeria Advanced Party (NAP) was also registered by FEDECO. Thus instead of five political parties that contested in 1979 general elections, six contested in 1983.

In the aborted third Republic and in search of relationship between party formation and national cohesion in Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babangida foisted a two- party system on Nigeria in 1989. These were the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC). This was after all the political parties aspiring to register were disbanded. They were all accused of being replicas of the Second Republic political parties. The end of the two-party system in Nigeria came as a result of the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election. The problems associated with the annulment led to the demise of the third Republic.

Thereafter, the mantle of leadership fell on Chief Ernest Shonekan who was named the head of the interim National Government (ING). He allegedly resigned for late General Sani Abacha to take over in 1993. In General Sani Abacha's transition programme, five political parties were registered. They were the Democratic Party of

Nigeria (DPN), Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM), National Centre party of Nigeria (NCPN), Congress for National Consensus (CNC) and United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP). The sudden demise of General Sani Abacha on June 8, 1998 signaled the end of the five political parties.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the opportunity came for a return to civil rule; Nigerians were full of high hopes and commitments to ensure it works. Given their resilience and determination to enthrone democracy coupled with host of international pressure for democratization, his successor, General Abdulsalam Abubakar had to institute what has remained the shortest transition to civil rule programme in the annals of Nigeria's history. He established a new electoral body known as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to regulate and organize elections in various offices of Federal, State and local government level within a relatively short period.

General Abdulsalam Abubakar's transition programme led to the registration of three political parties, the People Democratic Party (PDP), the All People's Party (APP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD). Nine political associations were granted provisional registration by INEC to contest the December 5, 1998 local government elections. This was made possible with the provision in the electoral guideline which says for any association to qualify for permanent registration, such must win no less than 5 percent of total votes in at least 24 of the 36 states of the federation. Therefore, only the three mentioned above met the criteria and they were duly registered to contest the 1999 general election. Subsequently, more political parties were registered particularly after the legal victory won by the Conference of Nigeria Political Parties (CNPP). As at the last election in 2015 there are fifty-four registered political parties in Nigeria (INEC, 2015).

2.3 Political Mobilization

Mobilization is the process of bringing persons together for a common goal. The common goal could be social, political or religious. There are therefore, differences between social mobilization, political mobilization and any other form of mobilization for whatever purpose. It is on this premise that the Political Bureau in its Report (1987:202) implied a definition of (political) mobilization thus: “simply stated, to mobilize a people is to increase their level of awareness of certain set objectives with a view to achieving those objectives”. Among other things, the report (1987:209) went further to state that: “..... mobilization must be seen in terms of involving the people in taking part actually and freely in discussions and decisions affecting their general welfare It should aim at increasing people’s level of awareness or cognition of political and other issues so that they can apply their energies positively and participate actively in the social and political life of the country”.

Along this line, Nwosu and Chukwu–Umezurike (1989:5) explained mobilization as a process that involves bringing people together and moving them to actions and also making them submit themselves strongly to the achievement of any social good. From the foregoing we can take political mobilization to mean the process of sensitizing the citizenry, increasing their cognition and political consciousness. In other words, political mobilization could be taken to mean the determined process of emotionally bringing people together and making them to internalize communality of societal values, attitudes and orientation in achieving particularistically specified holistic objective. This explains why Mannheim (in Eiesentadt, (1977: 388) argued that political mobilization suggests “an image of large numbers of people moving away from life of local isolation, traditionalism and political apathy and moving into different life, including potential and actual involvement in mass politics”.

On the same token, Mustapha's (1989:6) definition of political mobilization becomes clearly discernible because according to him, "mobilization means the simultaneous engagement of large masses of people in activities that have a predominantly social or collectual objective". For Deutsch (1961:494) mobilization is "the process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior". And in what appears to be a near-symmetrical orientation, Huntington (1968:33) opined that "(political) mobilization means a change in the attitudes, values and expectations of people from those associated with the traditional world it is a consequence of literacy, education, increased communication, mass media exposure and urbanization".

Mobilization according to the MAMSER Handbook (1987:10) is to raise our individual and collective national consciousness and enable us dream great dream's and attain lofty goals; to seek to attain what is noble in human nature, to place the highest value and respect the dignity of human life, to rediscover the meaning of dirty and to accept responsibility; to pursue homes endeavors and to take pride in personal advance only through dedication and hard workto return to those times not so many years ago when everyone accepted that the community last (MAMSER, 1987:10).

The import of the above is clearly discernible from the position of Imo state chapter of MAMSER. As shown in the Handbook on MAMSER (1988:11) mobilization is taken to mean "a process of awakening the consciousness of people as to the resources at their disposal and also motivating them to utilize the resources collectively for an overall improvement of their living conditionit is a re-orientation and organization exercise which instills discipline, raise awareness and thereby unfold their creative, productive and innovative alibis to transform the available natural resources in to goods and services. Cameroun (1974:138) sees political mobilization as the organizational penetration of human groupings of various proportions.

Political mobilization is an important element of contemporary democracy. It is generally assumed that within a democratic political system, citizens should have sufficient opportunities to communicate their preferences toward political decision-makers of equal importance however, is the mobilization aspects. Citizens have to be mobilized and recruited in order to be able to participate in political process. With emergence of the internet, various authors, parties and organizations saw new possibilities for mobilizing citizens for political gains (Akindele, 2004).

Political parties in Nigeria mobilize electorates to the fold of their political ideology, philosophy and enclave. However, the widespread, degree and efficiency of the parties are diverse in their efforts to mobilize electorates politically-some are more active than others. In the Fourth Republic (1999) new political parties emerged. The aims of these parties were to mobilize people to become well-informed about their activities, to mobilize people to support them, to make them identify with their manifestos and give them votes at the polls to win election.

All parties such the People Democracy Party (PDP), All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), the Alliance for Democracy (AD) were involved in political mobilization in the Fourth Republic. However, the style, degree and dedication of each party in its involvement in political mobilization vary. The parties adopted many strategies in mobilizing people to support their activities which gave some of the parties' success at the polls. The parties with less mobilization strength and strategy lost in the election (Aijrhass, 2014).

Among the strategies adopted by the parties are modern technologies, the mass media, campaigns and rallies. Campaigns were discovered to be the most effective strategy for mobilizing electorates in the Fourth Republic. Through the medium, party leaders address rallies and educate them on their programmes and their responsibilities. Radio and Television stations were used to air programmes and political

jingles. Newspaper pages were filled with political advertisements through the campaign period. All the strategies worked out very well and were given all necessary support and encouragement in the Fourth Republic.

Social media and the internet have made mass mobilization easier to organize and disseminate ideas. In the Fourth Republic, these were used to reach out to the electorates. The internet has grown in political importance and has played a significant role in many mass mobilization efforts. According to Talcott Parsons (1962) all political parties serve as political mobilization agencies. This function is not only performed by political parties in liberal democratic systems but also in authoritarian regimes. How a party performs this function differs from one political system to another. In a political system with a participant political culture, emphasis will be on seeking consensus among coalition groups and promoting alternative candidates and issues attractive to larger segments of the voting population.

As observed by Sklar in subject-oriented political culture, greater attention would be given to the post policy –making phase, the mobilization of support for office holders and decisions once made (Sklar, 1963). Exerting of well- concentrated campaign by the Alliance for Democracy (AD) in Lagos state, gave it an early edge over other political parties and resulted in its firm grip of the state ever after its transmutation and metamorphosis into Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). In other states however, the political performance of the party is very poor after the polls. This is practically attributable to effective mobilization strategies in Lagos and the states where its political gains were poor is attributable to poor or ineffective political mobilization strategies (Olugbade, 2013).

When the party metamorphosed into ACN and sought a vigorous inward in to the South –Western state, it intensified its mobilization strategies and after the 2011 general

election, it captured majority of states in both gubernatorial and National Assembly elections. The party also won most of the state House of Assembly election. All these victories could be attributed to the party's vigorous political mobilization strategies (Olugbade, 2013).

APGA's dominance of the political sphere of Anambra state is equally attributable to its concentration of its political mobilization strategies in the state. From its inception, the party has given presidential election a single shot only and since then, it reduced itself to a single state party. Like the ACN in Lagos which has now metamorphosed into APC, APGA can extend its political tendrils to other states through same effective political mobilization strategies it adopts in Anambra state (Olugbade, 2013).

From the aforementioned, it can be rightly deduced that a political party's ability to win and consolidate electoral victory as well as its extension of its political philosophy and manifesto, depends largely on its ability to effectively mobilize electorates to the folds of its political ideology in a given political environment. Olusegun Mimiko's first tenure as well as early stage of his second term was spent on the platform of the labour party; the party occupied the centre stage in the political ring of Ondo state until Mimiko switched party and joined People Democratic Party (PDP). The Labour party was victorious in the two gubernatorial elections because of effectiveness of its political mobilization strategies. In other states however labour party exists only in name. Its activities and structure are weak and dominated by stronger parties in such states. Alkali (2014) attributes political party's inability to extend its mobilization efforts to further areas than its strong-hold to shortage of resources, lack of structure and committed human resources. He added willingness of the people to identify with a particular political party (Aijrhass, 2014).

In conclusion, in their attempt to define and explain political mobilization, Duestch and Huntington were too Eurocentric for seeing political mobilization as a process of

changing the attitudes, values, and expectation of people in the traditional world. While in reality political mobilization is all about motivating people towards a particular course of action happening in all societies whether traditional or modern.

Nittle's definition of political mobilization lacks direction and specification, while Etzioni's definition was too broad. Mannheim, sees political mobilization as an image of large number of people moving away from life of social isolation, traditionalism and political apathy into potential and actual involvement in mass politics. This definition is also Eurocentric and full of analytical confusions, presenting political mobilization like an attempt to live one area to another. Definitions of Mustapha, MAMSER, Nwosu, Akindele, and Political Bureau, however, gives a more comprehensive picture of political mobilization which explains it without regard to where ever it is taking place (whether in traditional or modern societies). Political mobilization involves convincing people into taking certain actions to achieve a particular goal, aim, objectives which is of interest to their society.

2.4 Agents of Political Mobilization

Political mobilization is engendered by a numbers of factors. These factors are otherwise referred to as agents of political socialization due to the overwhelming influence they exert in shaping peoples' political opinions and actions. Some of these agents include: Family, Mass media, Peer groups, School, Religion, Political parties etc., (Rainey, 2014).

- i. **Family:** Glass (1986) recognizes family as a primary influence in the development of a child's political orientation, mainly due to constant relationship between parents and child. Family is the first agent of socialization. Mothers and fathers, siblings and grandparents, plus members of an extended family, all teach a child

what he or she needs to know especially with regards to politics and the role of citizens in the nation's political process.

- ii. **Schools:** perhaps the most influential of all agents, after the family, schools are a crucial agent of political socialization, as they teach the knowledge necessary for political participation. Students learn civics, history, geography, and how the political system works. Schooling is also important in that the education it provides has a profound effect on adult political awareness and participation. The more educated man or woman according to Almond and Verba (1986) has more political information, has a greater number of opinion on political issues, is more likely to engage in political discussion with a wider range of people and is more efficacious than the less educated. This is because an educated population is more aware of the way in which scarce national resources are being utilized and distributed, hence the likelihood of greater dissatisfaction, frustration and anger at their under-utilization and mal-distribution.
- iii. **Media:** Becker (1975) argues that the media functions as a political information-giver to adolescents and young children. Information they say is power; the media avails the populace the requisite information and education to actively participate in the political process. Little wonder different media platforms are used for the purpose of political mobilization. These media platforms could be mainstream electronic and print media or social media platforms or both. According to Almond and Powell (1966)

In addition to providing information about specific and immediate political events, the mass media act over the long run to shape the individuals basic "cognitive map". Certain facts emphasized; other facts are not. Certain symbols are conveyed in an emotive context, and the events juxtaposed with them take on the affective colour. A controlling system of mass media can be a powerful force in shaping political beliefs, and can provide bases of support as important to a totalitarian state as its police force.

Similarly, Almond and Coleman (1960) posits that

Like the schools, mass media are often seen by national governments as agents of transformations and as being able to unite disparate political cultures into a coherent, national political culture. The challenge is to develop patterns of communication, which transcend, rather than coincide with, any divisions or cleavages within the nation.

- iv. **Religion:** Religious tradition can have a strong effect on someone's political views. For example Churches socialize people to accept certain political values, and also teach values such as respect for authority. In most religious countries such as Nigeria, religious institutions such as mosques and Churches are often used as platforms for political mobilization.
- v. **Political Parties:** In democratic societies such as Nigeria, political parties are traditionally expected to play certain socially-beneficial functions such as political leadership recruitment, interest articulation as well as political education and mobilization. This is essential for the democratic sustainability and consolidation especially in nascent democracies.

2.5 PDP and Political Mobilization

The People Democratic Party (PDP) is outstanding in its political mobilization feat. This may be attributable to its financial war chest and its elite's dominance advantage. Also to its advantage is PDP's domination of the national government which paves way for it to use state apparatus and agencies in its mobilization efforts. Its easy access to the national treasury made grassroots mobilization possible. PDP's 2012 constitution as amended is outspoken in its inclusion of political mobilization as one of the distinct functions of its ward executive committee. Part III of its constitution which deals with ward level, lists "mobilizing voters for the party" as function (e) of the eight functions of the ward executive committees (PDP, 2012:17). The party in its application of

the foregoing provision has been participating in the active mobilization of voters at the grassroots and this singular feat has been instrumental to its electoral victories. Grassroots mobilization appears more realistic and ultimately results in garnering cumulative votes from the electorate at the polls. The nationwide spread of PDP's political mobilization, while it reigned as a ruling party, is a product of its free access to national treasury. As the ruling party, PDP dished its hand into the national purse under a guise to sponsor its mobilization exercise (Stephen, 2002). Alkali (2014) added that "only ruling parties in Africa could have a successful nationwide mobilization exercise." This, he said, is a resultant of its managerial role of the national finance.

Strategies used by PDP in mobilizing electorates before and during electioneering are multi-faceted. The ones below are the outstanding mobilization strategies PDP adopted to woo voters to its fold. PDP used and employed several instruments of campaign to mobilize voters to its fold. These instruments include town hall discussions, rallies, campaign advertisements, publishing of magazines and fliers containing campaign messages, door-to-door canvassing of voters and the use of bill boards. All these instruments PDP has combined in its campaign process (Lawrence, 2011).

PDP made wise use of its party symbols for political campaigns especially among the quasi-literate voters. Symbols reflect party identity in contemporary political campaigns especially in Nigeria and symbols are used by political parties and their candidates to make caricature of other candidates, to make fun or entertain electorates during political campaigns. Indeed, in the 2011 general elections campaigns, many political parties and aspirants used symbols extensively to portray their candidature, political party or ideology. Top most of these parties is the People Democratic Party (PDP) (Lawrence, 2011). Personal contact is another instrument of campaign PDP did not treat with jocularity. From grassroots associations, co-operative societies, trade unions and

students unions, PDP vigorously pursued personal contact with its prospective voters on the eve of 2011 general elections. PDP manifesto, philosophy, campaign slogan are other prominent instruments of campaign it employed in its political campaigns (Lawrence, 2011).

PDP's fund-raising techniques include having the candidate call or meet with large donors, campaign sponsors and official launching of campaign where party loyalists and business tycoons make heavy donations. Campaign finance simply means "money for electioneering" (Duschinsky, 2006: 189). However, political parties play crucial role in election campaign in many parts of the world and because it is hard to sometime draw a distinct line between the campaign costs of party organizations and their routine expenses, party funds are sometimes considered as "campaign finances" too.

2.6. Limits of Political Campaign Financing in Nigeria

These finance stipulations and limitations according to Duschinsky (2006) are regularly violated by major political parties, particularly the ruling parties. He added that parties employ underhand tactics to beat these limitations. Stephen (2002) specifically accuses PDP of spending several billions of naira on its campaigns, including its use of cash donations to lure certain powerful political power brokers in to its fold to maximize its electoral gains at the polls. It is accused also of paying voters in return for votes on election days. Duschinsky (2006) refers violation of stipulations campaigns money to "corrupt Campaign" and indicts most ruling parties of campaign fund limitation abuses.

On the donations by individuals to a candidate or party, the electoral Act state that

- (a) No individual or other entity shall donate more than one million (₦ 1,000,000) to any candidate.

Stephen asserts that donation limitation is also violated by parties and accuses business tycoon of funding party's campaign with several billions of naira in return for contracts and undue monopoly when the party forms a new government.

(b) The mass media: the mass media as an instrument of political mobilization in the modern societies involves a whole network of formalized institutions that deal with communication of all types. PDP as a political party was active in using the mass media to mobilize electorates.

In its domination of the election stations with campaign advertisements and jingles, PDP's extension to the private television stations was in complement the full-fledged dominance of the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) which is state –owned. The opposing party tactically barred from accessing the state-owned television station even though the 2010 electoral act demands equality of access and usage of the television station's facilities following payment of the stipulated fee (Arthur, 2012).

The electoral act states thus:

- (2) State apparatus including the media shall not be employed to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at any election.
- (3) Media time shall be allocated equally among the political parties or candidates at similar hours of the day.’’
- (4) At any public electronic media, equally airtime shall be allocated to all political parties or candidates during prime times at similar hours each day, subject to the payment of appropriate fees.’’
- (5) At any public print media, equally coverage and conspicuity shall be allotted to all political parties (Electoral Act, 2010: 30).

Besides PDP's restriction of other political parties from accessing the state media, it also dominates the private media in the number of slots paid for. This, Arthor (2012),

attributes to its huge financial disposition which opposition party does not usually enjoy. Because of its ability to combine video (motion pictures) and audio simultaneously, television is said to be the most effective media out fit for political mobilization. This is so because it enters both for the literate and the illiterate. The literate gets the message in audio because of the understanding of the English Language that is usually used. Those who don't understand the English Language have the opportunity to see what is happening in the motion picture. But because of the requirements to fix a TV set and its connectivity to the television station, it becomes hard to access for ordinary (Arthur, 2012).

The radio stations however fill the gap created by the TV stations because it makes accessibility to all forms of political information easy. All that is required is a transistor radio. Radio stations mostly run their programmes in local languages understood by the majority of the people at grassroots. Politicians are quick at clinging into the radio station to mobilize a whole mass of electorates at the grass roots (Eva and Marta 2009). The newspapers play a good role too in political mobilization of the electorates through pictorial and textual advertisements on their pages targeting special and sensitive pages to pass the political philosophies and manifestoes of parties to the readers. The permeability of newspaper messages to the electorates is constrained by illiteracy of a vast majority of electorates as well as financial restriction to buy a copy of newspaper. Poor readership among Nigerians is another obstruction for newspaper political messages targeting electorates (Eva and Marta 2009).

The magazine seems to be the least mass medium used for political mobilization partly due to its limited widespread unlike newspapers. Again, magazines appear more expensive to buy. They are however more permanent because they are published weekly, bi-weekly, monthly and quarterly. Their beautifully-used colour combinations make them more attractive than the newspapers.

PDP is known for communication of its political messages intended for political mobilization in all of the mass media. It is however more conspicuous on television and newspaper pages (Eva and Marta 2009). This is intensified at the approach of election, usually a few months to the election.

2.6.1 The Internet

With the boost and growing importance of the internet, political parties have taken its advantage to campaign and mobilize electorates online through political communication on their websites. Many political parties, institutions and organizations nowadays invest lots of effort and campaign to be present online. Parties, candidates and organizations have, since a few years, a wide range of opportunities to present themselves and campaign their manifestoes to voters online. Song-in (2007) identify that the internet has become an increasingly important vehicle for political communication. Unlike traditional media (e.g newspaper and television), the internet allows its audience to select and choose the extent of their exposure to political information. Its potential for interaction between audiences and sources, and its wealth of information are all thought to facilitate widespread political change. The internet's unique transmission capability has altered the flow of information throughout society and consequently has impacted the political behaviour of general public.

Eva, Martha and Aina (2009) assert that the internet constitutes a newspaper for political mobilization. It also allows a much decentralized kind of mobilization because anyone with access to the internet can send e-mails or write comments online forum and websites or publish of blogs to motivate people to vote for a certain candidate or to organize in action or activity. The internet promotes collective identity, the ideas that participants are a part of a larger community and that participants share similar concerns.

This collective identity becomes a driving force to mobilize participants for collective action.

Marcus (2011) asserts that internet allows for a quasi-instantaneous transmission of information and it is free from the typical barriers that confine access to the traditional media. The evolution of the new media during the last decade has made it easy to transmit messages in different formats (text, sound and image), further more online communication transcends geographical borders permitting the formation of transnational communities based on shared languages, culture or interests. Due to its network-like and non-hierarchical structure, the internet has been considered as the ideal means of communication for social movements and subaltern groups challenging established power structures.

Marcus (2011) asserts that in Western democracies, it was expected to eradicate the democratic deficits of corporate-dominated media systems, influenced by consumer culture and intertwined with powerful elites. As for authoritarian systems, the World Wide Web (www) promised not only to undermine the State's control on information circulation but also to open up new communication channels for suppressed opposition groups and dissidents. In restricted media environments, online media this act as form for voices not necessarily represented in the mass media and take on the form of subaltern public sphere. By disseminating suppressed information and political critique, they bring more transparency into the acts and decisions of the political elite and facilitates the formation of alternative political opinions. In moments of crisis or intensified political conflict, these alternative public spheres can be expanded temporarily through various forms of citizen journalism, that is, the gathering and distributing of news and information by ordinary citizens as opposed to professional journalists.

The tendency could be observed during the protests in Iran 2009 and Burma 2007. Although the authoritarian rulers had blocked the national and foreign news media's coverage, the demonstrations recorded photos and videos on their mobile phones in order to publish them online, thereby documenting the unfolding events and the violence of the security forces. In Egypt and Tunisia 2011, the exposure of repression through online media resulted in the regime's reluctance to squash the protests in order to avoid alienating international public opinion and political allies.

Marc et al (2010) state that direct face-to face contacts is one of the oldest forms of political mobilization and it is often seen as the effective mobilization mode. Survey research indicates that direct contact with a candidate or a party official and personalized message have a consistent and strong effect on voter turnout and the decision of the voter. However, according to results from research carried out by Marc et al (2010), internet mobilization proved to be at least as effective as face-to-face or telephone contact, given that the marginal cost of sending one more e-mail or subscribing an additional person to a bulletin distribution list is practically zero. Bemett (2003), in particular, suggest that the internet could be beneficial to resource – poor organizations that do not traditionally have access to mass media outlets. ICT helps reduce the participation. ICT offers inexpensive means to disseminate information via activist organizations' websites. Marc et al (2010) in advanced industrial societies, the internet now plays a major role in political communication and various forms of political campaigns, especially with regard to transnational forms of political mobilization, it can be argued that the internet has dramatically changed pre-existing patterns of mobilization and participation. Various authors assume that the use of new technologies could potentially lead to a more intensive and more inclusive form of political communication throughout society (Davis & Owen 1998). It has also been shown that internet use is associated with higher levels of political

engagement. Wayne (2000) also asserts that the internet can impact political activities through mobilization. In fact, the number of grassroots political activists has increased.

2.6.2 The Social Media

The social media consist of Face book, Twitter, YouTube, 2go and Whatsapp etc. Victor, Rebecca and Arthur (2011) explains that social media refers to a new generation of (Web 2.0), internet and web-based application. Social media aims to use the collective and self-organizing intelligence present in a social network – a network which is open to new participants and their specific experiences, knowledge and ideas. Communication with these networks had instant messaging devices (Face book, Twitter and MSN) furthermore; communication is not restricted to text but also includes video and audio streaming (Stamyer, 2009). Wireless technology has resulted in an increased mobility, instant communication and information retrieval regardless of location. The author identifies the four most widely and effectively used social media which are Face book, Twitter You Tube and blogging. The use of social media as an effective vehicle for mobilization and organization can be explained by Manuel Castell's network theory. The theory can be effectively used to explain how the characteristics of social networks can be valuable for political activism through the creation of weak ties, the anonymity provided by the internet and the egalitarian nature of online communication. "Weak ties are useful in providing information and opening up opportunities at a low-cost". The advantage of the net is that it allows the forgoing of the weak ties with strangers in an egalitarian pattern of interaction where social characteristics are less influential in framing or even blocking communication.

The strength of a tie is based on a "Combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie". Social media networks are based on these weak ties-acquaintances

with other people whom one might share common interests or goals with or may have mutual friends. The strength in weak ties lies in their ability to introduce us to new ideas and new information and the internet allows these ties to be forged with incredible speed over vast geographical barriers. Simon (2011) identifies that new social media –YouTube, twitter, face book-along with online bloggers and mobile telephony all played important role in communicating, co-coordinating and channeling this rising tide of opposition and variously managed to by-pass state-controlled national media as their propelled images and ideas of resistance and mass defiance across the Middle East and North Africa. What was striking about that wave of uprising was not only the stunning speed of succession across so many countries but also the different ways in which media and communication had become inextricably infused. Indeed, some have been so bold as to label them as the “Twitter Revolutions” or “Face Book Revolutions” in recognition of the prominent part played by new social media, whether in the co-ordination of mass protests, communication of real-time images and up-to date information, or process of contagion across the Arab region.

It is pertinent to state at this juncture that every input is expected to yield output. As such, political mobilization is an input by a political party and is expected to ultimately yield an output. It remains a fact that voters remain the most initial element and bride of the electoral process. It follows therefore that every effort directed at mobilizing voters will in return, bring about benefits to the party, the candidates and the political process. The mobilization efforts must not be taken for granted or ignored, for the benefits for outweigh the cost the following reasons will suffice:

- (a) The voter will know the power of his vote
- (b) It increases popular and quality participation in all electoral activities

(c) It breeds a culture of self-confidence and responsible behavior among the electorates

(d) It ensures an acceptable election by the citizens and world (Khan O, 2014). Political mobilization places the voter at low risk of material and monetary inducements from corruptible politicians.

Mobilization should target women, men and adolescent who are of voting age. It should more clear that suffrages is universal and encourage active participation in electoral process. The result of this effort is expected to manifest in form of electoral victory at the end. Special mobilization campaigns aimed at women, highlighting the fact that they have the right to vote. It is often appropriate to draft special messages for women voters and to take generational issues into account when doing so (Ujo, 2002). Meetings especially ones geared towards mobilizing women as voters may be organized as necessarily as possible. Arranging child care so women can attend; these sessions may help ensure their success. In post conflict countries in which security remains a problem, safe resource centre should be established where such gatherings come take place. Carefully targeted political mobilization can also help alleviate “double discrimination” which may occur when women are also members of disadvantaged ethnic minorities. Information on the importance of women participation should also target men (Ujo, 2002).

For political mobilization to be successful, parties must ensure that voters are ready, willing and able to participate fully in the election process. Political mobilization is essential in ensuring voters are well- informed and can effectively exercise their voting rights and express their political will on election day. In achieving efficiency in political mobilization campaigns, canvassing and campaigning must start early and continue throughout the election process. Very early in the process, constituents should be informed about voter registration procedure so they have ample time to register. They should be to

how and where to check their respective voter list to ensure their entries are correct. Voters should be informed of the type of election to be held, the polling date and location, when the polling station will be open, and how to cast their ballots. Political mobilization should be done even on Election Day; there should be posters and other material inside the polling stations and even outside the voting booths explaining the process and how to mark the ballots (Ujo, 2002).

Political parties face challenges in their discharge of political mobilization function; these challenges under the smooth mobilization of voters during campaigns. The views expressed by Amda (1979) about political mobilization restraints in Ghana, is equally true of Nigeria. The lack of coordination, the absence of active participation by the voters in the political activities of political parties, as well as on absence of support from the general public, are also due to the poor propaganda machinery for mobilization and inefficient disseminations of information on party manifesto and philosophy . The effective publicity and proper mobilization during the 1978 crisis paid well in view of the massive support and participation, notably by students but also by the general public, including market women. One reason for this is the poor communication system in the country which is a serious barrier to all social and political activities.

Alkali (2014) asserts that “not all participants at campaign rallies are true adherents of the political party organizing the rally”, he went further to say that “some attendants of a political rally are actually spies looking for loopholes for campaign against the organizers of the rally.” This indicates a major setback for campaign aimed at mobilizing voters. According to Arthur (2012), the mass media is elitist in nature and profit-inched; this makes it beyond reach for ordinary citizens seeking political presence at national level. Opposition parties are relatively poor and are seldom capable of affording the media change for adverse placements targeted at mobilizing voters. In the case of state-owned

media houses, Arthur (2012) argued that there is scarcely equality in the access to the media facilities adverts. The opposition parties are tactically barred even though they money for the media charges. Eva, Marta and Aina (2010) assert that many authors have shown that access to the internet is not equal among the population, but is concentrated among young people and more privileged groups in what they call “digital divide”. Some have argued that this leads to an increase in inequality. Those who are already active not only have new channels of influence but also benefits from more requests for participation and other opportunities that the internet offers. Some authors argue that it is mainly by young people who use the Internet for non-political purposes and thus does not lead to more political involvement.

In addition, even in the case of access to political information, there is a risk of segmentation, given that the possibility of focusing the selection of subjects to be accessed reduces plurality. The internet enables individuals with specific interests to select only the information which strengthens their position. This behavior can polarize opinions about certain social conflicts since it radicalize attitudes and impedes contact and deliberation between opposing standpoints. Through the internet interactions can be developed anonymously. In fact this is why the main criticism of new communication patterns lies in the argument of the risk of alienation; individuals can construct alternative virtual lives on the net, which can lead to a sense of disruption or confusion regarding reality. A false assumption made by cyber-utopians is to treat the internet as a universal remedy for all political ills, especially regarding authoritarian regimes. It is important one sees the internet as a “tool without a handle,” “for though it can be seen to process enormous liberating potential, it is harnessing this potential and translating it into political reality that proves it to be far harder to accomplish.

2.7 Origin, Objectives and Structure of the People's Democratic Party (P.D.P)

The PDP was formed in 1998, following the flag-off of the transition programme of the Abdulsalam Abubakar's administration. The party was formed by different groups, including G18, that later metamorphosed into G38, the late Shehu Musa Yar'adua political machine – the People Democratic Movement (PDM). Some simply credit its formation to the northern progressives. What is certain is that various groups constitute the building blocks of the party (Victor, 2008). This made PDP a house for all people of different political and ideological inclinations and background such as the progressives, conservatives, the military, academics and some political heavy weights.

The presence of experienced politicians like Adamu Ciroma, Lawal Kaita, Alex Ekwueme, Solomon Lar and Chuba Okadigbo helped to secure power for the party. The party was also well-funded by top retired military officers and business tycoons.

The PDP emerged on July 28, 1998, from a coalition of leaders of like-minded political associations such as the G-34 and the People Democratic Movement (PDM). The PDP which prides itself as the largest political party in Africa was one of the initial nine parties recognized by General Abdulsalam's Administration based on their satisfactory performance in the December 5, 1998, local government elections.

The circumstances surrounding the emergence of the PDP are quite reflected in its mission, vision and objectives, which are outlined as follows:

1. to maintain and preserve the integrity, unity and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as one indivisible political entity

2. to ensure genuine restoration, permanent entrenchment and practice of democracy, the rule of law, equity and social justice
3. to promote national integration and harmonious co-existence of the diverse communities of our society
4. to build an egalitarian society founded on the principle of freedom, equality and justice
5. to uphold the independence of the judiciary, free press, as well as uphold the freedom of speech and of association
6. to ensure that only competent, dedicated, patriotic and credible candidates are sponsored for elective offices at all levels of governance
7. to ensure that the programmes of the party at all levels conform at all times with the fundamental objectives, and directive principles of state policy, as contained in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as well as conform at all times with ethics, aimed objectives of the constitution of the party
8. to promote mutual respect for and understanding of the religious, traditional and cultural heritage of the various communities of our nation
9. to eradicate illiteracy in our society and to promote learning and research, science and technology
10. to build, promote, sustain and consolidate political, economic and social independence and self-respect for all Nigerians
11. to cooperation with Africans and other nationalist movements and organizations working for the eradication of imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and to strive relentlessly towards African Unity, as well as greater understanding and cohesion among all peoples of African descent

12. to cooperate with all member nations in promoting the course of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU), the Commonwealth and United Nations Organization (UNO) and other international and regional groupings shall be in the best interest of Nigeria and Africa, and help to find just and peaceful solutions for international disputes
13. to build a political culture in which all Nigerians are equal members where each contributes according to his ability, where no one person dominates and where, no political party belongs to one individual
14. to undertake other activities, which in the opinion of the party are conducive to the attainment of the aims and objectives of the party. We could say that there is so much connection between the political development leading to the formation of the PDP and its set objectives

A hindsight benefit revealed that the PDP essentially emerged in response to the political developments especially increased liberalism, and political participation after prolonged years of military misadministration with serious erosion of the fundamental elements of democracy and good governance. After about fourteen years (1983-1998) of unbroken military rule, Nigerians encountered anesthetizing frustration, disillusionment and disenchantment. They were not only tired but were desirous to ease the military out of power (Olawale, 1998:15). It was this increasing need to consciously enthrone a government that emerges from the threshold of fair and credible popular democracy and poised to meet the yearnings of the people that perhaps influenced the objectives of the PDP. As can be gleaned from the above, the PDP sought to consolidate democratic culture, promote constitutionality, social justice, and freedom of the mass media, independence of the judiciary, socio-economic self-sufficiency and credible leadership.

These objectives are in consonance with the elements of democracy and good governance. However, the extent to which the ruling party has moved since its inception in May 1999 is a different ball game as analyzed in the latter part of this chapter.

Thus, as a matter of practical necessity every political party must possess structures and organs. The structure and organization of the PDP is hierarchical, arranged from the Ward through the Local Government Area, State, Zone and National level. Based on Article 10 of the party's constitution its organs are constituted as follows:

(i) Ward Executive, (ii) Ward Congress (iii) Local government Executive Committee (iv) Local Government Area Congress (v) Senatorial District Working Committee (vi) State Caucus (vii) State Working Committee (viii) State Executive (ix) State Congress (x) Zonal Working Committee (xi) National Caucus (xii) National Working Committee (xiii) National Executive Committee (xiv) Board of Trustees (xv) National Convention.

Although it is contended that there is no universal pattern of the structure and organs of Political parties, all political parties like large organizations are inherently oligarchic. This means that the leadership of any party naturally devolves on a small number of leaders. Thus, the measure of success of a political party is a product of its leadership constitution, capability, appeal and function. The leadership of a political party establishes the general setting of its members and the focus of their solidarity.

2.8 Gap in the Literature

Most of the extant literature reviewed in this study especially those that deal with agents of political mobilization such as Rainey (2014), Glass (1986), Almond and Verba (1986), Becker (1975), Almond and Powell (1966) and Almond and Colman (1960) as well as those of political mobilization such as Stephen (2002), Alkali (2014), Lawrence (2011) and Duschinsky (2006) all fail to review the roles and strategies adopted by the Peoples' Democratic party in Bida Emirate between 2011 and 2015. This therefore constitutes our

point of departure from the existing literature in attempting to put forward a modest contribution to body of knowledge on the role as well as the strategies employed by the PDP in political mobilization in the study area within the period under study.

2.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

Structural-Functionalist theory of Gabriel Almond was adopted as a framework for analysis in the study. The theory was articulated by Almond and Coleman in their book titled “Introduction to the Politics of the Developing Areas (1960)”. They postulated four characteristics of the political system and eight functions apparently performed in all systems or at least in all viable systems. The functions represent concepts common to both western and non-western systems and for this reason, he claimed that they are useful concepts for comparing two types of systems; in spite of being derived by him from Western system (Mbah, 2006). The theory assumes that:

- (1) all political systems including the simplest ones have political structure. They may be compared with one another according to the degree and form of structural specialization
- (2) the same functions may be performed with different frequencies, and by different kind of structures. Comparisons may be made according to the frequency of performance of the functions, the kind of structure performing them, and the style of their performance
- (3) all political structures, no matter how specialized whether in primitive or in modern societies, its multifunctional political systems may be compared according to the degree of specificity of functions in the structure
- (4) all political systems are “mixed” systems in cultural sense. There are no “all modern” cultures and structures, and no all-primitive. They differ in the relative

dominance of the one against the other, and in the pattern of mixture of the two components

Gabriel A. Almond, argues that from the functionalist point of view, a political system has two categories namely the input and output functions. These functions are performed by different structures to ensure system sustenance and equilibrium.

The input category includes five variables – Political socialization, political recruitment, interest articulation through organized groups, interest aggregation through political parties, and political communication. While the output category includes the three organs or departments of the state – legislature (rule making), executive (rule application) and judiciary (rule adjudication). Thus the function of the political system is to convert inputs into outputs (Almond and Coleman, 1960).

Model of Structural Functional Analysis

	ENVIRONMENT			ENVIRONMENT	
I	Functions	Structure	POLITICAL		
O					
N	Political	Family		Functions	Structure
P	Socialization	Peer Group		Rule making	legislature
U	Recruitment	Church etc.			
T	Interest	Interest		Rule	
S	Articulation	Group		Application	Executive
	Interest	Political			
	Aggregation	Parties			
	Political	Mass Media	SYSTEM	Rule	
	Communication			Adjudication	Judiciary
	ENVIRONMENT			ENVIRONMENT	

Source: Culled from Mbah (2006)

The structural-functionalist theory, treats the society as a simply inter-related system, when each part of the system having a definite and distinct role to play. Political party being a system of its own that exists inter-relatedly with other systems of the system; it can therefore be justifiable that the theory agrees with the topic of this dissertation.

Be that as it may, the approach had the following fallbacks. It was a divorcee from the empirical realities of politics. It was also ethnocentric, with its linkage to development especially. The authors of the theories were conservative and static: concerned with evaluating how systems performed roles expected of a stable democracy. There was little need to reform institution and only one permissible direction for change.

The theory has been criticized for being too generalistic and gives no focus to specific political system. It was also criticized for being ethnocentric, with its linkage to development especially. The authors of the theories were conservative and static; concerned with evaluating how systems performed roles expected of a stable democracy. There was little need to reform institution and only one permissible direction for change. The theory was also considered a divorcee from the empirical realities of politics; hence Anikpo (1986) posits that “the major problem of structural functionalism is that it leads to generalizations, apparently ignoring substantial portions of the more unique characteristics of the separate unit”.

The theory has been criticized partly because of its emphasis on system maintenance by which it said to be status-quo oriented and therefore conservative (Mbah, 2006).

The theory talked about structure and function of a given system in a given society and its relation with the research topic which investigated a political party that has structure and function they perform. The theory is in harmony with the input function of PDP and has nothing to do with the output function. So PDP had succeeded in utilizing the input of political socialization and communication to mobilize the people of Bida emirate through organization of campaign rallies, town hall discussions as well as house-to-house visitations and face-to-face address where printed materials such as leaflets, flyers, news magazines etc., were distributed to the electorate. And also the use of monetary influence on election day, funding of cooperative societies, political songs and jingles, town criers as

well as radio and television which enters both the literate and non-literate at the grassroots among others.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research design and other methods of data collection and analysis were identified and explained. A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. It is the overall plan of the work that stipulates what information is to be collected, from which source and by what procedure. The chosen research design for this study is the survey design. Survey design is a method for collecting information or data from individuals (respondents) through face-to-face interview, telephone interview and questionnaire. Survey design is chosen because it is the methodology that is applicable to human beings in research especially as their interrelationship between the different societal systems that exist side by side and complement one another are engendered by social interactions. Survey design is the most suitable for eliciting data from human beings in a social setting and societal system.

3.2 Location of the Study Area

The location of this study is Bida emirate of Niger State. Bida Emirate comprises six (6) local government areas in Niger State. It is one of the largest emirates in the state. The six Local Governments Areas in the emirate are Gbako, Bida, Mokwa, Lavun, Edati and Katcha Local Government Areas with a population of 950,000 according to the 2006 population figure. The emirate is headed by the Etsu Nupe who is the traditional leader of all Nupe – speaking people. The study area has a splendid historical antecedent which began long ago for as far back 1932.

3.3 Source of Data/Data Gathering Techniques

Data for this study was generated from two sources namely: the primary and the secondary sources of data. Primary data was sourced from the respondents drawn from the study area through interviews and questionnaire. The PDP executives in the study area were interviewed, while questionnaires were administered to the populace that constitutes the voters. Secondary data was sourced from documented sources from the PDP Secretariat in Minna. Textbooks, published and unpublished reports, Journals, texts, newspaper excerpts and articles were sourced from libraries in ABU Zaria and IBB Lapai. Materials from newspapers were source from National Library Minna. Others include the internet and magazine.

3.4 Sample Population

Population is the collection of element, units or individuals for which information is sought. The elements in the population are the units of analysis and their nature is determined by the survey objective (Emma, 2008). The population of this study was drawn from six (6) local government areas in Bida emirate. The local government area is Gbako, Lavun, Edati, Mokwa, Katcha, and Bida. The six (6) local government areas with their wards and population are presented in the table below:

Table 3.1: Gbako Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Batagi Ward	8,925
Batako Ward	9,833
Edokota Ward	9,344
Edozhigi Ward	12,958
Etsu Audu Ward	8,329
Gbadafu Ward	8,238
Gogata Ward	10,979
Lemu Ward	11,987
Nuwankota Ward	7, 011
Sammajiko Ward	7,195
Total	95,799

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

Table 3.2: Lavun Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Busu/Kuchi Ward	13,349
Batati Ward	12,473
Dasun Ward	13,144
Doko Ward	12,735
Dabban Ward	13,979
Egbako Ward	12,785
Gaba Ward	13,349
Jima Ward	12,758
Kutigi Ward	14,777
Kusotachi Ward	13,725
Lagun ward	13,575
Mambe ward	13,743
Total	160,392

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

Table 3.3: Edati Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Enagi Ward	12,379
Etsu-Tasha Ward	11,985
Fazhi Ward	11,895
Gazhe I Ward	12,017
Gazhe II Ward	12,766
Gbangban Ward	13,019
Gonagi Ward	12,339
Guzun Ward	12,775
Rokota Ward	11,013
Sakpe Ward	10,755
TOTAL	120,943

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

Table 3.4: Mokwa Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Bokani Ward	16,780
Gbajibo/Muwo Ward	15,994
Gbara Ward	16,075
Ja'agi Ward	16,198
Jebba Ward	16,789
Kpaki/Takuma Ward	16,273
Kudu Ward	15,989
Labozhi Ward	16,787
Mokwa Ward	17,998
Muregi Ward	16,757
Rabba/Ndayako Ward	19,930
TOTAL	185,570

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

Table 3.5: Katcha Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Bakeko ward	9,870
Badegi Ward	8,599
Bisanti Ward	9,356
Dzwafu Ward	10,384
Edotsu Ward	8,759
Essa Ward	9,128
Gbakogi Ward	10,118
Katcha Ward	9,989
Kataregi ward	7,345
Sidi-Saba Ward	8,155
TOTAL	91,703

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

Table 3.6: Bida Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Bariki ward	10,836
Ceniyar ward	10,372
Dokozda Ward	9,775
Kyari Ward	12,979
Landzun Ward	9,497
Masaba I Ward	10,182
Masaba II Ward	9,389
Masaga I Ward	10,563
Masaga II Ward	10,731
Maiyaki Ndajiya Ward	9,013
Nassarafu Ward	10,777
Umaru Majigi I Ward	9,895
Umaru Majigi II Ward	9,989
Wadata Ward	8,589
TOTAL	142,596

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

3.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The sampling techniques adopted in this study for the selection of sample or respondents that made up the sample size, is the multi-stage cluster sampling method. Multi-stage cluster sampling enters stage by stage administration of research instrument division of the area of study into cluster. For this study cluster means local governments, words, streets, households for individual stage.

In choosing three (3) out of the six (6) Local Government Areas, simple random sampling method was used through the raffle draw. Six pieces of paper were used with name of each local government area written on them. The papers were folded, mixed and put in a small container. The container is shuffled before a selection is made at each print until the three local government areas were selected. The selected three (3) local government areas after the raffle draw are: Mokwa, Gbako and Bida.

Table 3.7: Mokwa Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Bokani Ward	16,780
Gbajibo/Muwo Ward	15,994
Gbara Ward	16,075
Ja'agi Ward	16,198
Jebba Ward	16,789
Kpaki/Takuma Ward	16,273
Kudu Ward	15,989
Labozhi Ward	16,787
Mokwa Ward	17,998
Muregi Ward	16,757
Rabba/Ndayako Ward	19,930
TOTAL	185,570

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

Table 3.8: Gbako Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Batagi Ward	8,925
Batako Ward	9,833
Edokota Ward	9,344
Edozhigi Ward	12,958
Etsu Audu Ward	8,329
Gbadafu Ward	8,238
Gogata Ward	10,979
Lemu Ward	11,987
Nuwankota Ward	7, 011
Sammajiko Ward	7,195
Total	95,799

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

Table 3.9: Bida Local Government

Ward Name	Population
Bariki ward	10,836
Ceniyar ward	10,372
Dokozda Ward	9,775
Kyari Ward	12,979
Landzun Ward	9,497
Masaba I Ward	10,182
Masaba II Ward	9,389
Masaga I Ward	10,563
Masaga II Ward	10,731
Maiyaki Ndajiya Ward	9,013
Nassarafu Ward	10,777
Umaru Majigi I Ward	9,895
Umaru Majigi II Ward	9,989
Wadata Ward	8,589
TOTAL 14	142,596

Source: Adapted from the 2006 National Population and housing Census Figures

In selecting Wards from each of the three (3) local government areas, simple random sampling was adopted where each ward had an equal chance of being selected using the formula below. The following ward was selected from each of the three local government areas. In determining the number of wards to be selected in Mokwa Local Government, this formula was used:

$$\frac{2}{4} \times 123$$
$$= 2 \times 3 = 6$$

Table 3.10: Mokwa Local Government Area: five out of eleven wards

Ward Name	Population
Ja'agi Ward	16,198
Mokwa Ward	17,998
Rabba/Ndayako Ward	19,930
Kudu Ward	15,989
Bokani Ward	16,780
Gbajibo/Muwo Ward	15,994
TOTAL	102,889

In determining the number of wards to be selected in Gbako Local Government, this formula was used:

$$\frac{2}{3} \times 93$$

$$= 2 \times 3 = 6$$

Table 3.11: Gbako Local Government Area: six out of ten wards

Ward Name	Population
Edozhigi Ward	12,958
Batako Ward	9,833
Gbadafu Ward	8,238
Lemu Ward	11,987
Gogata Ward	10,979
Etsu Audu Ward	8,329
TOTAL	62,324

In determining the number of wards to be selected in Bida Local Government, this formula was used:

$$\frac{2}{3} \times 124$$

$$= 2 \times 4 = 8$$

Table 3.12: Bida Local Government Area: Eight out fourteen wards

Ward Name	Population
Dokodza Ward	9,775
Nassarafu Ward	10,777
Masaba I Ward	10,182
Ceniyani Ward	10,372
Kyari Ward	12,979
Wadata Ward	8,598
Umaru Majigi II Ward	9,989
Maiyaki Ndajiya Ward	9,013
TOTAL	81,685

To determine the number of respondents to constitute the sample size, Taro Yamane formula was used. Since sampling is about taking a proportion of the population, this researcher found Taro Yamane's simplified formula for proportion of calculating sample size useful for this study. Yamane (1969:886) provides a simplified formula to calculate sample size.

The formula is as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

n = Sample size

N = Population size

e = Level of precision (0.5)

To obtain the population size for the formula above which is symbolized by 'N', this researcher sums up the total population of the sampled wards. Six wards were sampled from Mokwa Local Government; six wards were also sampled from Gbako, while eight Wards were sampled from Bida Local Government respectively. The total population of the sampled wards are:

Mokwa	=	102,889
Gbako	=	62,324
Bida	=	81,685
		246,895

The total number of respondents to constitute the sample size is hereby determined using Taro Yamane formula

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{246,895}{1 + 246,895 \times (.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{246,895}{1+246,895 \times 0.0025}$$

$$n = \frac{246,895}{617.24}$$

$$n = 399.9$$

$$n = 400$$

From the result of the foregoing formula, 400 respondents will be sampled in a whole from the 20 wards sampled. 20 respondents will be selected from each of the 20 wards as shown in the table below:

$$\text{Ward Sample Size} = \frac{\text{Ward Population}}{\text{Total Population}} \times 400$$

Table 3.13: The Sample Ward and their Respective Sample Size

Name of Wards	Population	Sample Size
Ja'agi Ward	16,098	26
Mokwa Ward	19,898	32
Rabba/Ndayako Ward	19,830	32
Kudu Ward	15,889	26
Bokani Ward	16,680	27
Gbajibi/Muwo Ward	15,894	26
Edozhigi Ward	12,858	21
Batako Ward	9,733	16
Gbadafu Ward	8,138	13
Lemu Ward	11,887	19
Gogata Ward	10,879	18
Etsu-Audu Ward	8,229	13
Dokodza Ward	9,675	16
Nassarafu Ward	10,677	17
Masaba I Ward	10,082	16
Ceniyau Ward	10,272	17
Kyari Ward	12,879	21
Wadata Ward	8,498	14
Umaru Majigi II Ward	9,889	16
Maiyaki Ndajiya Ward	8,913	14
Total	246,898	400

Source: Researcher's calculation

3.6 Techniques of Data Collection

For the quantitative data, questionnaire was used to collect data. The researcher was assisted by research assistants to administer the questionnaires. This is aimed at ensuring high return rate and to reduce delay during the field work. The questionnaire were written in English language and designed to cover the objectives of the study. It consists of structured and close-ended questions relating to the subject matter under investigation. Structured and close-ended questions asked questions and provided optional answers from where the respondents would select the options most appropriate to them.

In-depth interview guide was used to elicit data from key informants who are PDP executives. Five executives were selected from each of the three local government areas for the interview. The interview guide contained set of questions that are based on the research objectives which was administered on key informants. The discussions during the interview were tape-recorded as permitted. However, where such permission was not granted by discussants, the responses were captured in the form of sketchy field notes.

3.7 Techniques of Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics using frequency and percentage in tabular form was used to interpret the data gathered through questionnaire. In-depth interview data was analyzed by using qualitative and textual method. Key respondents' opinions were taken down in their words in the form of field notes. These notes was transcribed and re-written in good formats. The analysis of the responses from questionnaire administered was therefore supplemented by rich qualitative data sometimes in the form of narratives and sometimes verbatim quotation from the key respondents. In addition, the researcher has presented the major and minor views expressed by key respondents. Finally, the researcher findings were presented to identify areas of agreement/disagreement from both qualitative and quantitative data.

3.8 Administration of the Questionnaire

The questionnaires were administered by the researcher and research assistants. Respondents were given the questionnaire for ticking of responses.

3.9 In-depth interview

An in-depth interview guide was designed to interview some selected respondents to get qualitative data. There were fifteen (15) interview sessions to cover the objectives of the study. Five PDP executives from each of the selected local government areas were interviewed.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Rights of individuals as regards privacy and confidentiality of the source was considered in this study. The nature and purpose of the investigation is to explain to respondents to obtain their verbal consents before inclusion in the study.

3.11 Methodological Challenges

Convincing respondents to respond to questionnaire was a hectic task. The researcher had to track some of them to their offices, home and other places to a point where a few of them had to either decline or accept to offer their response. The use of research assistant ameliorates the problems of access to the community.

3.12 Hiring of Research Assistant

One research assistant was recruited to assist this researcher in eliciting data from the sampled respondents. He assisted a great deal in tape-recording all the interview sessions and in the administration and retrieval of the research instruments, while this researcher was responsible for coordinating the administration and retrieval of the research instruments and also conducted the interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of the Role and Strategies Employed By the Peoples' Democratic Party in Political Mobilization in Bida Emirate between 2011 And 2015

Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The data collected from respondents was presented and analyzed in this chapter using tables and text. The data was obtained from primary sources in the study area of Bida emirate.

4.2 Characteristics and Classification of Data

Table 4.1: Characteristics and Classification of Data (Schedule of respondents)

DESCRIPTION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE %
Total number administered	400	100
Total number retrieved	366	92
Total number not retrieved	34	8

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Out of the four hundred (400) questionnaires administered, three hundred and sixty- six (366) representing 92% were retrieved. This shows that subsequent analysis will be based on this number (366).

Table 4.2: Socio Demographical Data of respondents

S/N	Bio data	Description	Frequency	Percentage
1	Gender	Male	294	80
		Female	72	20
		Total	366	100
2	Marital Status	Single	258	70
		Married	96	26
		Divorced	12	4
		Total	366	100
3	Residence	1-5 years	58	16
		6-10 years	82	22
		11-above	226	62
		Total	366	100
4	Academic Qualification	B.SC/HND	72	20
		OND/NCE	108	30
		O'LEVEL	162	44
		Others	24	6
		Total	366	100

Seventy-two (72) respondents said they have BSC/HND; they represent 20% of the sample. One hundred and eight (108) respondents which represent 30% of the sample have ND/NCE. One hundred and sixty-two (162) respondents have SSCE/WAEC, they represent 44% of the sample. Twenty-four (24) respondents representing 6% of the sample

are below the secondary school level. This shows that a good number of the population has some level of education.

Quantitative Data

Table 4.3: Schedule of respondents' active participation in the politics of Bida Emirate between 2001 and 2015

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	294	80
No	72	20
Total	366	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Two hundred and ninety-four (294) respondents which represent 80% of the sample responded that they active participants in the political activities of Bida emirate. Seventy-two (72) respondents which represent 20% of the sample responded that they do not participate in the political activities of Bida emirate. This shows that majority of the sampled respondents in the study are active participants in the political process in the study area, hence they are well suited to respond to enquiries regarding the roles as well as the strategies employed by the PDP in political mobilization in the study area within the period under review.

Table 4.4: Schedule of the political party respondents identified with between 2011 and 2015

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
ANPP	47	13
CAN	20	5
PDP	189	52
CPC	75	20
Others	17	5
None	18	5
Total	366	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Fourty-seven (47) respondents which represent 13% of the sample said that they identified with ANPP between 2011 and 2015. Twenty (20) respondents identified with CAN. One hundred and eighty-nine of the respondents which represents 52% of the sample identified with PDP. Seventy-five (75) respondents identified with CPC. Seventeen (17) of respondents identified with other political parties. While others did not identify with any political party and they are eighteen (18) which represents 5% of the sample. This shows that majority of the sampled respondents identified themselves with the PDP which was the focus of this study. The implication of this was that, responses to the enquiries contained in the research instruments was provided by people who are conversant with the activities of the PDP especially as regards its roles and strategies it employed in political mobilization in the study area within the period under review. However, other respondents who did not identified with other political parties might not be totally ignorant of the subject under investigation since they too were active participants in the political process where the PDP was a dominant player within the period under review.

Table 4.5: Schedule of the political party that dominated political activities of respondents' community between 2011 and 2015

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
ANPP	47	13
CAN	20	5
PDP	189	52
CPC	75	20
Others	17	5
None	18	5
Total	366	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Out of 366 respondents, 47 said that ANPP dominated political activities of their community between 2011 and 2015. Twenty (20) responded that ACN dominated the political activities of their community (they constitute 5% of the sample). One hundred and eighty-nine respondents said it is PDP that dominated the political activities of their community and constitute 52% of the sample. 17 respondents representing 5% of the sample said that other political parties dominated the political activities of their community while 18 respondents representing 5% of the sample responded that none of the political parties dominated political activities of their community. This shows that majority of the respondents opined that the PDP was the dominant political party in their communities within the period under review. The implication of this was that because of the dominance of the structure as well as the activities of the PDP in most of the communities covered in the study, the respondents were well acquainted with the roles as well as the mobilization strategies of the party in the study area within the period under review.

Table 4.6: Schedule of whether PDP was active in political mobilization between 2011 and 2015

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	213	58
No	153	42
Total	366	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2016

Two hundred and thirteen respondents which represent 58% of the sample responded that PDP was active in political mobilization in Bida emirate between 2011 and 2015, while one hundred and fifty-three respondents representing 42% of the sample responded that PDP was not active in political mobilization between 2011 and 2015. This result shows that the activities of the PDP especially those that relate to political

mobilization in the study area was adjudged active. This may no unconnected with the party's position as the dominant party in the entire Bida Emirate within the period under review.

Table 4.7: Schedule of how active PDP was in its Political Mobilization between 2011 and 2015

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Quite active	183	50
Relatively active	104	28
Very active	79	22
Total	366	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2016

One hundred and eighty-three respondents which represent 50% of the sample said that PDP was quite active in political mobilization between 2011 and 2015. One hundred and four respondents responded that PDP was relatively active in political mobilization between 2011 and 2015 (they constitute 28% of the sample). Seventy-nine respondents which represent 22% of the sample responded that PDP was very active in political mobilization between 2011 and 2015. This result shows that the PDP was indeed an active political mobilizer in the study area between 2011 and 2015. This may have been responsible for its observed dominance in Bida Emirate within the period under review.

Table 4.8: Schedule of the season during which PDP mobilizes electorates

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Before election period	91	25
During campaign period	174	48
On election day	59	16
All of the above	24	7
None of the above	18	4
Total	366	100%

Source: field survey, 2015

Ninety-one respondents which represent 25% of the sample responded that PDP mobilizes electorates before election period. One hundred and seventy-four respondents which represent 48% of the sample said that PDP mobilized electorate during campaign period. Fifty-nine respondents responded that PDP mobilizes electorates on Election Day, (they constitute 16% of the sample). Twenty-four respondents representing 7% of the sample said that PDP mobilized the electorate during all the periods mentioned above, while eighteen respondents said that PDP did not mobilize electorate in any of the foregoing periods (they constitute 4% of the sample). This result shows that majority of the respondents were of the view that the PDP is most active in its political mobilization during the election season ostensibly to win their support to vote for the candidates of the party during elections. This has eventually paid off because the PDP had consistently dominated the political sphere of the study area within the period under review.

Table 4.9: Schedule of methods PDP adopted in mobilizing electorates in the study area between 2011 and 2015

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Through rallies	95	26
Through public campaigns	157	43
Through town hall discussions	49	13
House to house visitations	39	11
Use of town criers	26	7
Total	366	100%

Sources field survey, 2016

Ninety-five respondents which represent 26% of the sample said that PDP adopted rally as a method for mobilizing electorates. One hundred and fifty-seven respondents responded that PDP adopted public campaigns as a method of mobilizing electorates (they constitute 43% of the sample). Forty-nine respondents which represent 13% of the sample

said that PDP mobilized electorates through town halls discussions. Thirty-nine respondents representing 11% of the sample responded that PDP mobilized electorates through house to house visitations; while twenty-six respondents responded that PDP used town criers to mobilize electorates (they constitute 7% of the sample). This result shows that the PDP utilized myriad campaign strategies to mobilize the electorates especially during election periods. However, of the numerous strategies as suggested by the respondents, public campaigns stood out as the major political campaign strategy adopted by the party in the study area within the period under review.

Table 4.10: Schedule of instrument of mobilization PDP used in mobilizing electorates 2011 and 2015

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Political magazines	98	27
Fliers and leaflets	82	22
Radio and television	119	33
Face to face address	67	18
Total	366	100%

Source: field survey, 2016

Ninety-eight respondents representing 27% of the sample said that PDP used political magazines as instrument of political mobilization. Eight-two respondents which represent 22% of the sample said that fliers and leaflets were used by PDP as instruments of political mobilization. One hundred and nineteen respondents said that radio and television were the instruments of mobilization by PDP in 2011- 2015 (they constitute 33% of the sample). While sixty-seven respondents which represents 18% of the sample said that PDP used face to face address as instrument of political mobilization. This results shows that a number of instruments were adopted by the PDP in mobilizing electorates in the study area, however, radio jingles and television adverts were considered by the

respondents as the major instruments for political mobilization by the party in the study area within the period under review.

Table 4.11: Schedule of the effectiveness of the techniques and instruments PDP used in mobilizing electorates

Description	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	209	57
No	157	43
Total	366	100%

Source: Field survey, 2016

Two hundred and nine respondents representing 57% of the sample said that PDP's techniques and instrument of mobilizing electorates were effective while one hundred and fifty-seven respondents said that PDP's techniques and instruments of mobilizing electorates were not effective (they constitute 43% of the sample). This result shows that there is an obvious contention regarding the efficacy of the instruments and strategies employed by the PDP in political mobilization in Bida Emirate; however, majority of the sampled respondents believed that the instruments and techniques employed by the party in mobilizing the electorates were effective owing to the party's consistent successful outings virtually all elections held in the study area within the period under review.

Table 4.12: Schedule of other avenues of political mobilization PDP used in its bid to mobilize electorates

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Giving out gifts	52	14
Sharing cash on election day	130	36
Use of bill boards	63	17
Political songs and jingles	78	21
Through the internet	12	3
Through the social media	31	9
Total	366	100%

Source: field survey, 2016

Fifty-two respondents, representing 14% of the sample, said that PDP's other avenues for mobilizing electorates is giving out of gifts. One hundred and thirty respondents which represent 36% of the sample said that PDP's other avenues for mobilizing electorates is sharing of cash on Election Day. Sixty-three respondents said that PDP's other avenues for mobilizing electorates is the use of bill boards (they constitute 17% of the sample). Seventy- eight respondents which represent 21% of the sample said that PDP's other avenue for mobilizing electorates is political songs and jingles. Furthermore, twelve respondents representing 3% of the respondents averred that the internet was also used in mobilizing electorates and the remaining thirty-one respondents representing 9% chose the social media as a medium through which the PDP mobilized electorates in the study area between 2011 and 2015. The result shows that the PDP utilized numerous electorate 'fishing' strategies in Bida emirate; however, the sampled respondents believed that sharing cash on election day by PDP officials and agents to the electorates with a view to persuade them to vote for the party's candidate stood out as the major technique of political mobilization by the party in the study area within the period under review.

Table 4.13: Schedule of whether PDP attracts crowd at venues of its political mobilization

Description	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	219	60
No	147	40
Total	366	100%

Source: Field survey, 2016

Two hundred and nineteen respondents, representing 60% of the sample, said that PDP attracted crowd at venues of its political mobilization while one hundred and forty-seven respondents which represents 40% of the sample said that PDP did not attract crowd

at venues of its political mobilization. This result shows that overwhelming majority of the sampled respondents believed that the instruments and techniques employed by the PDP in political mobilization have resulted in attracting crowd to the party’s mobilization venues or campaign grounds in the study area between 2011 and 2015.

Table 4.14: Schedule of whether the massive turnout at venues of mobilization is reflected in election result

Description	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	213	58
No	153	42
Total	366	100%

Source: Field survey, 2016

Two hundred and thirteen respondents representing 58% of the sample said that the massive turnout at venues of PDP’s political mobilization was reflected in election results while one hundred and fifty-three respondents which represent 42% of the sample said that the turnout at venues of PDP’s political mobilization was not reflected in election result. This result shows that majority of the sampled respondents believed that the huge crowds that the PDP usually attracts at its mobilization and campaign venues as a result of its various efficacious instruments as well as strategies for political mobilization is directly proportional to the party’s performance at elections in Bida emirate between 2011 and 2015.

4.3 Responses from interview with PDP officials

4.3.1 Introduction

Of the fifteen PDP officials drawn from the study area, three (3) were not available for interview. They are the secretary of Mokwa, the vice chairman of Gbako and the financial secretary of Bida Local Government respectively.

Table 4.15: Schedule of the PDP officials interviewed

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Youth Leader	3	25
Secretary	2	17
Woman Leader	3	25
Vice Chairman	2	17
Financial Secretary	2	16
Total	12	100%

Source: field survey, 2016

The twelve (12) officials interviewed are unanimous on the time they joined the party. They responded that the exact date of their joining the party is not known but that they become members of the party after the election that ushered in the Fourth Republic.

The youth leader of Mokwa responded that he joined PDP because it was the ruling party and that he always desired to be with the winners. His counterpart in Gbako responded that his joining PDP was informed by the desire to belong to a political party. The Bida Youth Leader responded that he joined PDP for gaining certain advantages in his immediate environment. The Woman leader of Mokwa responded that she joined PDP because it attracted respect to her from her fellow women. Her counterpart in Gbako responded that dividends usually declared by the party attracted her to join the party while the Bida Woman Leader responded that her joining PDP was to bring her fellow women closer to governance.

The two vice chairmen available for interview responded, that they joined the party because they admired democratic style of governance. The Financial Secretary of Mokwa responded that his joining PDP was informed by interest in party politics, while his

counterpart in Gbako responded that his interest in developing his ward informed his joining the party.

The twelve officials that were interviewed unanimously responded that PDP was active in its political mobilization in their respective local government areas. All the party officials available for interview responded that they participate in the party's political mobilization exercise.

4.3.2 The Techniques Adopted in Mobilizing Electorates

The Youth Leader of Mokwa responded that PDP adopted a combination of techniques in its political mobilization exercise. These, he said, include town hall discussions, campaign rallies, school visitation and use of co-operative societies. The Youth Leader in Gbako Local responded that in his local government area, town criers played a role for PDP in its political mobilization exercise. He added that campaigns, house-to-house visitation and gifts to the electorates were some other strategies PDP used in mobilizing electorates. For Bida Local Government the Youth Leader responded that campaign was the most frequently used technique in mobilizing electorates. He added that house-to-house visitation was another strategy the party used in mobilizing the people.

The secretaries of Gbako and Bida who were available for interview were unanimous in their responses that PDP used campaigns mostly to mobilize the electorate but they did not rule out the use of other strategies like town hall discussions and financing of co-operative societies. The Woman Leader of Mokwa responded that gifts like clothing materials and cash were used to mobilize women to support PDP. The Woman Leader of Gbako responded that they funded of Women Co-operative Societies in different areas and used them to mobilize women to support PDP. In Bida, the Woman Leader responded that they went house-to-house with gifts to induce women to vote for PDP when the elections

come. In addition, the party united women through social associations and canvassed support for PDP.

The two Vice Chairman available for interview responded that a reasonable amount of money was earmarked for radio and television programmes as a form of mobilization exercise. He maintained that the party made provision for a total of seven hundred and thirty (730) television advertisements in the Niger State Television (NSTV) as well as the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) stations in the study area especially in the run-up to the 2011 and the 2015 general elections. He maintained that the TV advertorials were usually complemented with radio campaign jingles in all the local radio stations in the Bida emirate within the period under review (two PDP campaign jingles were aired in each radio station every day), this in addition to the PDP funded news magazines that were distributed to attract attention to its political policies. With regards to campaign rallies in the study area, he averred that one major campaign rally is usually organized and carried out in each and every local government area covered in the study by the PDP. However, multiple campaign rallies are conducted at ward levels before the 'grand' local government rally to be attended by the state party officials as well as top state government officials, for the purpose of mobilizing support for the PDP and its candidates in the local government concerned.

The financial secretary of Mokwa responded that leaflets and fliers were distributed to the electorate in order to gain attention towards the party for necessary support. He added that campaigns were the best strategy PDP used in mobilizing election in the council area. The financial secretary of Gbako responded that the party in Gbako used town criers to attract people to town hall discussions and rallies. The party uses campaign effectively for its mobilization exercise.

The Youth Leader of Mokwa responded that PDP intensified its mobilization exercise during campaign period. His counterpart in Gbako responded that election day enjoyed a more intense mobilization exercise. In Bida, the Youth Leader responded that PDP intensified mobilization exercise during campaign period as well as on election day. The two secretaries available for interview responded that campaign period enjoys more intense mobilization exercise.

The women leaders of the three local government areas responded that the party intensified mobilizing of women when Co-operative Societies' meetings are held. The two vice chairmen as well as the two financial secretaries available for interview were unanimous in their responses that PDP intensified mobilizing of electorates during campaign periods.

All the PDP officials available for interview responded that the techniques the party adopted in the mobilization of electorates were effective. PDP officials interviewed responded that the political mobilization effectiveness was reflected in the election result because the party won virtually every elective office from president to councillorship.

All the PDP officials interviewed admitted that they encountered challenges while mobilizing voters. They named such challenges as occasional low turnout of persons at rallies, early departure of persons at town hall discussions, inadequate funds to reach every nook and cranny of the council areas, rejection of the party officials by households during house-to-house visitation, limited coverage of radio and television stations and poverty among the prospective electorates to buy newspapers as well as illiteracy to read newspaper and the party's news magazine.

The party officials responded that some of the difficulties encountered were insurmountable and were left the way they were: however, the challenge of early departure of prospective electorate was surmounted by making food and drinks available while such

town hall discussions lasted. Music and dance by local troupes were used by PDP to surmount the challenge of low turnout of electorates during campaigns and rallies.

4.4 Summary of Findings

The research has achieved the three objectives it set out to achieve.

1. The objective to identify the role of PDP in political mobilization in Bida Emirate in Niger State was found in the findings elicited from respondents and PDP officials. Their responses indicate that PDP performed the role of political mobilization effectively in Bida emirate between 2011 and 2015.

2. It is part of the objectives of the study to examine the strategies adopted by PDP in political mobilization in Bida emirate. The responses of the respondents as well as the party officials interviewed proved that PDP adopted such strategies as campaign, town discussion, house-to-house visitation and use of town criers and used such instruments as radio and television stations, special purpose magazines, sharing of fliers and leaflets, through the internet as well as the social media etc.

3. The research also sought to identify the challenges faced by PDP in performing the role of political mobilization. The PDP officials interviewed responded that early departure from venues of town hall discussions was one of the challenges they faced in its political mobilization bid. There also was low turnout at the venues of campaigns and inadequate funds for campaigns.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of the Study

The study found out that fifty-two percent of the respondents in the study area identify with PDP between 2011 and 2015. The study also found out that many respondents numbering two hundred and ninety-four out of the four hundred samples which represents eighty percent of the sample are active participants in the political activities of Bida emirate within the years under review.

From the findings, it is discovered that PDP dominated the political activities of Bida emirate between 2011 and 2015. Some one hundred and eighty-nine respondents which represent fifty-two percent of the sample said so. Another two hundred and thirteen respondents which represents fifty-eight percent of the samples responded that PDP was active in political mobilization of electorates in Bida emirate within the study time frame. And another one hundred and eighty-three of them agreed that PDP was quite active in its political mobilization of electorates.

One hundred and seventy-four respondents representing forty-eight percent of the sample responded that PDP's season for political mobilization of electorates is during campaign period. One hundred and fifty-seven of the respondents responded that PDP's method of mobilization is public campaigns, thirty-three percent of the respondents responded that radio and television are the major instruments of political mobilization, fifty-seven of them responded that the methods and strategies as well as the instruments PDP used for political mobilization are effective, they constitute two hundred and nine respondents.

Thirty-six percent of the respondents responded that other avenues PDP mobilized electorates is the sharing of cash on election day, they constitute one hundred and thirty respondents. Two hundred and nineteen responded that PDP attracts crowd at venues of

mobilization. Two hundred and thirteen respondents responded that the turnout was reflected in election results.

5.1.2 Summary of Interview

Twelve PDP officials were available for interview out of the fifteen (15) drawn into sample size. The available officials responded that PDP is active in its political mobilization of electorates and that all party officials participated in the party's political mobilization exercise. The PDP officials responded that PDP's techniques for political mobilization of electorates range from town hall discussions, campaign rallies, school visitation, co-operative societies, town criers, house-to-house visitation and gifts to electorates on Election Day. They also use radio and television, publishing of special purpose magazines, flier, leaflets and campaign. They all agree that campaign is the best technique the party uses to mobilize electorates.

The officials are unanimous that campaign period witnesses a more intensified mobilization of electorates, though they also recognize election day mobilization and mobilization while meetings with co-operative societies last. They responded that the mobilization techniques are effective and that election results always reflect the effectiveness of the mobilization exercise because the party wins most elective offices.

The officials agreed that the party encountered such challenges as low turnout at rallies, early departure at town hall discussions, curtailed finance, households rejection of party officials during house-to-house visitations, limited coverage of radio and television stations, poverty and illiteracy to buy and read newspapers.

These challenges were surmounted by making food and drink available to curtail early departure during town hall discussions coupled with the use of music and dance by local troupe to address the challenge of low turnout during campaign rallies.

5.2 Conclusion

From the findings of this study, it is established that PDP was active in political mobilization of electorates in Bida emirate. That PDP was the most dominant political party in the emirate and that PDP uses such techniques as campaign rally, town hall discussions, house-to-house visitation, town criers, the internet, social media platforms and face-to-face address as techniques of its political mobilization. The findings also established that PDP used radio and television, political magazines, newspapers, fliers and leaflets as well as musical songs as instruments for its political mobilization. That the party faced such challenges as low turnout at campaign rallies, early departure at town hall discussion venues, curtailed finance, household's rejection of party officials during house-to-house visitation. The challenges were addressed by making provision for food and drink to put a stop to early departure at town hall discussions, music and dance were introduced to attract electorates to campaign ground to address low turnout.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings that political mobilization is intensified during campaign periods mostly, it is hereby recommended that other periods be used for active political mobilization by the PDP.

Based on the findings that television and radio stations including newspapers and special magazines were used for political mobilization, it is hereby recommend that the social media such as Face Book, Twitter, YouTube and blog be used to mobilize prospective electorate. The use of internet for political mobilization can be very useful in this age of ICT.

In order to record more success through house-to-house visitation, it is hereby recommended PDP officials create more political friends from every household.

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaire

**Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria,
Kaduna State.**

Dear Sir/Madam,

Letter of Introduction

I am a final year student of the above university, writing dissertation on the topic “The Role of Political Party in Political Mobilization: A Case Study of PDP in Bida Emirate of Niger State 2011-2015”. This dissertation is a partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Masters Degree in Political Science.

Please, I attach herewith a set of questionnaires and request you to assist in completing them to enable me finalize the research work.

I assure you that whatever information you give shall be treated with utmost confidentiality and used solely for this research work.

Yours faithfully,

Ahmad M. Yabagi

APPENDIX II
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Please tick as applicable in space provided in each of the set of

Questions below:

SECTION A

SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC DATA/BIODATA

1. Please indicate your sex

Male female

2. Please state your marital status, Single

Married divorced

3. How long have you been in your community?

1 year to 5 years 6 years to 10 years

11 years and above

4. Indicate your highest academic qualification

BSC/HND

ND/NCE

SSCE/WAEC

Others

SECTION B

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

5. Are you an active participant in the political activities of your Community?

Yes No

6. Which Political Party did you identify with between 2011- 2015?

Yes No

7. Which of the Political Parties dominated political activities of your community?

(a) ANPP (b) ACN (c) PDP (d) CPC (e) Other (f)

None

8. Was PDP active in its Political Mobilization between 2011 – 2015

Yes No

9. How active was PDP in its Political Mobilization between 2011 – 2015?

(a) quite active (b) relatively active (c) very active

10. During what season did PDP mobilize voters in your community?

(a) before election period (b) during campaign period
(c) on election day (d) all of the above (e) none of the above

11. How did PDP mobilize voters in your community between 2011 – 2015?

(a) through rallies (b) through campaigns
(c) through town hall discussions (d) house-to-house visitations
(e) use of town criers

12. What instrument of mobilization did PDP use in its Political Mobilization exercise?

(a) political magazines (b) fliers and leaflets
(c) radio and television (d) face-to-face address
(e) through the internet (f) through the social media

13. Were PDP's techniques and instruments of Political Mobilization effective?

Yes No

14. What other avenues of mobilization did PDP use in its bid to mobilize voters?

(a) giving out of gifts (b) sharing of cash on election

(c) use of bill boards (d) political songs and jingles

(e) moving vehicles

15. Were PDP's venues of political mobilization dense and crowded?

Yes No

16. Was the turnout at such mobilization venues reflected in election results?

Yes No

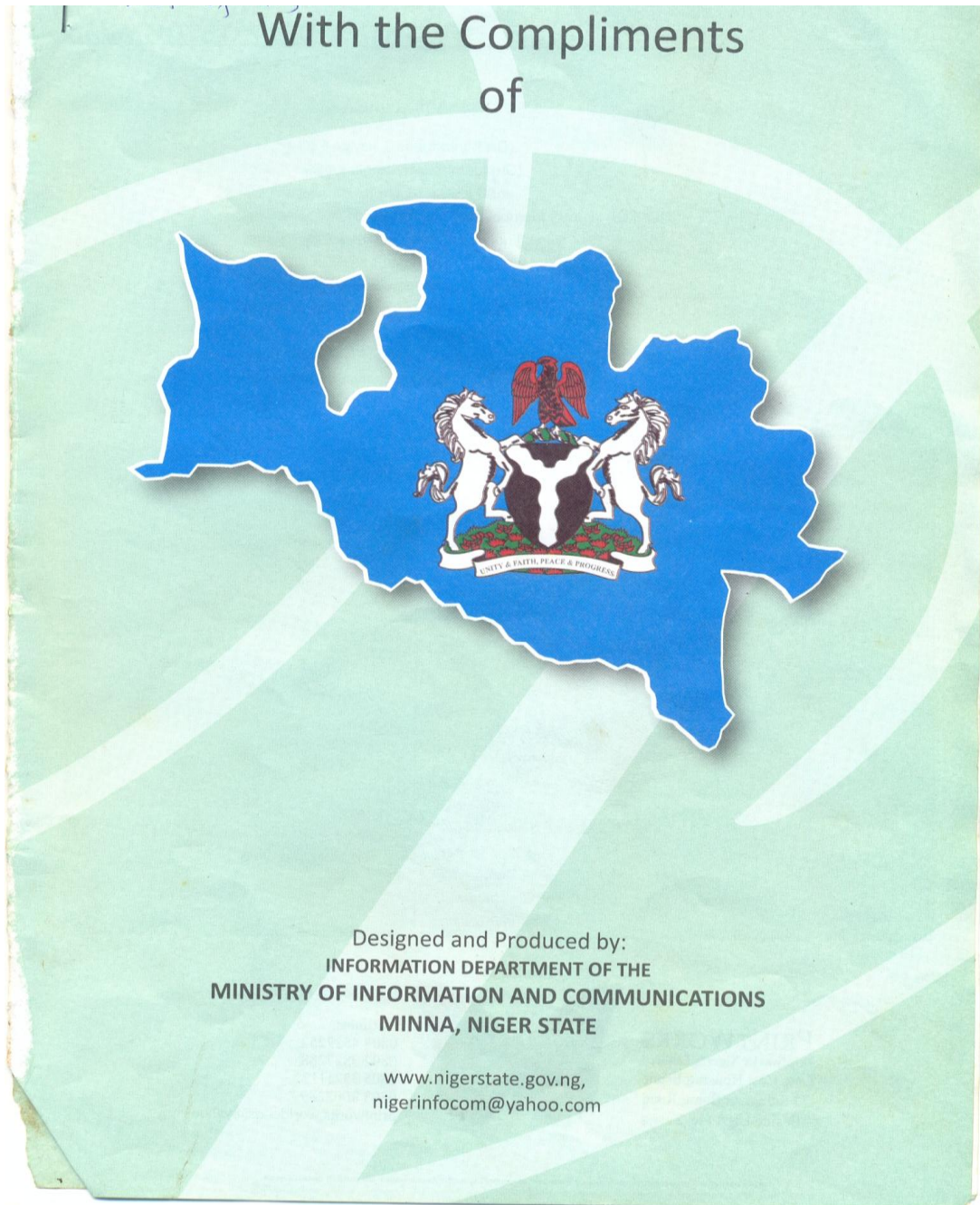
APPENDIX III

In-depth interview question guide

(For PDP officials)

1. As a card-carrying member of PDP, when did you join the party?
2. What informed your joining party?
3. Is PDP active in its mobilization prospective voters?
4. Do you participate in its mobilization exercise?
5. What techniques do you adopt to mobilize electorates?
6. During what period do you intensify mobilization of voters?
7. Are the mobilization techniques effective?
8. Do election results reflect the effectiveness of the mobilization techniques adopted?
9. What difficulties do you encountered in the course of mobilizing prospective electorates?
10. How were you able to surmount the difficulties encountered?

APPENDIX IV
Map of Niger State



BRIEF NOTE ON NIGER STATE

MAP OF NIGER STATE SHOWING 25 LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS



Fig 1: Map of Niger State showing the Local Government

MAP OF EMIRATE COUNCILS IN NIGER STATE

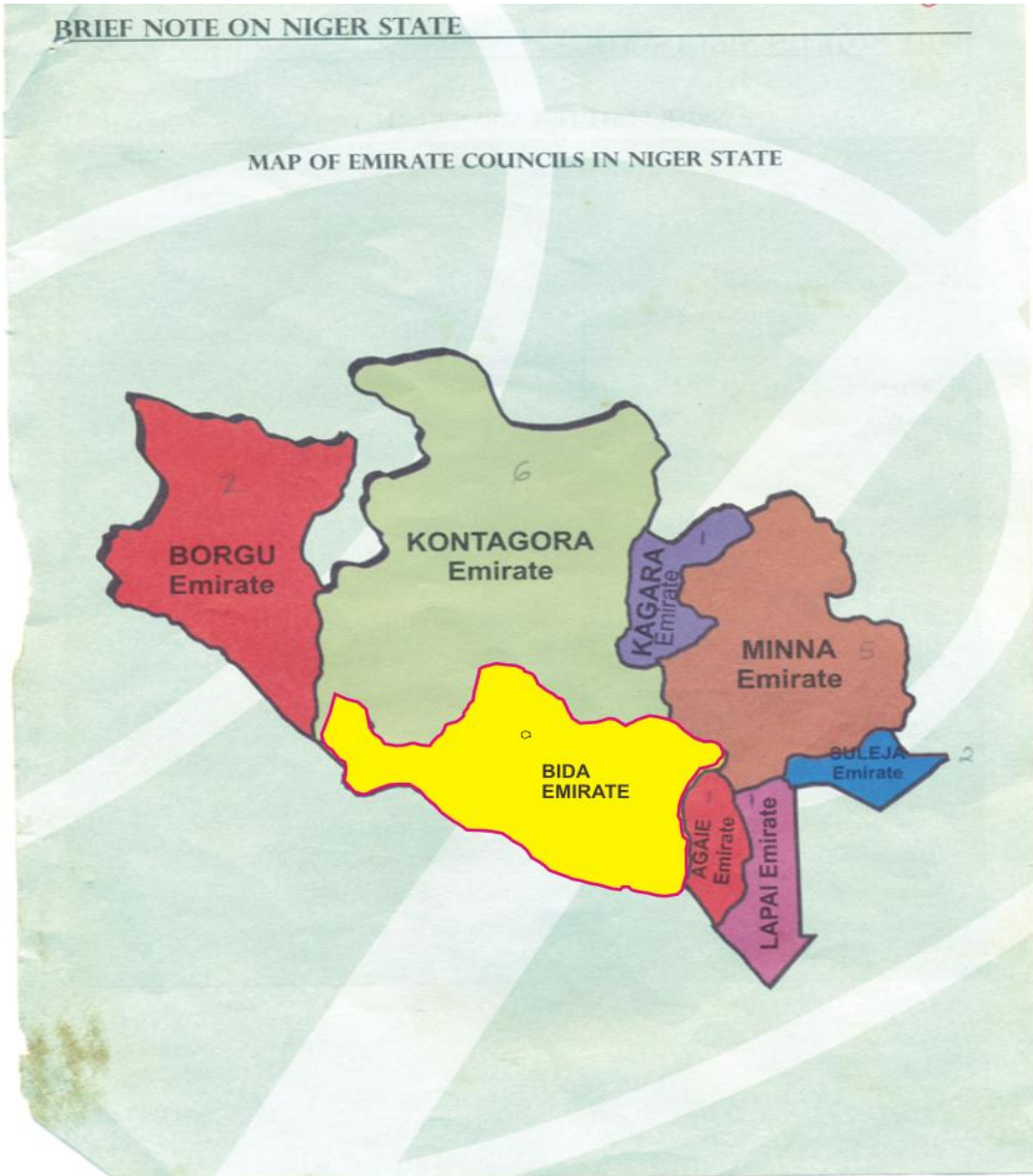


Fig 2: Map of Niger State showing the location of Bida Emirate

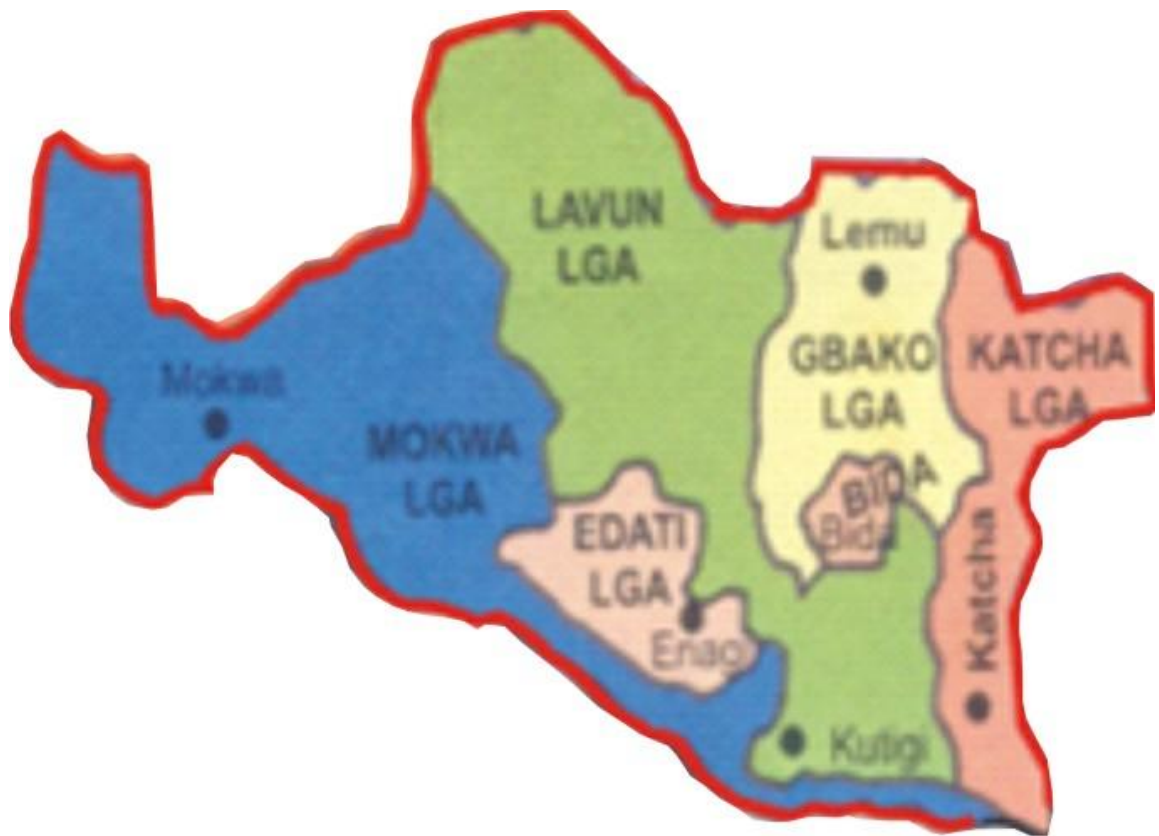


Fig 3 : Map of Bida Emirate, showing the L.G.A

APPENDIX V

FEBRUARY 1999 Presidential Election

Candidate	Party	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Olusegun Obasanjo	PDP	18,738,154	62.78%
Olu Falae	AD	11,110,287	37.22%

APRIL 2003 Presidential Election

Candidate	Party	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Olusegun Obasanjo	PDP	24,456,140	61.94%
Muhammadu Buhari	ANPP	12,710,022	32.19%
Odumegwu Ojukwu	APGA	1,297,445	3.29%
Jim Nwobodo	UNPP	169,609	0.43%
Gani Fawehimi	NCP	161,333	0.41%
Sarah Jubril	PAC	157,560	0.40%
Ike Nwachukwu	NDP	132,997	0.34%
Christopher Okotie	JP	119,547	0.30%
Balarabe Musa	PRP	100,765	0.26%
Arthur Nwankwo	PMP	57,720	0.15%
Emmanuel Okereke	APLP	26,921	0.07%
Kalu Idika Kalu	NNPP	23,830	0.06%
M.D Yusuf	MDJ	21,403	0.05%
Yahaya Ndu	ARP	11,565	0.03%
Abayomi Ferreira	DA	6,727	0.02%
Tunji Braithwaite	NAP	6,932	0.02%
Iheanyi Nnaji	BNPP	5,987	0.02%
Olapade Agoro	NAC	5,756	0.01%

Pere Ajuwa	LDPN	4,473	0.01%
Mojisola Obasanjo	MMN	3,757	0.01%

APRIL 2007 Presidential Election

Candidate	Party	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Umaru Musa Yar'Adua	PDP	24,638,063	69.60%
Muhammadu Buhari	ANPP	6,605,299	18.66%
Atiku Abubakar	AC	2,637,848	7.45%
Orji Uzor Kalu	PPA	608,803	1.72%
Attahiru Bafarawa	DPP	289,224	0.82%
Odumegwu Ojukwu	APGA	155,947	0.44%
Pere Ajuwa	AD	89,241	0.25%
Christopher Okotie	FP	74,049	0.21%
Patrick Utomi	ADC	50,849	0.14%
Asakarawon Olapere	NPC	33,771	0.10%
Ambrose Owuru	HDP	28,519	0.08%
Arthur Nwankwo	PMP	24,164	0.07%
Emmanuel Okereke	ALP	22,677	0.06%
Lawrence Adedoyin	APS	22,409	0.06%
Aliyu Habu Fari	NDP	21,974	0.06%
Galtima Liman	NNPP	21,665	0.06%
Maxi Okwu	CPP	14,027	0.04%
Sunny Okogwu	RPN	13,566	0.04%
Iheanyichukwu Nnaji	BNPP	11,705	0.03%
Osagie Obayuwana	NCP	8,229	0.02%
Olapade Agoro	NAC	5,752	0.02%

Akpone Solomon	NMDP	5,664	0.02%
Isa Odidi	ND	5,408	0.02%
Aminu Abubakar	NUP	4,355	0.01%
Mojisola Obasanjo	MMN	4,309	0.01%

APRIL 2011 Presidential Election

Candidate	Party	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Goodluck Jonathan	PDP	22,495,187	58.89%
Muhammadu Buhari	CPC	12,214,853	31.98%
Nuhu Ribadu	ACN	2,079,151	5.41%
Ibrahim Shekarau	ANPP	917,012	2.40%
Mahmud Waziri	PDC	82,243	0.21%
Nwadike Chikezie	PMP	56,248	0.15%
Lawson Aroh	PPP	54,203	0.14%
Peter Nwangwu	ADC	51,682	0.14%
Iheanyichukwu Nnaji	BNPP	47,272	0.12%
Christopher Okotie	FP	34,331	0.09%
Dele Momodu	NCP	26,376	0.07%
Solomon Akpona	NMDP	25,938	0.07%
Lawrence Adedoyin	APS)	23,740	0.06%
Ebiti Ndok	UNPD	21,203	0.06%
John Dara	NTP	19,744	0.05%
Rasheed Shitta_Bey	MPPP	16,492	0.04%
Yahaya Ndu	ARP	12,264	0.03%
Ambrose Owuru	HDP	12,023	0.03%
Patrick Utomi	SDMP	11,544	0.03%

Chris Nwaokobia LDPN 8,472 0.02%

Source: <http://encomium.ng/presidential-elections-1999-2011-in-figures/>

20 February 1999 National Assembly Election

Party	Senate		House of Representatives	
	% of Votes	Number of Seats (109)	% of Votes	Number of Seats (360)
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	56.4%	59	57.1%	206
All People's Party (APP)	31.2%	29	30.6%	74
Alliance for Democracy (AD)	12.4%	20	12.4%	68
Vacant/Undeclared Seats	-	1	-	12

12 April 2003 National Assembly Election

Party	Senate			House of Representatives		
	Number of Votes	% of Votes	Number of Seats (109)	Number of Votes	% of Votes	Number of Seats (360)
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	15,585,538	53.69%	76	15,927,807	54.49%	223
All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)	8,091,783	27.87%	27	8,021,531	27.44%	96
Alliance for Democracy (AD)	2,828,082	9.74%	6	2,711,972	9.28%	34
United Nigeria People's Party (UNPP)	789,705	2.72%	-	803,432	2.75%	2
National Democratic Party (NDP)	459,462	1.58%	-	561,161	1.92%	1
All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA)	429,073	1.48%	-	397,147	1.36%	2
People's Redemption Party (PRP)	204,929	0.71%	-	222,938	0.76%	1
Others	641,535	2.21%	-	587,082	2.01%	-
Vacant	-	-	-	-	-	1

21 April 2007 National Assembly Election

Party	Senate	House of Representatives
	Number of Seats (109)	Number of Seats (360)
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	87	263
All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)	14	63
Action Congress (AC)	6	30
Progressive People's Alliance (PPA)	1	3
Accord Party (ACCORD)	1	-
Labour Party (LP)	-	1

April 2011 National Assembly Election*

Party	Senate	House of Representatives
	Number of Seats (109)	Number of Seats (360)
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	45	123
Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)	13	47
All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)	7	25
Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)	5	30
Others	4	9

*Preliminary (incomplete) results, as posted on the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) website.

*Due to logistical problems, elections in 15 Senatorial and 48 House constituencies will take place on 26 April 2011.

Winners of the 1999 Guber Elections

	State	Governor	Party
1	Abia	Orji Kalu	PDP
2	Adamawa	Boni Haruna	PDP
3	Akwa-Ibom	Victor Attah	PDP
4	Anambra	Chinwoke Mbadinuju	PDP
5	Bauchi	Ahmed Mu'azu	PDP
6	Bayelsa	Mr. Diyepreye S. P. Alamieseigha	PDP
7	Benue	George Akume	PDP
8	Borno	Mala Kachalla	APP
9	Cross River	Donald Duke	PDP
10	Delta	James Ibori	PDP
11	Ebonyi	Sam Egwu	PDP
12	Edo	Lucky Igbinedion	PDP
13	Ekiti	Niyi Adebayo	AD
14	Enugu	Chimaroke Nnamani	PDP
15	Gombe	Abubakar Abu Hasheed	APP
16	Imo	Achike Udenwa	PDP
17	Jigawa	Ibrahim Samiru Turaki	APP
18	Kaduna	Ahmed Makarfi	PDP
19	Kano	Rabiu Kwankwaso	PDP
20	Katsina	Umaru Musa Yar'Adua	PDP
21	Kebbi	Adamu Aliero	APP
22	Kogi	Abubakar Audu	APP
23	Kwara	Muhammed Lawal	APP
24	Lagos	Bola Tinubu	AD
25	Nassarawa	Abdullahi Adamu	PDP
26	Niger	Abdulkadir Kure	PDP
27	Ogun	Segun Osoba	AD
28	Ondo	Ade Adefarati	AD
29	Osun	Bisi Akande	AD
30	Oyo	Lam Adesina	AD
31	Plateau	Joshua Dariye	PDP
32	Rivers	Peter Odili	PDP
33	Sokoto	Atahiru Bafarwa	APP
34	Taraba	Jolly Nyame	PDP
35	Yobe	Buka Abba Ibrahim	APP
36	Zamfara	Ahmed Sani	APP

PDP	21
APP	9
AD	6

Gubernatorial Results 2003 and 2007

2003			2007	
<u>State</u>	<u>Winner</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Winner</u>	<u>Party</u>
1 Abia	Dr. Orji Uzor Kalu	PDP	Theodore Orji	PPA
2 Adamawa	Mr. Haruna Boni	PDP	Murtala Nyako	PDP
3 Akwa Ibom	Chief Obong Victor Attah	PDP	Godswill Akpabio	PDP
4 Anambra	Dr. Chris Ngige à Peter Obi	PDP àAPGA	Andy Uba	PDP
5 Bauchi	Alhaji Adamu Muazu	PDP	Isa Yuguda	ANPP
6 Bayelsa	Dr. Goodluck Jonathan	PDP	Timire Sylva	PDP
7 Benue	Mr. George Akume	PDP	Gabriel Suswan	PDP
8 Borno	Senator Ali Sheriff	ANPP	Ali Modu Sheriff	ANPP
			(re-election)	
9 Cross River	Mr. Donald Duke	PDP	Lyel Imoke	PDP

10 Delta	Chief James Ibori	PDP	Emmanuel Uduaghan	PDP
11 Ebonyi	Dr. Sam Egwu	PDP	Martins Elechi	PDP
12 Edo	Chief Lucky Igbinedion	PDP	Oserheimen Osunbor	PDP
13 Ekiti	Ayodele Fayose	PDP	Segun Oni	PDP
14 Enugu	Dr. Chimaroke Nnamani	PDP	Sullivan Chime	PDP
15 Gombe	Danjuma Goje	PDP	Danjuma Goje	PDP
16 Imo	Chief Achike Udenwa	PDP	Ikedi Ohakim	PPA
17 Jigawa	Alhaji Ibrahim Saminu Turaki	ANPP	Sule Lamido	PDP
18 Kaduna	Alhaji Ahmed Makarfi	PDP	Namadi Sambo	PDP
19 Kano	Ibrahim Shekarau	ANPP	Ibrahim Shekarau (re-election)	ANPP
20 Katsina		PDP	Ibrahim Shehu Shema	PDP
21 Kebbi	Alhaji Adamu Aliero	PDP	Saidu Usman Dakin-Gari	PDP

22 Kogi	Alhaji Ibrahim Idris	PDP	Idris Ibrahim (re-election)	PDP
23 Kwara	Dr. Bukola Saraki	PDP	Bukola Saraki (re-election)	PDP
24 Lagos	Senator Bola Tinubu	AD	Babatunde Fashola	AC
25 Nassarawa	Alhaji Abdullahi Adamu	PDP	Aliu Akwe Doma	PDP
26 Niger	Engr. Abdulkari Kure	PDP	Muazu Babangida Aliyu	PDP
27 Ogun	Otunba Gbenga Daniels	PDP	Gbenga Daniel (re-election)	PDP
28 Ondo	Dr. Segun Agagu	PDP	Segun Agagu (re-election)	PDP
29 Osun	Col (rtd). Olagunsoye Oyinlola	PDP	Olagunsoye Oyinlola (re-election)	PDP
30 Oyo	Rasheed Ladoja	PDP	Adebayo Alao-Akala	PDP

31 Plateau	Chief Joshua Dariye	PDP	Jonah Jang	PDP
32 Rivers	Dr. Peter Odili	PDP	Celestine Omehia	PDP
33 Sokoto	Alhaji Allahiru Bafarawa	ANPP	Magatakarda Wammako	PDP
34 Taraba	Rev. Jolly Ngame	PDP	Danbaba Danfulani Suntari	PDP
35 Yobe	Alhaji Bukar Abba Ibrahim	ANPP	Mamman Ali	ANPP
36 Zamfara	Alhaji Ahmed Sani Yerima	ANPP	Mahmudu Aliyu Shinkafi	ANPP
	SUMMARY	AD – 1		AC – 1
	(numbers by party)	ANPP – 6		ANPP – 5
		APGA – 1		PPA – 2
		PDP – 28		PDP – 28
	SUMMARY			Lagos: ADàAC
	(Switches by party)			Bauchi: PDP à ANPP
				Jigawa & Sokoto:

ANPP à PDP

Anambra: APGA à
PDP

Imo & Abia: PDP à
PPA

Source: http://www.nigerianmuse.com/important_documents/?u=Presidential_results_2007.htm

Gubernatorial Elections 2011

S / N	STATE	PDP	ACN	CPC	ANP	APGA	LP	DP	ACC	PP	AC	Oth	TOT	Lea	Ma
									ORD	N	PN	ers	AL	der	rgin
1	ABIA	641,158	18,004			49,421						43,778	752,361	PDP	85.2%
2	AKWAIBOM	957,585	163,449	15,660									1,136,694	PDP	84.2%
3	BAUCHI	771,503	107,237	238,436	102,093								1,219,269	PDP	63.3%
4	BENUE	325,536	233,598										559,134	PDP	58.2%
5	BORNO	450,140	6,261	51,370	531,547							5,711	1,045,029	ANPP	50.9%
6	DELTA	525,793						433,834					959,627	PDP	54.8%
7	EBONYI	287,217			125,248	29,055							441,520	PDP	65.1%
8	ENUGU	419,790					30,135					29,565	479,490	PDP	87.5%
9	GOMBE	591,481		91,781									683,262	PDP	86.6%
10	IMO	290,496	107,068		3,313	336,859	1,549					1,078	740,363	APGA	45.5%
11	JIGAWA	676,307	343,177	56,911	12,124	842						5,188	1,094,549	PDP	61.8%
12	KADUNA	1,339,487		1,114,987									2,454,474	PDP	54.6%
13	KANO	1,180,345		175,143	1,048,317								2,403,805	PDP	49.1%
14	KATSINA	1,027,912	19,990	555,769			1,146						1,604,817	PDP	64.1%
15	KEBBI	559,424	67,710	326,482	1,801							4,017	959,434	PDP	58.3%
16	KWARA	254,969	152,580	10,042	1,958	729		5,640			72,456	5,728	504,102	PDP	50.6%
17	LAGOS	300,450	1,509,113	25	19	0	0		9			53,897	1,863,513	ACN	81.0%

18	NASSA RAWA	32093 8		32482 3								45,85 8	691,6 19	CPC	47.0 %
19	NIGER	491,5 70	29,80 6	207,5 03	64,37 7								793,2 56	PDP	62.0 %
20	OGUN	188,6 98	377,4 87							137, 715			703,9 00	ACN	53.6 %
21	OYO	386,4 80	420,1 67						275,15 1				1,081, 798	ACN	38.8 %
22	PLATEA U	823,5 36					494, 975						1,318, 511	PDP	62.5 %
23	RIVERS	1,178, 568	60,24 1	1,900	3,912	112, 528	2,25 0		1,216			12,85 4	1,373, 469	PDP	85.8 %
24	TARABA	361,1 76		176,3 42									537,5 18	PDP	67.2 %
25	YOBE	195,4 49			436,9 98						1,707		634,1 54	ANPP	68.9 %
26	ZAMFA RA	460,6 56			514,6 56								975,3 12	ANPP	52.8 %

Source: http://www.nigerianmuse.com/important_documents/?u=governatorial_results.html

GENERAL COMMENTS/OBSERVATIONS/CRITICISM

EXTERNAL HELD ON 12TH APRIL, 2018

1. Expand your review and explanation on PDP and political mobilization
2. Objectives of the study should be linked with gap found in the literature review
3. The timeframe of the study is too short (2011-2015 may be better)
4. What are the extensive roles played by the agents of political mobilization?
5. Give number of campaign rallies held by the PDP in their political mobilization
6. Itemize your findings
7. Show in your work where you employed the service of a research assistant and how?
8. Chapter 4 should have a title.
9. Tables should be well analysed to show their implications
10. Show where the PDP used internet and social media.
11. Justification for the study should be tied to gap in the literature
12. The abstract should be re-worked
13. Number of rallies, advertisement in radio and television by the PDP should be clearly stated.