

Facebook Use for Political Campaigning in Nigeria for 2015 General Elections: Representation of Two Parties Campaigns

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ABSTRACT

During the last election in Nigeria, different political parties made use of new media for their political campaign. They made use of websites, SMS, SNSs, online blog advertising, YouTube ad, to create what and how we should think about/or of them.

The aim of this study is to examine how the two top political parties (APC and PDP) in Nigeria used Facebook for their political campaign during the 2015 presidential elections.

Coding sheet was used to collect the data. The coding sheet revealed that there were 108 items collected from Facebook, ranged from January 1 to April 30. The population size of the study was particularly two parties – APC and PDP. The study made use of the quantitative content analysis. In order to make the study more scientific, the collected data was entered and analysed in SPSS as descriptive analysis. To make the study more comparative between the two political parties involved, a crosstabulation analysis were adopted.

This study featured the propaganda theory in mass/new media, the public opinion theory and use and gratification theory, digital public sphere, as its theoretical framework.

The study unveiled interesting facts and figures, and concluded that public opinion is not consciously observed by the electorates until it has achieved its aim.

Keywords: New Media, Political Communication, Public Opinion, Digital Public Sphere.

ÖZ

Nijerya'daki son seçimler sırasında farklı siyasi partiler siyasi kampanyaları için yeni medyayı kullandılar. Web sitelerini, SMS'leri, SNS'leri, çevrimiçi blog reklamcılığını, YouTube reklamını kullanarak ne ve neleri düşünmemiz gerektiğini bizlere verdiler.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Nijerya'daki iki üst düzey siyasi partinin (APC ve PDP) 2015'te yapılacak cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimleri sırasında Facebook'u siyasi kampanyaları için nasıl kullandıklarını incelemektir.

Verileri toplamak için kodlama sayfası kullanılmıştır. Kodlama tablosunda, Facebook'tan toplanan veriler 1 Ocak - 30 Nisan arasında değişen ve toplam 108 mesajdan oluşmaktadır. Araştırmanın nüfus büyüklüğü özellikle APC ve PDP olmak üzere iki partiydi. Çalışmada nicel içerik analizi kullanılmıştır. Toplanan veriler SPSS'de betimsel analiz olarak girilmiş ve analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmayı yer alan iki siyasi parti arasında daha karşılaştırmalı yapmak için, bir karşılaştırma (crosstabulation) analizi yapılmıştır.

Bu çalışma, kitlesel ve yeni medyadaki propaganda teorisini, kamuoyu oluşturma teorisini ve kullanımını ve doyumlar teorisini, dijital kamusal alanı teorik çerçevesi olarak ele aldı.

Araştırma, ilginç gerçekleri ve rakamları bulmuştur. Kamuoyunun seçmenler tarafından amacına ulaşınca kadar bilinçli olarak gözlenmediği ortaya çıktı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni Medya, Siyasal İletişim, Kamuoyu, Dijital Kamusal Alan.

DEDICATION

To those whose contributions are geared towards making Nigeria more
Republic.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABN	African Broadcast Network
ACN	Action Congress for Nigeria
ANPP	All Nigerian People's Party
APGA	All Progressive Grand Alliances
APC	All Progressive Congress
AU	African Union
CDD	Centre for Democracy and Development
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Sahara States
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ISP	Internet Service Provider
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transsexual
NCC	National Communication Commission
NPC	Northern People's Congress
SBM	Sb Morgen Intelligence
SMS	Short Message Service
SNS	Social Network Site
USD	United States Dollar

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Primarily, the concern of a study on any discipline is to critically construe without mincing words the limits of the research. Here, we are to focus our research on how the two political parties in Nigeria (PDP and APC) try to influence the voting choice of Nigerians with the aid of New Media. As a matter of fact, our research is to explore critically into the general system of politics, with an unprejudiced inquiry into the body of electioneering campaign without overlooking its effects on the citizens' choice of the candidate to vote for.

Structurally, this chapter gears towards the background information and incentive of the study which looks into the fruition of new media on politics. Before then, it brings into examination why political leaders employed new media to advertise their propaganda. Also, it comprises the nation Nigeria, the statement of problem, limitation, assumption, importance and 'why' the study. Indeed, the study is a free one.

1.1 Background and Motivation

The world is developing and so does the west Africa. The conventional media in West Africa have been in the hands of those in power an evil machinery targeted at the mercy of the citizen to have a total oppression and submission of their rights just to clip to power. That is to say, from each nation's independence in west Africa, not until recently, the different media industries were owned or better still controlled by

the government. This means all information reported must be *in tandem* with and grace of the political leaders. Annoyingly, the media controlled by the government served as praise-singers to the leaders even to the extent to see good of their ruthless exhibition.

The gradual transformation of autocracy of some African countries to democratic governance has led to the weighty change of media from being authoritarian or communist to libertarianism. To be more precise, Nigerians before and after independence, have been misinformed by the mainstream media. This mainstream media sidelined the individual citizen's right to participate in government (Owolabi & O'Neill, 2013). Being heavily dependent on the media for information, political actors give them what they deem fit to be known with the full knowledge of, as Castells would say 'what does not exist in the media, does not exist in the public mind' (Castells 2007b, 241).

The advent of new media ushers Nigerians into a new way of engaging in politics. Grounded within the basis of democratic participation, technological determinism, or use and gratification, online civic participation of Nigerians includes asking questions during political debates, social mobilization as seen in the #OccupyNigeria protest (Ogunlesi, 2012). New media is incomplete without internet access. The internet has become very important asset among Nigerians that they view it essential for communication and intrinsically gaining ground for political communication. Nigeria is the highest internet user in Africa with the estimation of 97.21 million users in 2016 (Internet World Stats, 2017). Before then, it looks like the new media use in politics in Nigeria had been on trial. In 2011 – marking the breakthrough use of the internet in electioneering campaign – to 2015,

the estimated internet users were 46.56, 55.1, 65.67, 75.74, 82 million respectively. They engage in internet mainly with mobile phones.

The influx of technology and globalization into Nigerian media and politics precipitated the topic of this thesis. Little or no attention has been paid on the use of computer mediated technology to campaign especially in west Africa. I hope with this research, it will serve as an addendum to the erstwhile and subsequent research on the prospect and challenges of new media on political communication strategy of Nigeria to enhance productive civic engagement in government.

New media is a relativistic term that is attached to the current media, which in the 1940s and 50s was the television and nowadays - the Internet (Lifvergren, 2011). New media is strictly an idiosyncratic reigning concept. A new thing today will in subsequent be old. Appreciations to the global effort, inventive privy, and audience consumption urge of anything has led to the influx of electronic media into the global world, that information and communication can easily be presented to one's doorsteps (Ndinojuo, 2015).

The new media technologies have received a quantum leap in politics, campaigning and voting. This is evident in the use of social media for different political reasons. We see different websites, blogs and all social media pages belonging to different political parties and persons. In order to manage these new media platform, they employ new media operators who in return watch and based on the directives of political leaders and parties, read and respond to the interrogations of the public.

New media are to a large extent called computer-mediated tooling. This is because they encourage users to create, share or exchange information, ideas and pictures/videos to one another. Because it is computer mediated communication, it has predisposed thought-pattern of people, influenced the communicative way of individuals to each other. That is to say, the study of the new media involves firstly the technologies applied and later cut across to the human behavioural and cultural influence which the technological determinism theory focused on. The theory believed that there is a causal link between technology, culture and society; in what Arulchelvan calls “a cause-and-effect relationship” (Arulchelvan, 2014). Simply put, media technology provokes the way we feel, think, talk and act in our environment. They serve as determinant factor in our lives. In other words, they shape our thought thinking pattern by providing us with solutions to problems and at the same create new ones.

In a bid to solve the accessibility, interactivity bridge existence between the political office-seekers and the electorates, new media technologies were introduced in a social networking form. The purposes of the establishment of many social media networks primordially have them for social activities but later metamorphosed to political communication and dissemination of information (Edegoh & Anunike, 2016). They can be used for education purposes, religion, business, politics based on different organization or persons. Some existing SNSs include Twitter, Facebook, Whatsapp, MySpace, IMO, Google+, YouTube, LinkedIn, Flickr, Eskimo.

In this study, to the first question, an ornate and coherent related notion of literature is introduced. For a start, evolution and definition of new media is captured, even as not to lose sight of its features and make ups. In a restriction mode, the web 2.0

technologies are mapped out to determine the propaganda model stationed by the elites, the level of technological determinism involved and otherwise. Then, case studies of Facebook post of 2015 general election from January 1 to April 30, two leading political parties - PDP and APC - are adopted for a more substantive claim and comparative study. Case studies in the words of Robert Yin, “are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not populations or universe” (Yin, 1984, p. 13). Sequel to that, be mindful that in case study, to generalize is not to particularize (Lipset, Trow , & Coleman, J., 1956).

Approaching questions 2 and 3, the study trailed the content analysis. Content analysis is a qualitative research conduction usually done in social science. It welcomes systemization and standardization. In order to near an efficient study, the quantitative approach was employed to analyse and interpret the data involved. Finally, in what may look like a comparison between the PDP – People’s Democratic Party – and APC – All Progressive Congress – were selected and have their political communication approach examined.

The major purpose of this research is to investigate into the Facebook use for political campaigning by the two top political parties in Nigeria. Among the little literature available on new media use in 2015 general election in Nigeria, Edegoh, and Anunike’s research outcome showed that the two leading political candidates engaged in accusations and counter accusations against each other. He further suggested a more proactive use of new media for as a political communication during electioneering campaigning and voting (Edegoh & Anunike, 2016).

1.1.1 The Nation Nigeria

According to geographical analysis, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, commonly referred to as Nigeria, is a federal republic in West Africa, bordering Benin in the West, Chad and Cameroon in the East, and Niger in the north. She has a total area of 923,768 km² (356,669 sq mi), making it the world's 32nd-largest country (after Tanzania). Compare to the size, it is measurable to Venezuela, and about double the size of California in United States of America. It shares a 4,047-kilometre (2,515 mi) border with Benin (773 km or 480 mi), Niger (1,497 km or 930 mi), Chad (87 km or 54 mi), Cameroon (1,690 km or 1,050 mi), and has a coastline of at least 853 kilometres (530 miles) (Worldometers, 2017). Nigeria lies between latitudes 4° and 14°N, and longitudes 2° and 15°E (West Africa Gateway, 2012). Its coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. Its main rivers are the Niger, where it got its name from, and the Benue, the main tributary of the Niger. Its highest point is *Chappal Waddi* (or Gangirwal) with 2,419 m (7,936 ft.), located in the Adamawa mountains in the Gashaka-Gumti National Park, Taraba State, on the border with Cameroon.

According to statistical analysis, she has an estimated population of 182.2 Million making her the 7th most populous country in the world with over 250 ethno-linguistic groups and English Language as her official language. The three major and predominant ethnic groups are Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba (World bank report, 2016).

Other analysis will reveal that Nigeria comprises of 36 states with her Capital at Abuja while her primary port, economic hub and largest city is located at Lagos. She is officially a democratic secular country and She originated from British colonial rule beginning in the 19th century, and the merging of the Southern Nigeria

Protectorate and Northern Nigeria Protectorate in 1914. She became a formally independent federation in 1960.

Politically, She has alternated between democratically elected civilian governments and military dictatorships with many coup d'états and deadly pogroms until she achieved a stable democracy in 1999 with the 2011 presidential elections considered the first to be reasonably free and fair (Alawode & Adesanya, 2016). She plunged into a civil war from 1967 to 1970 which decimated over 2 million people who died majorly from starvation (Adibe, 2015). The economic power of the nation was also truncated, drastically reduced and grossly mismanaged during the war (Achebe, 2013). The cultural sanitation of the nation was deeply affected because the war was predominantly the war of races; between Nigeria and the Igbo race of the country (Achebe, 2013). The nucleus of the country was predominantly torn apart as the result of the war.

Economically speaking, as of 2015, Nigeria is taken to be the world's 20th largest economy, worth more than \$500 billion and \$1 trillion in terms of nominal GDP and purchasing power parity respectively (World bank, 2015). It overtook South Africa to become Africa's largest economy in 2014. The 2013 debt-to-GDP ratio was 11 percent. Nigeria is considered to be an emerging market by the World Bank. She has been identified as a regional power on the African continent, a middle power in international affairs and has also been identified as an emerging global power. Nigeria is a member of the MINT group of countries, which are widely seen as the globe's next "BRIC-like" economies. It is also listed among the "Next Eleven" economies set to become among the biggest in the world. Nigeria is a founding member of the African Union and a member of many other international

organizations, including the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations and OPEC. She is commonly referred to as the giant of Africa because of its population and its gigantic economy as already highlighted.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The new media is a very interesting instrument for political campaigns. In fact, it has become in the hands of politicians an outstanding tool to reach every nook and cranny. New media cross boundaries, cut across borderline even to one's inconvenient time and break will to indecision especially on the side of the electorates. In other words, they resort to new media to continue in their 'propaganda model' which in return altar in the economic, social and political values and norms people hold dear. In this way, they create public opinion.

Because of the participatory nature, low cost opportunity and interactivity between the electorates and the public office-seekers, Nigerian politicians in 2011 general election marked the first new media usage in different ways of their political discourses. There were recorded achievements in the invention, however, loopholes were witnessed as such – bloody violent. Having learnt from the mistakes of election preparation - though that not forming the bone of contention of this research, forwarded to 2015, great utilization of social media became eminent. Although regarded as a bloodless election, the way and manner PDP and APC participated in the new media platform, created lukewarm Nigerians rather than nationalism (Edegoh & Anunike, 2016). Simply put, the electioneering campaign of Nigerian public office seekers secretly present propaganda to legitimize in the minds of the people their political ideology through mass and new media (Public opinion).

Following this line of thought, this study will not lose sight of the meaning and nature of social media, the likely way these two political parties – PDP and APC – use them to their party's interest.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

The study aims to analyse the new media use for campaigning and voting in Nigeria general elections focally the 2015 general election. In the experiences of the two top and rival political parties, this thesis target to contribute to the advancement of the function of various platforms of new media to the Nigerian democratic process. Having observed, read and evaluated the impact of new media focally the social media in the Nigerian 2011 post-election violence and 2015 general election, the researcher has incentive to bring to limelight the shortcoming of new media; whether it has the wherewithal to influence the voting behavior of the populace than the conventional media. Descending to particulars, this study investigated:

1. How Nigerian political actors use Facebook for political campaigns?
2. How effective the Facebook political campaigns are on the electoral activities?
3. The Public Opinion created by the political parties to the electorates.
4. The differences in the use of Facebook campaign between two parties in Nigeria.

In an attempt to investigate in this research, possible questions were developed as to make focus.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions guided the research study:

1. What aim do the political parties achieved in their involvement of new media for political communication in the 2015 general election?

2. Did the Facebook political campaign of PDP and APC drive the voting behavior of Nigerians?
3. Did the different ways PDP and APC engage in Facebook campaign during election create digital public sphere in Nigeria effectively?
4. Could their different ways and manner of Facebook campaign serve as determinant for winning an election?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Across Nigeria, previous studies have been made on similar issue revolving round politics and new media, each depicting results based on purposes and demography. Consequence upon this, the study projects to deliver new knowledge to computer-mediated communication study. Finally, it can be used as footnotes to further research related to political communication.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Notwithstanding the misplaced punches and as always been, the Nigerian 2015 general elections had many political parties involved in the “purportedly declared free and fair election” (Ikeji, 2015). Just as Nigeria has always observed a multi-party system, the All Progressive Congress (APC) and the People’s Democratic Party are the two-foremost party-politics in Nigeria. As regards the national observatory look, the two political parties have their anthropic structure and edifice available in all states of the country. This is evident in the numeric quantity of the registered party associates, number of party members occupying elective offices in the nation - senators, members of the House of Representative, governors, etc. These two political parties went into the 2015 elections as the top parties, as the parties to beat while all other political parties in the land were seen as footnotes.

The extent of the utilization of social media in the 2015 electioneering campaigns by the PDP and APC, as political institutions for political communication with the primary responsibility of participating in and winning elections form the thrust of this study. The study is important in the sense that it investigated electioneering campaigning activities of political parties in Nigeria with a view to ascertaining how the major political parties performed in their use of social media platforms in 2015 general elections, as it is often said that election is a major test of a nation's democracy.

Since many research done are what and how social media aid in education, interaction and politics, little attention has been paid on the electioneering campaign content of different political party candidates in Nigeria.

Second, its importance also is channeled to structural understanding of new media usage (social media) on electioneering campaigning as to know how to strengthen the medium to avoid financial mismanagement.

Third, it broadens the research on social media and individual as to what extend is human element in interplay with new media to understand its media content.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Social media is a very broad platform. The study was limited to accommodate only Facebook post on January 1 to April 30 2015.

Political online activities did not start today but the limitation of the study concentrated on the 2015 general election.

Nigeria is a multi-part nation with about forty-four political parties in number. This study limited the research to two political parties (PDP and APC).

1.8 Thesis Outline

Structurally, this research work is divided into five chapters. Chapters one and two deal with the general introduction and the conceptualization of the following; New media, communication strategy, electioneering campaign, propaganda model, and some audience effect theories. Chapter three will be a critical exploration on the following; methodology, data collection technique, combine with model and hypotheses. The outcome of data analysis, discussion of the findings, its contribution to humanity in general, limitation and recommendation for further studies will form chapter 4 of this research. Finally, the conclusion of the research will be found in chapter 5.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter accommodated in total nine titles with six sub-title: Title 2.0 praised the internet for its contribution of making people aware and more active to their civic right which now the political actors tapped in to use. Title 2.1 existing alongside with subtitles treated about Nigeria, focusing on her geography, socio-political and economic structure. 2.2 title captured how the Nigerian government was in control of the media particularly the old media and also revealed that the new media is still a promising one precisely in aiding democracy. Title 2.3 is all about the transition of the internet to social networking sites especially how it is mainly interactive rather than one-way communication. Title 2.4 enumerated the digital gap and access of internet in Nigeria even as there are some digital connections in place already. 2.5 title presented what digital public sphere is all about while in title 2.6, Use and gratification was elaborated. Title 2.7 explained the online social mobilization in form of campaign in Nigeria while 2.7.1 subtitle addressed the empirical studies on propaganda in new media in Nigeria political communication. Title 2.8 discussed about the theoretical framework while 2.9 formed the summary of the point raised.

2.1 Background

The new media use for campaigning has been different from the way of their application from country to country. The internet has made citizens civic conscious. Their civic awareness makes them significant in the democratic development of a community. The accessibility of the internet also allows citizens to engage and know

political process. It is the online citizens' participation which forms as culture, initiated and changed the electioneering campaigning from the focus of the political parties to the image and character of candidates in Nigeria. That is to say, political communication of the candidates is now based on his/her charisma, like in the case of Barack Obama of USA and Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria. As the population of Nigerians increases, online campaign strategy is gradually being adapted to address the voting population. Previously, the communication strategy of different political parties involves the use of songs, Public Speeches, Stickers, Bill boards.

Research done concerning changes in technologies and information suggest that there will be diffusion of innovation in the electioneering campaigning having a reflect of the American pattern. However, Karlsen (2010) refuted changes in technologies to influence the transformation of electioneering campaigning to pay allegiance to American model. His concurrence stems from a hybridization viewpoint, that dependency on the differential structure of history, context and culture of a given people is the change in election campaign.

Sequel to this, mine is not the first inquiry made on the new media use for electioneering campaign neither is it the last made on such related theories. This chapter provides us with insightful comportment into several studies of the related notion. It further grants better explanation on some concepts – web 2.0 technologies, digital gap, and digital public sphere.

Among the source reviewed, empirical studies concerning the role of new media in Nigeria electioneering campaigning were considered which aim in the finding of some recommendation for further studies.

2.2 Old Media, New Media and Democracy in Nigeria

Media operation especially how new media would work will best be understood if we cross check the conventional media way of reporting and covering an issue in Nigeria.

Because media were strictly owned and controlled by government in Nigeria during the first republic from 1960 - 1966, the effect of this created tension in the lives of the people. How they (media) report national issues – religious crisis, census, ethnic crash, election campaign and crisis – were lopsided and one can easily guess which media was responsible and controlled by the region (Seng & Hunt, 1986). These mainstream media reporting expressed typicality of fanaticism and opinionated mindset. All the regional and federal government media disparity was established during the colonial era and independence. The census crisis happened during this period which was political motivated. This created inter-ethnic quarrel leading to the political leadership divide. This implied that several regional government spell out quarrel to each through the use of their media (Seng & Hunt, 1986). For instance, the northern region media accused the eastern region that they did malpractice in the conducted census. In the counter accusation, the eastern government owned media tag the “Northern People Congress” (NPC) accusation “childish” (Adesoji, 2010).

Olayiwola (1999) revealed that the military then normally jump into action to see that any newspaper envisaged to be threat to government are hoarded. They defied all protocol and abused the freedom of the press. Most the military regime promulgated law that restricted the freedom of the press. That did not stop the one-sided journalism of the press. The Babangida regime annulled the democratic

election of Abiola (Olayiwola, 1999). According to Olayiwola, the situation deepened the ethnic journalism and created a new political communication marked with adversaries. The media fully emerged as tools for partisanship in politics. That is to say, they overtly oppose and propose candidates. Allegation that reporters were bought to write all stories from the viewpoint of political highest bidder (Adesoji, 2010). These led to the fall of the second republic.

Fast forwarded to the fourth republic, the Nigeria media industry showed great roles in the electioneering process because it marked the beginning of the practice of democratic government. All the tactic of the media practitioners to intimidate opposition candidates were still observed. Government owned media find it difficult to report the campaign of the opponents while the privately-owned take both side in reporting political events. In fact, democracy was challenged (Nwanyanwu, 2009).

Democracy for now is seen as the best system of administration in virtually all part of the world. When the American Elite and Statesman, Abraham Lincoln made the proposition that “Democracy is the government of the people, for the people and by the people”, it simply accentuates the fact that both the people and the government are the beneficiaries of Democracy. This also shows the fact that for Democratic principles to be properly implemented, the Government and the people must owe to each other allegiance or duty. It can be substantiated in terms of justice, fairness, transparency, accountability, checking of excesses of the government and the people and of course dedication and responsibility vis-à-vis their relationship with each other. It is thus in the condition of what the political philosophers may call the *social contract* that the fundamentalism of the rule of law and peaceful co-existence

between the government and the people which are of course the basic ingredients of democracy can be honored and actualized.

Leaders in any democratic setting are produced by way of elections, which means that one person represent others in an office as function. This form the very cardinal structures to democracy (Okoro & Nwafor, 2013). Election in democracy is normally characterized competitive, intermittent, free and fair and in human form, loggerhead. Place side by side with the western world democracy, Nigeria's democracy is a promising one. From 2011 to till date, she has recorded historic new media participation in the general election conducted. Udejinta articulated his trust in the employment of social media influences by the public office seekers coupled with their party affiliation to the electorates to perform politically (Udejinta, 2011).

The significance of social media on Nigeria election was first attested to through Goodluck's application of it in 2011 but was stretched to its important in 2015. A presidential aspiration declaration took place on the Facebook page. Being the first of its kind, this registered in the interest of the youth that he is really the right candidate for them. Before the actual day for the election, he had to his Facebook page followers nearly a million (Okoro & Nwafor, 2013). The win effect of this election is reflected in his opponents use of the social media in the likes of Mohammed Buhari (CPC), Nuhu Ribadu (ACN) and Alhaji Shakarau (ANPP) who flown into social media to competent with him (Adibe, Odoemelam and Chibuwe 2011).

In addendum, different aspirants were in struggle in the social media to canvass vote against their opponents – governors, senators, honourable members. Facebook measured to be the major platform of political information dissemination, use to lure

in more electorates in one's favour (Ndinojuo, 2015). This symbolically marked the era of online civic participation especially among the youths. It ushered in, Nigerians a press theory of democratic-participant which demonstrates “a radical effort to neutralize all sorts of monopoly in media gate-keeping, therefore accommodating popular participation as represented by the diverse societal interests like students, labour, political parties, gender groups and religious bodies, among others” (Ekwugha & Uzochukwu, 2014). Simply put, this period brought in the “de-monopolization” in the media industry in Nigeria.

The definition of new media is in a way problematic because what is new today is in a moving possibility to becoming old someday. Defining new media will be best based on their functionality than the device designed approach (Ndinojuo, 2015).

Mcquail (2010) explained his challenging to have a definition of New media. He started by question the new in the New media. To the question “what is new in the New Media”? McQuail, being a traditional communicator observed new media to be digitally eased in the form of internet, and computer technology. He believed that they are focal to the deep energy of computer mediated as digitalization which accept all manners of data in all forms (McQuail, 2010).

In the handbook study, Lievrouw & Livngstone selected a parallel way to define New Media. They develop new media in a compound mode and established three indications: technological artefacts and devices, activities, practices and uses; and social arrangements and organizations that form around the devices and practices (p.39)

What made the new media a significant tool for the electorates and in the hands of politicians during campaign is its characterized nature of interactivity (Arulchelvan, 2014). Simply put, it can change a vicinity, accept huge participation of the audiences at the same time, less expensive and enhances speedy communication. These features form an integral composition to democracy.

2.3 Web 2.0 Technologies and Social Media

Web 2.0 is a stretch in the development of ICT found in the routine of wide world web related technology. It is best understood with its beneficial purpose and outcome – exponential growth in collaboration, more options in terms of website functionality and sharing of information. It suggests fruition of all related web users. It is like an upgrade in world wide web even without changing the components of their initial make up. As such, these changes were done by the web and software developers by adding more and simplified features to enable the end-users to be part of the decision making in creating web-based societies. In fact, it is branded as having content that transform passive users into a more lively/active consumption content (Bower, 2015).

Web 2.0 is very ambiguous to define but can be best understood when describe. It is not surely a concept. It is an approach or a shift in paradigm. Etymologically, web 2.0 was a promoted approach to technology at the O'Reilly Media web 2.0 conference in the late 2004 by Tim O'Reilly and Dale Dougherty (O'Reilly, 2005). Originally coined by Darcy DiNucci in 1999, web 2.0 is like a rebirth period of WWW with a lot changes in operation and business (Bower, 2015). People now take web 2.0 to be a second phase of application development for the WWW (Stern, 2009).

Web 2.0 and Social Networking Sites are best understood if partitioned into three steps. Firstly, in the mid-90s websites were only active participants in communication model. That is to say, they (websites) related to website visitors for information programmed in them. In fact, it was a one-way communication model. This was called web 1.0 (Anderson, 2007). Secondly, in the late 90s and early 2000s, people began to experience web 2.0 websites and technologies. During this period, websites and technologies speak to their visitors; thus, allow for responses from their visitors. Simply put, websites visitors and gadgets owners could upload pictures and videos, comment and contribute content. Now, we can see SNSs come in play, allow visitors to be active by facilitating the conversation between members (Anderson, 2007). It can be called two and/or three-way communication. Thirdly, web 2.0 not only provide a two and/or three-way communication (SNSs) but serves to bridge the gap of online and offline world. Communities in which we live are augmented into a real world (Thomson, 2008). That is to say, people are no longer alien to the happenings in their vicinities. For instance, with mobile phone and application, one can know the cost of many items and properties. It is the filter of information between oneself and reality which web 2.0 technologies sort to bridge. It is usually possible in the mobile space because we are attached to our mobile phone (Anderson, 2007).

However, scholars claim that the gap bridged by web 2.0 technologies cannot be still called web 2.0. They argued that this phase ushered us into the web 3.0. For instance, Michael Zur Muehlen in his YouTube video, summarized the Wikipedia explanation of web 1.0 as “the readable” phase – static, flat data; web 2.0 as “the writable” phase – interactive data; web 3.0 as “the executable” phase – dynamic web applications, interactive services machine to machine interaction (Muehlen, 2007). The YouTuber,

Alejandro Saucedo, acknowledged web 3.0 and referred to it as the sematic web, personalized with intelligence and behavior, whereby machine instead of human does the setup of content (Saucedo, 2012). He went further to outline some significant features of web 3.0 – intelligent search and behavioural advertisement. According to him, it is all mobile technologies that made 3.0 achievable. In contrast, David Barnes forcefully argues that there is no need we call them web 1.0, 2.0, 3.0, saying that what happened was evolution of the web (Muehlen, 2007). He moderated his argument by giving predilection they be called Old and New. He continued by acknowledging the web 2.0 definitions of Tim O'Reilly and others but addressed where he thought they sidelined, saying that it is based on the society in which we live that we do thing socially (Muehlen, 2007).

Meanwhile, Social Networking Websites help people to stay connected with each other, offer interested individuals for a particular course a computer-generated community. There are some sites' features to make you know the social networking sites – profile page comprising of your biodata, pictures; like and dislike buttons, ability to upload videos and pictures, send messages, post comments, edit one's profile (Dube, 2009). Some benefits of SNSs include immediate feedback, gratification reasons, a computer-generated world, education, business. However, some research conducted reports that SNSs cannot be all good to people as addiction, stalking, fake identity and location, security of one are questionable (Rahmawati, 2014).

2.4 Digital Gap – Towards a Digital Nigeria

The availability of technologies and ease of accessing ICT have become one of the prerequisite for including and regarding a country as developed or underdeveloped. It

is also quintessential to political communication as to inform the citizens about their power mainly observe in democracy. That is to say, the global nature of ICT serves as vital force to drive the political activities of a country. It can also be used to develop other sectors – transport, health, agriculture, even tourism. However, Nigeria may not have attained the technological development to measure with the developed countries. The Nigerian government previously stationed plan to address the technological infrastructure and bridge the digital gap that disconnect Nigeria from others, even among Nigerians. Against this backdrop were different telecommunication established – radio, television, telephones, internet (Wikipedia, 2010). But since we are concerned with the new media appliances, our focus is mainly on internet and mobile gadgets.

The government gave license to different telecommunication companies which created room for huge investing in the sector. Some agencies and initiatives were created and equipped to see the loopholes in the sector. They include the Global System for Mobile Communication (GSM) operators and Second National Operator (SNO), Public Service Network (PSNet), Nigerian Universities Network (NUNet), etc (Arikpo, Osofisan, & Usoro, 2009). In addition to this, the Nigerian government couple with some agencies and companies mainly international have registered a tremendous success in the ability to train personnel in the area of ICT who now aid in activities of the country (Arikpo, Osofisan, & Usoro, 2009).

2007/2008 report of IE have it that NCC granted tele license of about 523 to companies which gave them mandate to invest freely to any part of the country for easy interconnectivity, although investigation have it that only few have been functional (Cited in Arikpo, Osofisan, & Usoro, 2009). There are four competitive

GSM companies and several distribution phones stores in Nigeria which reflected on how cheap phone prices are in Nigeria (Economist Intelligent Unit, 2015). Usoro reported that more than 80 ISP and VSAT companies are in Nigeria (Arikpo, Osofisan, & Usoro, 2009). It is important to bear in mind that Nigeria is one of the speediest growing telecom in Africa. In 2016, internet live stat recorded that there were 86,219,965 active internet users. In a similar vein, Wikipedia recorded that there are 150,262,066 total active lines in July 2016. By this, it has 46% penetration (Internet live stat, 2016).

Amidst all these successes recorded in the different ICT operation, Nigeria remain a disconnected country. Recall that the population of Nigeria is over 186,000,000 people – having a 46% percentage of active internet users – there are many people that are still disconnected from politics, the world and even from their environment. With a population of Over 189 million, world bank 2015 population statistics indicated that about 52.22% of Nigerians live in the rural and remote area where lives seem disconnected in itself. On global digital planet index, in 2013, Nigeria was graded 50th with slowly advancing index of 1.63. Among Africa, countries like south Africa has a rapidly advance value of 6.07 with a ranking 4th position. ICT development index (2017) reported 137 position to be Nigeria's with a value of 2.72 and African countries like Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Gabon, Botswana hold better position and value than Nigeria. With the population size, these records put a question to the connectivity and offer a belief of the digital gap in Nigeria. The salient issue related to the denigration of the digital experience is best understood by what hinder the use of internet. The internet infrastructure and subscription is high to acquire. Also, is the poor quality service rendered by the service providers that cause

the digital gap (Ani, Uchendu & Atseye, 2007) especially to people in the rural settlements.

2.5 Digital Public Sphere: Prospects and Trials.

In an attempt to explain what digital public sphere is all about, there are some concepts to bear in mind – digital media, democracy, public sphere, critical theory, private sphere. Notwithstanding the conceptual complexity of the aforementioned, the notion of public sphere has taken the sleep of many current literature of different areas of studies. In area of new media studies, theorists could refer to it as digital public sphere simply because the media have been intercepted by the internet. Different names have been proposed to this conceptual framework – virtual, online, digital – all attach to the differences to understanding the concept (Schäfer, 2016). What we intend to address here are as follows; Can a space for the online public sphere be possible for debates? The prospects and challenges of digital public sphere. The attempt to address the questions will put to consciousness propaganda in new form.

Digital public sphere could simply be put – by some researchers – as a sphere of communication aided and guarded by online facilities, that the common concern deliberated are made visible, open and free to all (Schäfer, 2016). It is like an online involvement of politicking – political communication – by the citizens to have their way on socio-political matters. Before the digital public sphere and public sphere, has the private sphere been existing. The private and public sphere could be likened to the Greek Agora and London coffee house/Paris saloon/print media (Sousa, Pinto, Silva, 2013). In the antiquated Greek period, distinction was made of the private and public sphere to be “public world of politics and private world of family and

economic relation” (Nunberg, 2017). In other words, as family is to private sphere is organization/society/world to the public sphere. Similarly, Raymond Williams developed the phrase ‘mobile privatization’ to explain that nowadays everything is mobile and can be reached even from the confine of one’s comfort (Williams, 1974).

This explains the influx of digital technology. Examining the activities of private sphere in technology age, people are to a reasonable amount granted authority but have their privacy infringe. Privacy options – who can see my post, who can contact me, who can see my profile details – in most SNSs illustrated and demonstrated my explanation (Valtysson, 2012).

On public sphere, Jürgen Habermas was known to be the developer of the concept (Goode, 2005). According to him, public sphere is best understood with the approach of critical theory which he sought in the Marxist viewpoint. Recall that public sphere started in the 18th century when people were seeking their liberation and revolution from the dominant social order (Schäfer, 2016). The essence of Habermas’ public sphere is an inquiry of how individual persons interrelate with their society in all entirety (Habermas, 1964). He envisioned the public sphere as a space where individuals convene to address pressing issues in a debate pattern. He suggested that this can happen between well informed citizens and that what they would discuss would be of common importance to the public and having not any private or individual interest (Gripsrud & Moe, 2010). In the past time, the public opinion was predicated by the dominant culture – religious organization and royal leaders – that form the selves in the society. The advent of the Gutenberg printing press shifted the paradigm from the latter to the private hands (Goode, 2005). One essential factor to this shift is on the side of the public to negotiate their preferred media. That is to say,

owners of the media industries present the meaning of the message to the audiences, and what to focus on as important for discussion.

The emergence of internet seems to have given hope to our lost public sphere but now on a digital scale. It ushers us into the prospective thinking that we can own and control our media and content. Simply put, for one to participate in the digital public sphere, one needs a computer, a browser software, a subscription fee. They give access to all world fora by open participation to voice out opinion without censorship (Gripsrud & Moe, 2010). Likewise, the 18th century understanding of the public sphere was altered by the introduction of different electronic media. Surprisingly, the change is still noticeable among us till date but the technological intrusion brought in an online involvement and make individual persons feel important (Schäfer, 2016).

However, the digital public sphere has not been a perfect sphere to partake in the political discourse of the time because according to some scholars, it has loopholes to work with. Hearst explains the scenario by grouping with two concepts – digital pessimist and digital optimist (Te Waha Nui, 2008). He opines that the optimists are individuals who believe that the exponential increase in citizen journalism, web, internet or user generated content will weaken the dominant influence the private companies have on old media and the people ((Te Waha Nui, 2008). Particularly, the digital optimists argued forcefully that the citizen journalism is surely a counter-product of the old media influence on people and in return brings us into a new democratic life. On the other hand, digital pessimists are people who point out how search engines, SNSs, blogs sell us as products to different companies. These people bring to limelight the amount of checks conducted on you whenever you log in into any website (Te Waha Nui, 2008). Although this help to curb criminal activities in

the society, what is worrisome about this is that it is the mental freedom of individual that have and/or are being bridged daily. To balance the two groups, Hearst developed the idea of pessimism of the internet and optimism of the web. Being influenced by the Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci's *pessimism of the intellect and optimism of the will*, he explained further that in the pessimism of the internet, individuals should be alert of what owners of different search engines and other internet stuffs do with our data, occupy our privacy without consent and the techniques mega media corporation devise in the web for commercial purposes (Te Waha Nui, 2008). The web is actually a communication space after the decline of television and newspaper advertising. On the optimism of the web, he understood that when the necessary awareness about all these conspiracies are created and made known to people, they stand chances to utilize the opportunity in their gains (Te Waha Nui, 2008).

2.6 Electioneering Campaign as Political Communication Strategy

Electioneering campaign is a political campaign done before and after election. It is an exclusive involvement of all activities targeted at the electorates to convince them to vote for or against a party choice candidate during election. The word can be employed anytime to serve its functions but mainly it is preeminent when used before and during an election (Edegoh & Anunike, 2016). In fact, any epiphanic political practice relating to the way of election could be included as electioneering campaign (Okoye, 1996, cited in Okoli and Iortyer, 2014). Bassey saw propaganda model approach in electioneering campaign when he argued that also the aim of public office seekers during this period is to devise means to allure or discourage electorates to vote rightly (Bassey, 2013). It has a target called campaign strategy. To restrict the definition, the aim of political campaigning which Asemah, Nwamuo and

Edegoh (2014) saw as a calculated exertion by the political elites to alter indirectly the policymaking strategy in an exoteric manner. They argued that in era of electioneering campaign, the aim is for the electorates to choose their representatives depending on the system of government practiced.

The message content of the campaign indicates the political party policy or what the candidate in question has to address and believe to relate it to the voters. They use repetitive technique to create perpetual imprint in the psyche of the electorates (Arulchelvan, 2014). The beauty of the campaign is seen more on how crafted the candidates' slogan is to provoke empathy on the side of the voters. We see such in 2008 John McCain's "country first", Obama's "change" mantra, in 2016 Trump's "make America great again" (Arulchelvan, 2014). Nigeria is not to be left out on this. Former president Jonathan in 2011 – being the first to tap into the benefit of social media for campaign – excogitated a mantra bearing compassionate meaning, "I once had no shoe". After his becoming the president in 2015, he used another "transformation". The current president Muhammed Buhari gained electorates using "change" which saw him the winner of the election. That is to say, the success poll of a candidate indicates vested influence of a meticulously coined message (Arulchelvan, 2014). Kavanagh (1996) could not separate political marketing from electioneering campaign. He used them interchangeably, arguing that they are all strategies or technique to penetrate the public opinion which must be pre and during election. Scammell (1999) also bought into the same idea.

Still on campaign strategies as way of communicating politically – affording Bradshaw's idea – it is a sure way to one's political success with rendition of those to vote for their preferred candidate and their reason for doing so (Bradshaw, 2004).

Kriesi et al claims that definite political framework has the campaign strategy enshrined in the character of political actors which translate into their success opportunity (Kriesi et al, 2009). They elaborated further that these political actors unite for group interest – influence, mobilization – expertise their message to be appealing to the mind of the public. Their aim is exclusively for propaganda purpose. In other words, as the political campaign toughens, the hidden interest of the political actors is noticeable (Kriesi et al, 2009).

Political Campaign is normally done in a democratic setting. But then a democratic participatory campaign has evolved endlessly. In most democratic nations, political campaign existed in three major eras which reflected the three media industries transition – Gutenberg print stage (pre-modern), a visual display stage (modern campaign), and digital stage (postmodern). The third stage in a predictable manner will be the main driver of change to political communication (Karlsen, 2010).

Arulchelvan in a similar vein, stand in for this claim, that aside the known conservative mode of campaigning, election campaign to a large extent is practiced through the aid of most electronic media – SMS, Blogs, E-mails, Phone calls, social media. Social media and other related platform are as a result which spring from the rapid growth of the new gadgets technologies, which also political actors use as new paradigms to reaching their followers. All these strategies according to Archelvan, Obikaeze & Udalla, Agboola, Ndinojuo strengthen democracy.

Since political campaign is a strategy, it is as well regulated. McCain-Feingold law (2014) in an attempt to define electioneering campaign outline four regulated rules to be observed by each candidate. In the electoral act of Nigeria, APC and PDP in 2015

general election were accused of violating the law multiple times. Notwithstanding the electoral reforms made to strengthen the system, the then ruling party went ahead and violated the campaign spending limit of N1.05 billion against the N1 billion stipulated in the constitution (Obikaeze & Udalla, 2016). Nachana-aAlahira et al (2015) firmly maintained that against section 95(2) of the 2010 amended electoral act, different political parties especially PDP and APC engaged in the use of vulgar speeches, propaganda and trick to counter each other. This was done through libel publication, unequal coverage of campaign by state media. He further observed another violation as regard the time frame of election campaign. APC and PDP never stick to the time frame rule. Nachana-aAlahira et al (2015) indicated that the then ruling PDP's Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN) started campaign activities before the constitutional stipulated time. Not only that, most then sitting governors and public office holders used tax payer's money to fund their campaign. Because of different violation of the electoral acts, elections in some places were postponed (Obikaeze & Udalla, 2016).

CLEEN Foundation (2015) published the outcome of their research on the 2015 campaign activities of various political parties. Using the exact words, "...the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressives Congress (APC) adopted unethical means of campaign and violated the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON) and National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) Codes guiding political campaigns" (Cited in Obikaeze & Udalla, 2016, p. 46).

2.6.1 Empirical studies 2011 – 2015: Propaganda in New Media and Nigerian Political Communication

Ojekwe (2016), conducted a research to ascertain the relationship between political ad campaign and voting behavior. Restricting her study on the 2015 gubernatorial

election of Lagos state Nigeria, she discovered that there is always an influence in the voting behavior of the electorates and political parties' ad campaign. Though she affirmed that these influences are not felt explicitly but in Nigeria radio and television political ad campaign are still much effective to the electorates. Because Nigerians precisely Lagos are too engrossed in entertainment, she disclosed that "song theme" attached to one's political campaign will go a long way to influence the electorates. Nigerians have been in the voting habit of electing candidates based on party, religion, region of the candidate. She argued that if the audiences should make themselves available to more political advert especially online, they stand better chance to choose the best candidates for the position.

On political electioneering in Nigeria, Aduradola, Remi R., & Chris. C. Ojukwu, revealed that communication has a double standard character. In this way, they cited in Boulton's book that the propagandists customize language not for transfer of message but to trick people. This is often true in the different propaganda development precisely the political and religious aspects in Nigeria. Aduradola, & co. argued forcefully that on how to play on the audiences' intelligence in Nigeria, print and broadcast means are to be held esteem especially during campaign (Aduradola, Remi, Ojukwu, 2013).

The demo report presented by Jamie Bartlett & co., unveiled that social media could be used to campaign and monitor the electoral process in Nigeria. Though, their report indicted the shortcoming of social media, the existing digital gap, expensive data and amount of media illiterate and that this can hinder the strength of social media accuracy which will in turn put the insightful gain in doubt (Bartlett, Krasodonski-Jones, Daniel, Fisher, & Jespersen, 2015).

Ezejideaku & Ugwu (2007) faulted what Nigerian politicians called a successful campaign that they are full of propaganda in content. In respect of this, they argued also that there are other factors Nigerian political players consider a successful campaign – rigging and intimidation of all sort.

Uzochukwu & Ekwugha (2014) denied that currently in Nigeria, online civic engagement should not be everybody but youths. They channeled their energy saying there are some provision to be met in order to have active civic participation in Nigeria.

Olabamiji (2014) did not also denied that new media have really improve electorates' contribution and engagement in politics but conversely the way they use them create tension to one's living which can activate menace in the society.

To gratify that audience are in charge of themselves to participating in the political of Nigeria, Okoro & Nwafor's findings indicate that electorates are yet to make good use of new media technologies to contribute reasonably into the political activities of the country other than insult attack on each other. Their finding did not reveal why this is so but went further to proffer solution to the finding (Okoro & Nwafor, 2013). Therefore, this study adds to the existing literature but takes *weltanschauung* from a sociological approach.

2.7 Uses and Gratification

Utility Theory, also referred to as the "Uses and Gratifications Approach", was first introduced in the 1940s by Lazarsfeld and Stanton (1944) offers an alternative for explaining why people expose themselves to some media and the different types of gratification they receive. Uses and gratifications theory tries to explain how groups,

individuals, society, and institutions use the media and how they equally function in different applications. Blumler and Katz explain “Uses and Gratification Theory” that audience active role is in their members’ ability to choose and use media. In this theory, media users are active and goal-oriented in their media use.

So much modelled in the styles of “functional orientation and tension free needs, Klapper (1960) advocated for the appeal of “escapist” media content as customer’s gratification. He featured simple functions of media as offering relaxation, encouraging the imagination, mediating remote interactions and providing a common ground for social communication. In the same line of thought, Rubin (1979) agreed with Klapper on the description for the appeal of escapist media content.

Besides, in the 1970s, **Uses and Gratifications Theory** shifted from effect theory and took more of a human use approach to media studies. Blumler and Katz maintained that there is “no one way” the audience members use media. Rather, they rely on many reasons for media use as there are users of media. Referring to the theory, media takers as voluntaries have to decide on how they will use the media and how it will affect them. In other words, Uses and Gratifications Theory is the optimist’s view of media. In total, this theory grosses-out the possibility that media can have an indirect influence on our lives and worldview. Thus, the knowledge that we merely engaged media to gratify a particular need implies not to consciously observe the power of media’s power in our contemporary (West, R., and Turner, L. H, 2000: 332).

Levy and Windahl (1984) refine the idea of a “totally active audience” (p. 73), and recommend that different members of spectators will display different types of

activity in different communication settings and at different times in the communication sequence.

Could it be a vaticination when Ruggiero forecasted via a research that internet usage will pursue a change in operation - “profound changes in media users’ personal and social habits and roles” (Ruggiero, 2000 p. 28). Could it be that Ruggiero’s academic prediction was right? Perhaps, the traditional media might have been delaying due to factors ranging from unresponsiveness, inaccessibility, programming and scheduling. Also, it is for the accuse of passive role of the individual that social media took firm of its alternative as active.

The persistence urges for interactive continuity in communication among friends, family, peer group, schoolmates, church members, associations has made its transformation a prospect. This *modus operandi* in communication skill (which also affected our *modus vivendi*) ranges its approach from the offline area into an online space. Just as Raacke and Bonds-Raacke, put it, SNSs have become “virtual places that cater to a specific population,” consequently initiating a municipality unable for many to bargain outside of an online networking background (2008, p. 169). Dyer (2007) carefully observes that this medium (SNS) has generated a new individual breed, identifiable by their connection and online production.

Using their exact words, “SNS provide members with an easy and convenient medium for communication with family, friends and others” (Urisa M., Dong Q., & Day K., 2009, p. 217). According to Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe (2007), SNSs are not just chat-networking sites. They include professional, romantic-dating, friend-

networking sites, even as blog sites that encourage bands and politicians (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007 p.1).

On Facebook, as one most popular SNS, researchers reported Facebook of having 67 million users in 2008 (Park, Kerk, & Valenzuela, 2009, p. 729), which in 2007 is, “more than 21 million registered members generating 1.6 billion pages” views a day (Urisa, Dong, & Day, 2009, p. 218). Recently, SNSs have become a battlefield as a media-format for different political associates, having mastered YouTube, MySpace and Facebook in the 2008 US Presidential Election (Ancu & Cozma, 2009, p. 567). With increase in the recent presence and growth of SNSs, communication theorists channelled their focuses on the Uses and Gratifications Theory (U&G) to seek an explanation(s) as to why users find this new media format desirable.

By way of literature review, some theorist found the major uses and gratification factors of SNS users to be: socializing, entertainment, self-status seeking, and information, efficient communication, convenient communication, curiosity about others, popularity, relationship formation and reinforcement, information-seeking, entertainment, and social needs to be the most prevalent (Park, Kee, Valenzuela, 2009, Urisa, Dong, & Day, 2009, and LaRose & Eastin 2004).

2.7.1 Socializing

Raacke and Bonds-Raacke (2008) observed in a research form that 96.0 percent of users used SNSs to still hold on to their own friends, 91.1%; to preserve the existing relationships, and 56.4%; to acquire new friends (Raacke and Bonds-Raacke, 2008, p. 171). They also maintain that the more people use a particular SNS, “the greater the likelihood his or her social well-being” (p. 170). Socialising as central in U&G

application model to SNSs gratifies typically the desire to meeting new friends and sustain them offline.

2.7.2 Entertainment

Park et al. (2009) discovered entertainment to be one of the factor of U&G among SNS users. Here, it relates solely to leisure and amusement needs (p. 731). Haridakis and Hanson (2008) maintained that socially active and young males used YouTube as stead formula of entertainment, thereby consuming YouTube to fulfill entertainment needs such as entice-seeking and obtaining information (p. 329). They were not surprised on their findings, if related to earlier U&G hypotheses encompassing television and film (p. 330). However, YouTube serves as new paradigm to viewership by allowing interaction between users. With this, Viewers can thus gain socialization through entertainment (Haridakis & Hanson, 2008, p. 330).

2.7.3 Self-Status Seeking

SNS helps individuals to actively sought out Personal statuses by users of these sites (Park et al., 2009, p. 731). This is obvious in the SNS user's profile to present themselves. In his exact words while describing the component of SNS user's profile, Tufekci (2008) stated:

All SNS allow users to articulate their social network via links between their profile page and other profiles. Profiles linked to each other in this manner are called friends. Profile owners also express an online persona through pictures, words and page composition, as well as through data fields where information ranging from favourite books and movies to sexual orientation and relationship status (single, in a relationship, etc.) is indicated (p. 546).

That is to say, it provides users with another opportunity of friendship network and at the same time, gives status to user's existence.

2.7.4 Information

One of the purposes SNS users seek gratifications through a media format is information. A large amount of SNS users find gratification in the amount of information allotted to them through SNSs (Park et al., 2009, p. 731). Researches have it that during the US presidential election in 2008, SNS users recourse to Facebook, YouTube, MySpace, to seek out information about on- and off-campus events and political and civic issues (p.732). About more than half of the country's population (Two-thirds) participated in an SNS (Ancu & Cozma, 2009, p. 570). Of course, it was the first ever, and it was a success because of the populace involvement via the SNS. MySpace has recently become a major SNS that provided special information for the 2008 Presidential Election, alongside allowing the user to "befriend their politician" (Ancu & Cozma, 2009, p. 567). Blogging is another SNS that has been testified to becoming more popular than supplanting traditional agents of information media like television and newspapers (Sweetser et al., 2008, p. 169).

2.7.5 Efficient Communication

Based on the research the author conducted, participants enjoy SNS because of their efficiency. Elaborating on their characters, different participants opened up on how he/she benefits much in SNS with little or no effort. Their benefits include saving income, time saving, providing opportunity for conversation, eliminating depression. Urista M., Dong Q., Day K., (2009), found that in all those interviewed, they still have information as striking drive in their use of SNS. And since SNS is easy and efficient for the users, they resort to social media for the gratification.

2.7.6 Convenient Communication

Under this theme, all participants offered the reason of being in touch with family and friends and by so doing; they manage their communication (Urista M., Dong Q.,

Day K., 2009. P. 221). Because it saves income, because of its quick response in message, SNS becomes the most convenient media format in media studies.

2.7.7 Curiosity

Major participants appreciate that SNS help them acquire information on whoever they are interested in. According to the research, Urista M., Dong Q., Day K., (2009) observe that they use SNS in their relationship matters; thus, serving its purposes. They equally believed that some participants find gratification when they use SNS to acquire information about old acquaintances. Using the researchers' words, "many participants shared that they use SNS to obtain updates about acquaintances". (Urista M., Dong Q., Day K., 2009. p. 221).

2.8 Theoretical Context: Propaganda in New Media

Propaganda is an ambiguous word as to know where best to situate it. One thing is certain, it is always associated with impish activities. Scholars take and look at the word from every angle of life. According to Ellul, propaganda serves as gratifier to one's uncertain existence (Ellul, 2015). Richard Alan Nelson (2015) believes that it is a direct attack on one's "emotions, attitudes", and "opinion" either for ideological, political, economic reasons or otherwise. He continues that propaganda is a biased message content achievable means. Simply put, we encounter propaganda always and everywhere – government, entertainment, education, news (Media Education Lab., 2015). In a restriction mode, political propaganda in line with the introduction of new media in politicking is more discussed here.

Now, we will employ the propaganda model of Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky to back to the old media days and peruse how propaganda were manufactured as public/audiences' consent. Propaganda model attempt to define the

quasi media attitude. Many scholars usually mention the word “propaganda” while referring to countries like Iran, Kazakhstan North Korea. The propaganda model theory does this by applying many approaches – probing restraints of news, its content or reporter by way of pressure from external or internal system. Constraint in any form like this is always profit-oriented (Rampton, 2007). The theory insistently argues that the corporate media barons will always be at the beck and call of the state authorities to assist their ideology (Enoch, 2009). This contradicts the media liberalists who claim that reporting adventure of journalist will always target the those at the helm of affairs and will not see good any of their deeds (Enoch, 2009).

It was first used by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in the book “Manufacturing Consent: the political Economy of the Mass Media”. They postulated that there are “five filters” available to create propaganda. They believed that every news is undiluted in the primary stage. Until they pass through these five filters are the propaganda established in the news content (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). They outlined these filters to be;

Ownership: this is simply the big conglomeration of media industries with the sole purpose of profit. Simply put, whatever that will guarantee profit is their interest.

The hidden role of advertising: the media is expensive in nature to maintain and run that the audiences cannot be the only income avenue for media owners. Through advertisers paying the attention of the audiences, media sell out the audiences as products to the advertisers.

Media elites: this tries to answer the question “How does the institution manage media”? They do so through complicity. It reflects on how government, big institutions, media corporate play the media game. Often, access to the government for information by journalists are difficult and selective.

Flak: used here to mean the unpleasant story to the powers that be. In this way, they make everything possible to discard the story and its source, sanction the reporter and finally divert public attention to some other thing that is precedence to them.

The common enemy: here attention diverted by the flak machine will be made manifest like focusing on terrorism, immigration problem, communism, LGBT etc.

The propaganda model reveals that corporate media were made to serve exclusively the policy of the state and the big institution. With web 2.0 created sphere, propaganda becomes inevitable to encounter. SNSs not only makes it unavoidable but easy it to circulate propaganda. It can come in a libel form against one's opponent, or proposition for country to implement a policy. Typical example of this is the Iran 2003 war against US and 9/11 event. It is similar in Nigeria. Some famous blog and SNSs in Nigeria reported in 2013 that a gubernatorial candidate in Anambra state of Nigeria slapped a catholic priest which was later discovered to be a propaganda against him by his opponents (Vanguard, 2013). However, not long we think SNSs are free from political influence on electioneering campaign, that political campaigners have taken the new direction to make this propaganda inescapable.

Political propaganda exists in *pari passu* with its economy and so also, is the evolution of political campaigns in correspondence with revolution of media. That is to say, media usually is a wherewithal for propaganda. The purpose of political propaganda may not always be accomplished like in the case of Nazi propaganda and quasi-propaganda in 1930 (Black, 1977). But then, the issues have always been who take charge of the media to create propaganda by way of hegemony and control the people?

Coming down to the modern politics, the practice of many different political parties may look like power tussle about who should control the media. They reach out financially to respective media. This creates tension as regards the message content to be disseminated. Politicians did not waste time to tap into the quick invention of the new media. The imaginary new public sphere serves not only as catalyst of revolution of politics but upgrade of hegemony (Rahul, 2016).

To understand propaganda in new media during election campaign, it is significance to relate it to the political economy of media. Thinking that Social media was free from money and power that be, the public values and management regulation are still entrenched in the new media (Klaehn, 2009). Mansel (2004) calls for a revisit for a new media political economy. In there, he suspects that agenda-setting is reflecting in the concerns of governance in general – the citizen, government system, globalization. He maintained in the end that in this way, our living is bridged by new media influence.

In their editorial online journal, Thorhauge, & Helles, reveal that the political economy of new media includes how the old media got reproduced and repackaged

into a new brand. According to them, this demonstrated the fractional recreation of power relation of the old media structures into the new media techniques (Thorhauge & Helles, 2013). In other words, this comes with system, values and players such that all old approaches are not discarded but are changed into a new paradigm. In continuation, this is discovered through critical analysis on the conventional media outlet metamorphosed or in the concept of McLuhan “translate” into new media that emerged as the political economy of new media whether in technologies or media content (Thorhauge & Helles, 2013). Neumeyer & Valtysson acknowledge the diplomatic plot of “tactic, (media) practice and strategies” (2013, p.1). In the military, a critical inquiry made by Stoeihrel indicated the approach pertinent to the Swedish military to use new media to describe *weltanschauung* and also for the sole purpose of economic gain (Stoeihrel, 2013).

There is symbiotic union between campaign policy and political economy of media. To be precise, the relationship can be perceived in media content. Recall that among the conventional media, it is easier to recognize the state-owned media and private through its content.

Difficulty on this is the case of internet. Here, consumer to the content and manufacturers of those content are in interactive ability. On that note, the reveal of cultural attitude, religious instinct, ethnic identity can come into play in the activities of the new media (Rahul, 2016). Electioneering campaign are developed on propaganda and agenda. Since intentions are not seen, propaganda could be intended to divide electorates (Rahul, 2016). Adibe revealed that Nigerians are quick to choose their preferred political candidate based on religion, ethnic, region (Adibe, 2015).

However, some scholars argued that with the introduction of social media, it will be difficult if not unsuccessful for politicians to form monistic media content against the electorates since it will always be interactive. Rauh confirmed that the platform will serve as “testing ground” for all political actors to display their different political agenda (Rahul, 2016). It seems like the online platform is still difficult for political parties and media corporate to hijack. Online Nigerian press confirmed this when the senate made an attempt to pass into law the anti-social media bill but was trashed out immediately people protested online (Vanguard, 2016). They were made to know that no effort can be successful toward having political control over SNSs.

But with the huge digital gap in Nigeria, it will be difficult for political parties to run a successful campaign alone on social media without engaging in the grassroots level campaign.

2.9 Summary

From the forgoing, it is obvious that the political activities of Nigeria are growing. That new media platform especially social indicate some level of power of the electorate this past couple years. Political actors are not relenting on this, in the sense that political electioneering campaign is developing to taproot of different display to the system. In more critical display, we see the propaganda show in the form of the political economy of the new media. Many scholars believed that Nigerian electorates are still to a large extent gratifying the new media involvement in political but this research will interpret their new media political gratification through psycho-sociological context.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the following research questions in chapter one: what aim do the political parties achieved in their involvement of new media for political communication in the 2015 general election?, did the Facebook political campaign of PDP and APC drive the voting behavior of Nigerians?, did the different ways PDP and APC engage in Facebook campaign during election create digital public sphere in Nigeria effectively?, could their different ways and manner of Facebook campaign serve as determinant for winning an election?, several means were adopted. In other words, this thesis looks into the rise and development of new media to partake in the electoral process especially during the 2015 general election and the way and manner the two political parties' candidates – APC and PDP – made use of the new media. It also examines the power of online mass communication by the public officer seekers to drive mass action (public opinion). In detail, the chapter unveils the processes of the research conduct. First of all, the meaning and choosing of qualitative approach will be laid bare. Finally, in what ways were the data collected and analyzed will be discussed.

3.1 Understanding Quantitative Research Methods

The research which normally involve quantitative approach are ultimately characterized by coherent measures featuring numbers, running hypothetical test to quantify social phenomena. Large sample collected are used and amplified to imply the finding of the general. That is to say, a collected sample can – by way of

deduction – be incorporated into a generalized-data-form-theory (Silverman, 2001, 2006, Patton, 2002). Opponents of this have always maintained that variable often run into random techniques while sharing and collecting of the sample. They also argued that researchers are often not part of the research since they have little or no interaction with the audiences involved. Better still, not all social phenomena can be accessed through numerals or random samples. In this way, developing the research sample via quantitative approach, stands the chance of having a myopic outcome (Kloss, 2010).

This research took a quantitative approach because it relates to numbers, figures and amount. The research includes coding sheet and analysis of data in SPSS statistical software after collecting data of parties' Facebook posts, Facebook users' reaction (Emoticon) on each post, their comments, share button use, photo use, images and video and the duration.

3.2 Data Collection Techniques

The research tool is a coding sheet, prepared and collected from the post on Facebook from January 1 to April 30 2015. The coding sheet is mainly divided into two sections – before and after election. it is further subdivided by months – January, February, March, April. Part A of the sections is the pre election post made on Facebook while part b is the post election post and comments.

3.3 Population and Sampling

The populations of this study are the two top political parties in Nigeria – PDP and APC and easy sampling of the two parties' candidates in the 2015 presidential election.

3.4 A Concise History of the Two Political Parties and their Candidates.

The PDP was until the early months of 2015, the ruling party. They have been in power from 1999 to 2015. In other words, they dominated politics. They have strong political structure and human elements. It was regarded as the biggest political in West Africa before she lost her leadership power to her opponent in 2015 (Iredia, 2015). In 1999, being the first democratic election in Nigeria, the PDP occupied 21 states out of the 36 states leaving other parties 15 to share. Also, PDP occupied about 70 seats out of 109 in the senate.

On the other hands, the APC is a coalition of four parties – Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), All Nigeria People’s Party (ANPP), and a group of the All Progressive Grand Alliance (AGPA). Immediately formed, APC posed great threat to the then ruling party.

The election stood major candidates to be former president Goodluck Jonathan (representing the People’s Democratic Party) and President Muhammadu Buhari (representing the All Progressive Party).

We begin by revealing the bio-data of the two political actors of the two loggerhead political parties. The two instruments involved here are Former President Goodluck Jonathan of People’s Democratic Party and President Muhammad Buhari of All Progression Congress.

Table 3.1: Bio-Data of the Two Candidates Involved

Names	
Goodluck Jonathan	Muhammad Buhari
Region	
South	North
Party	
PDP	APC
Age	
59	74
Religion	
Christian	Islam
Education level	
PhD holder	M.A
Life before politics	
Lecturer	Soldier
Campaign slogan	
Transformation	Change

Table 3.1 shows brief biography of the two political actors namely Goodluck Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party and his counterpart Muhammad Buhari of

the All Progressive Congress. On age side, Goodluck Jonathan is fifty-four years while Muhammad Buhari is seventy-four years. The PDP candidate has a Christian background to qualify him being a Christian while the APC candidate is a Muslim who is a retired soldier. Jonathan was a lecturer before his political career. Being a lecturer, he held PhD degree while his political counterpart held his Master's degree while in Nigeria military. Their campaign mantra differs completely – Transformation for the PDP's and Change for the APC's.

A coding sheet of the both parties was collected and prepared, dated from January 1 to April 30 2015.

3.5 Coding Sheet

3.5.1 January 2015, Facebook Post. Party: APC

S/N	Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	1/1/2015	9:48 pm	3300	723	340			1	Welcome to 2015. Together we can build a nation that is secure, prosperous and give everyone a chance.
2	3/1/2015	10:30 am	5,700	442	1112		1		Spent time with the candidate's grandchildren.
3	5/1/2015	7:27 pm	1,700	129	178		1		#ChangeIsFinallyHere.
4	5/1/2015	7:28 pm	1,400	138	105		1		#ThingsMustChange
5	5/1/2015	7:29 pm	1,600	220	269		1		Freedom of worship
6	5/1/2015	9:24 am	284	2,522	31				Party's manifestoes.
7	6/1/2015	1:25 pm	2,100	2,070	1651				Let us talk, Nigerian to Nigerian
8	7/1/2015	12:53 pm	1,200	10,319	100		1		The next president brings #Change to you today.
9	10/1/2015	12:53 pm	1,500	2,252	47	1	1		#ThisIsBuhari.
10	11/1/2015	1:12 pm	3,100	4,571	518		1		Our children deserve better Nigeria.
11	12/1/2015	11:38 am	1,700	8,426	156		1		Igbo endorsed party's candidate.
12	13/1/2015	6:08 pm	4,300	7,589	658		1		The candidate welcomed his wife and daughter into the rally.
13	16/1/2015	1:11 pm	455	68	19				The party brought change message to masses.
14	17/1/2015	11:19 pm	1000	124	114		1		Huge crowd turn up
15	19/1/2015	1:13 pm	1,600	580	1248				Clears the falsehood made against

									them by the opposition party.
16	22/1/2015	12:35 pm	909	94	71				Change is coming
17	22/1/2015	7:33 pm	1,100	118	91				#IhaveDecided. Volunteer for change.
18	24/1/2015	3:24 pm	1000	227	207				Shun violence, vote peacefully, vote them out.
19	25/1/2015	5:14 pm	2,700	485	744		1		In a meeting with US Secretary of State, John Kerry.
20	26/1/2015	5:56 pm	1,200	118	162			1	Common sense revolution
21	27/1/2015	7:17 pm	1,100	138	172				Change is coming
22	28/1/2015	11:11 am	727	116	407		1		Insecurity
23	29/1/2015	4:03 pm	779	91	137		1		Change is coming

3.5.2 February 2015, Facebook Post. Party: APC

S/N	Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	1/2/2015	11:45 am	673	88	71			1	Period of change from bad governance to a good one.
2	3/2/2015	8:00 pm	632	70	117			1	Change of governance is coming. 11 days to go.
3	4/2/2015	7:00 pm	721	89	117			1	10 days #countdown2change.
4	5/2/2015	12:48 pm	905	108	184			1	9 days countdown. #ThingsMustChange.
5	7/2/2015	12:02 pm	1,300	205	206			1	Things are about to change.
6	8/2/2015	10:08 pm	2,100	274	362			1	Change may be postponed but it cannot be denied. Join the movement.
7	11/2/2015	10:19 pm	1,400	181	177		1		Presidential candidate received the UN and the AU to discuss Nigeria and the

									election. #ThingsWillChange.
8	12/2/2015	9:49 am	1,100	159	159			1	45 days, Change is coming. #ThingsWillChange.
9	13/2/2015	10:14 am	1000	154	172			1	#ThingsWillChange. Until Nigeria Decides.
10	16/2/2015	5:33 pm	752	153	101			1	Change may be postponed but it cannot be denied. Change is coming.
11	18/2/2015	11:16 am	1100	131	193			1	Nothing can stop a change whose time has come. #ThingWillChange
12	19/2/2015	4:08 pm	671	143	118			1	Things are about to change.
13	20/2/2015	4:30 pm	672	95	103			1	#ThingsWillChange
14	21/2/2015	4:19 pm	570	87	97				Hope is inexhaustible. Change is near
15	24/2/2015	4:01 pm	724	104	147				Change is almost here. Keep the hope alive.

3.5.3 A Month Before the Election: March

S/N	Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	4/3/2015	8:49 am	1,500	377	364				Petroleum policy to address the fuel shortage
2	7/3/2015	8:29 am	1,500	195	85				They thanked the masses for their active participation during the campaign
3	8/3/2015	12:38 pm	2000	499	203		1		Wished the “next vice-president” a happy birthday, saying his commitment to #Change inspire the country.

4	8/3/2015	11:04 pm	967	269	124				Appreciation to the women of the country as they celebrate IWD2015, urging them to help bring change to the country.
5	25/3/2015	6:43 am	131	25	40	1			The PDP are scared to face justice, that violence is always their answer to every problem, always disrespect your fellow countrymen.
6	25/3/2015	1:35 pm	457	93	158	1			APC party candidate informed the public on why he chose to run for president again; highlighting the economic degradation, Boko-haram terrorism, unemployment.
7	27/3/2015	12:45 pm	2700	1,118	1687				Future better Nigeria, accountable government, united and one Nigeria, a secured Nigeria, democracy, tackle poverty and provide jobs, blame PDP for the nation's under-development in all sectors and promise a gradual remedy. Vote to get the desire change.
8	28/3/2015	11:17 am	1700	344	133		1		A step to begin to experience the change

3.5.4 A Month After the Election: April

S/N	Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	29/3/2015	9:07 am	2,800	649	395				A passionate appeal, Nigeria should be patient and vigilante while waiting the announcement of the election

									result.
2	31/3/2015	7:52 pm	1000	706	38				Get out....
3	31/3/2015	7:54 pm	1200	362	52				Wait for it....
4	1/4/2015	5:47 am	2500	427	305				Sai Baba
5	1/4/2015	8:00 pm	2700	997	775				True change just started. This is our victory.
6	5/4/2015	9:15 pm	2700	432	302				Condolence to Kenyans on the terrorist's attack.
7	5/4/2015	9:46 pm	1400	366	301				Wish the Christian community a happy Easter celebration, urged them to make our nation great.
8	12/4/2015	12:05 am	1700	221	108		1		GMB casts his vote at his hometown. #NigeriaDecides.
9	13/4/2015	3:14 pm	4600	723	437				Congratulatory wishes to all winner governorship candidates even as he looks forward to working with them.
10	29/4/2015	1:30 pm	1,900	279	173				Delightful for the new of the rescue of the captured girls.

3.5.5 January 2015, Facebook post. Party: PDP

S/N	Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	1/1/2015	2:24 am	16,000	8,748	1706				Economy reform, reduce the poverty rate and place all to the ladder of prosperity, strength our democracy, shun violence, live peacefully, improve our

									infrastructure, security.
2	2/1/2015	12:17 am	5,000	2,224	527				Congratulate the Muslim community celebrating Eid El Maulud even as he used the opportunity to advise them to shun violence and urge them to ensure that credible and violence-free election is achieved. No Nigerian will be discriminated based on his/her religion, ethnic group, social attachment.
3	8/1/2015	8:03 am	15,000	11,547	2520				Shun violence. #ForwardNigeria.
4	10/1/2015	11:49 am	15,000	4,461	1493		5		Niece's wedding
5	16/1/2015	11:23 am	13,000	8,187	1835		9		Visited the injured soldiers in the hospitals.
6	17/1/2015	10:10 am	10,000	3,206	956		4		Thanked the masses for a huge turn up in the campaign arena.
7	18/1/2015	12:52 pm	8,500	5,648	1728				Signed contracts for infrastructure.
8	18/1/2015	5:34 pm	11,000	10,319	1,614		6		Supervised the second Niger bridge
9	20/1/2015	7:35 am	7,400	4,522	1670		3		Education and its facilities will be provided for all.
10	21/1/2015	1:00 pm	12,000	9,317	1,234				Health care will be made available for all.
11	22/1/2015	9:18 am	15,000	8,572	3,058		5		Good transport system and very subsidize
12	25/1/2015	6:36 pm	6,800	3,809	894				Food security
13	27/1/2015	12:17 pm	9,100	4,339	952				Food security
14	28/1/2015	3:08 pm	7,900	5,259	921				Food security
15	30/1/2015	3:59 pm	11,000	6,793	2,017		3		Establish international airport to the six-geopolitical zone.

3.5.6 February 2015, Facebook post. Party: PDP

S/ N	Date	Time	Emotico n	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	2/2/2015	9:06 am	5,100	3556	929				Reduce corruption through advancing of technology and food security.
2	3/2/2015	9:28 am	6,700	3341	1413		1		to expand and reap the benefit of national automobile policy
3	4/2/2015	9:00 am	9,900	4,105	1890		2		Women empowerment even in military.
4	5/2/2015	9:10am	7000	4545	1018				Promise credible and transparent election.
5	6/2/2015	9:42 am	4,300	2330	529				Address the healthcare challenge and access to improve and drinkable water.
6	8/2/2015	1:44pm	10,000	6691	1433		1		Continuous revival of the railway system
7	9/2/2015	6:15 pm	15,000	12,633	2,279				Avoidance of hate speech, patriotism.
8	12/2/2015	9:28 am	11,000	5,839	2,804		6		Provision of good roads and construction of more.
9	15/2/2015	1:11pm	17,000	4895	1,539		8		Humanitarian service to the widows of the military.
10	16/2/2015	8:45 am	9,600	5,788	975				War against terrorism
11	17/2/2015	9:00 am	6,000	4,069	1023				An industrialized Nigeria in all sectors of life.
12	18/2/2015	9:00 am	6,100	4882	459				Working railway system and inexpensive airline system.
13	19/2/2015	2:38 pm	4,800	3,198	624				Poverty eradication through job creation.
14	19/2/2015	3:57 am	10,000	4,387	1632		4		Defending the territorial integrity of

									the country by providing the military a more sophisticated weapon.
15	19/2/2015	8:15 pm	11,000	4,495	1207		7		The endorsement of Yoruba elders to the party candidate.
16	20/2/2015	7:13 pm	16,000	8,085	3,179		7		Commission 750-Megawatt power plant
17	22/2/2015	4:15 pm	8,100	3,948	1,034		7		Peaceful coexistence of Muslim and Christianity (Unity)
18	23/2/2015	2:35 pm	8,600	3,990	971		11		Traditional ruler endorsement
19	25/2/2015	9:21 pm	11,000	4,526	1,317		11		Celebrated a former president with other ex-heads of states.
20	26/2/2015	11:14 pm	28,000	13,566	5189				Solidarity for the military fighting Boko Haram terrorists.
21	28/2/2015	7:29 am	9,700	3,926	1275		8		Endorsement by Arewa initiative for peaceful coexistence.

3.5.7 A Month Before Election: March

S/N	Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	7/3/2015	8:16 am	14,000	3,868	1449		23		Working out to stay fit for the office.
2	11/3/2015	9:38 am	8,900	6258	926				Appreciating the effort of our arm forces on the fight against terrorism.
3	12/3/2015	7:00 pm	7,200	2,200	591		9		Visit to a traditional ruler.
4	14/3/2015	10:32 am	13,000	8,308	1919		13		Fulfilled the promise to compensate the family/relatives of the victim of a recruitment exercise.

5	15/3/2015	1:36 pm	11,000	3,065	601		1		Appreciating the Nigeria mothers, wished them a Happy Mother's Day.
6	19/3/2015	8:49 am	8,600	2,522	903		15		The Fulani pastoralists endorsed the presidential party candidate.
7	22/3/2015	2:52 pm	7,200	2,070	681		9		Visit to a northern state
8	22/3/2015	6:27 pm	21,000	10,319	2,542		5		Presidential debate.
9	24/3/2015	10:07 am	6,400	2,252	411	1			Campaign advert.
10	24/3/2015	7:36 pm	12,000	4,571	1,472		10		Commissioning of power plant
11	25/3/2015	9:18 am	13,000	8,426	1198				Credible and transparent election
12	26/3/2015	4:35 pm	10,000	7,589	1439				Summary of the party's achievement while in power.

3.5.8 A Month After Election; April

S/N	Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo	Graphic	Message content
1	29/3/2015	9:53 pm	29,000	14,341	3,046				Be peaceful while waiting for the result of the election
2	1/4/2015	11:29 am	69,000	39,623	17,773				Urged the masses to be patriotic, don't cause violence and sent congratulatory wishes to his successor despite losing the exercise.
3	4/4/2015	7:07 pm	40,000	16,823	3,197				Wished the Christian community of the country a Happy Easter celebration and admonished them to cease the period to foster peace in the country.
4	10/4/2015	4:18 pm	18,000	8,031	1883				Nigerians should come and vote, choose their leaders, security is assured. That is the ingredients of democracy.

Chapter 4

RESULTS (DATA ANALYSIS)

Our focal concern in this chapter is to analyse through text interpretation the data collected and presented in chapter three and the questions posed in chapter one. The main central here is to establish meaning from what we have collected and from there draw to a large extent an objective deduction. We are going to use the latent analytic approach of content analysis on the message content collected from the two political parties' Facebook page, because it stretched the interpretative probity to disclose the hidden meaning therein. In order to make the study scientific the analysis and interpretation of the data collected as they are in the SPSS.

4.1 Descriptive Analysis of the Data Collected

The overall table shows the frequency variables used in the study. Analysis for this section was made using SPSS 24. Thus, in line with the research questions, we used several variables – date, time, emoticon, comment, share, video, photo, graphics, pre and post election, party – to further expose the political communication interrelationship between APC and PDP during the campaigning period and how each party use the social media to drive mass action (public opinion).

Hence, a total of ten variables and 108 observations were recorded. Table 2 contains date period comprising the 2015 pre and post time. We gathered the Facebook post of the two parti from January to April 2015. This enabled us to capture how public opinion were created during the period and also to capture people's reaction.

4.1.1 The Selected Variable for the Research

Table 4.1: Overall Statistics of Variables

		Date	Time	Emoticon	Comment	Share	Video	Photo
N	Valid	108	108	108	108	108	108	108
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Graphic	pre and post election	party				
N	Valid	108	108	108				
	Missing	0	0	0				

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

The table above shows all the selected variable for this research. The variables consist of variable views of label value of date, time, emoticon, comment, share, video, photo and a statistics column of graphic, pre and post election and party with “Yes” and “No”.

Table 4.2 cannot be contained in this page. See Appendix A

Table No. 4.2 showed the date frequencies of the two parties. January was considered by best for analysis because it captured the most regular post done by the both parties. Then again, January revealed that in some days, both parties made more than one posts to compare with the other months.

Table 4.3: Time Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	24:01 – 01:00	11	10.2	10.2	10.2
	02:01 – 03:00	1	.9	.9	11.1
	05:01 – 06:00	1	.9	.9	12.0
	08:01-09:00	8	7.4	7.4	19.4
	09:01 -10:00	8	7.4	7.4	26.9
	10:01-11:00	4	3.7	3.7	30.6
	11:01-12:00	9	8.3	8.3	38.9
	13:01-14:00	10	9.3	9.3	48.1
	14:01-15:00	3	2.8	2.8	50.9
	15:01-16:00	5	4.6	4.6	55.6
	16:01-17:00	8	7.4	7.4	63.0
	17:01-18:00	2	1.9	1.9	64.8
	18:01-19:00	7	6.5	6.5	71.3
	19:01-20:00	15	13.9	13.9	85.2
	20:01-21:00	5	4.6	4.6	89.8
	21:01-22:00	6	5.6	5.6	95.4
	22:01-23:00	4	3.7	3.7	99.1
	23:01-24:00	1	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

Thus, both political parties made most of their posts between 19:00 to 20:00 which represents about 14% of the entire distribution. Contrarily, wee hours of the day (02 to 06) show the lowest post rates at 1%. Hence, 19:00 to 20:00 is obviously relaxation time for everyone especially the employed. 13:01 to 14:00 obviously gained high frequency and percentage 10 and 9.3% respectively. In most of the highly established firm, it is often break time from work. 12:01 to 1:30 gained notice of having a higher frequency and percentage of 11 and 10% respectively. This time might be to target at the attention of the youths

Table 4.4: Emoticon Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-500	4	3.7	3.7	3.7
	501-1000	18	16.7	16.7	20.4
	1001-2000	22	20.4	20.4	40.7
	2001-5000	14	13.0	13.0	53.7
	5001-10000	25	23.1	23.1	76.9
	10001 above	25	23.1	23.1	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

To also represent the symbolic expressions, we also used the Emoticon variable. Emoticon was grouped into 6 categories. Political parties with above 5001 emoticons represents 46% showing a tensed interest in online civic engagement. Emoticons below 501 were very minimal represent just 3.7%.

Table 4.5: Comment Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-500	42	38.9	38.9	38.9
	501-1000	6	5.6	5.6	44.4
	1001-2000	1	.9	.9	45.4
	2001-5000	32	29.6	29.6	75.0
	5001-10000	18	16.7	16.7	91.7
	10001 - 20000	9	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

In order to also capture the two political parties' comments and remarks regarding how they use the new media for campaigning, we introduced the comment variable.

Unlike the emoticon variable, the comments show a poor comments rate. As observed in Table 5, about 39% had less than 501 comments while 8.3% had above 1000 comments, both representing 42 and 9 respectively. This showed that people easily like using the emoticon to express them rather to comment on political activities.

Table 4.6: Share Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 - 500	50	46.3	46.3	46.3
	501 - 1000	19	17.6	17.6	63.9
	1001 - 1500	17	15.7	15.7	79.6
	1501 - 2000	11	10.2	10.2	89.8
	2001 - 2500	2	1.9	1.9	91.7
	2501 - 5000	7	6.5	6.5	98.1
	5001 above	2	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

The share table indicates a poor share rate. Like the comment table, 46% had less than 501 shares while 11% had above 2001 shares, showing less participation on the online political campaigning among the electorates.

Table 4.7: Video Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	104	96.3	96.3	96.3
	Yes	4	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

Video posts about political activities and campaigning are essential to political communication process. The video variable was used to reflect the number of campaign posts made by the two parties. The two political parties almost made no video posts (96%). This showed the digital gap made manifest as explained in the literature.

Table 4.8: Photo Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	64	59.3	59.3	59.3
	Yes	44	40.7	40.7	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

The photo table revealed a different discovery into the new media use by the two political parties. With the 64 frequencies, 60% rate of not using photo during the online campaign were captured while 41% rate recorded yes in the photo use.

Table 4.9: Graphic Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	94	87.0	87.0	87.0
	Yes	14	13.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

Almost the same with table 4.10, the percentage rate of the graphic used in the online campaign was 13% with the frequency of 14 while 87% showed that no graphic post was made.

Table 4.10: Pre and Post Election Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	After Election	16	14.8	14.8	14.8
	Before Election	92	85.2	85.2	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

To also reflect on the number of post before and after the elections, we have also generated another variable called pre and post election. Importantly, a very keen interest in pre election issues due to posts made up 85% (frequency of 92) compared to after election epoch. This showed that the both parties made much post before the election than after the election.

Table 4.11: Party Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	APC	56	51.9	51.9	51.9
	PDP	52	48.1	48.1	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

The above table unveiled the frequency and percentage rate made by the two parties. As seen in the table, APC emerged the highest percentage post rate (52%) with the frequency of 56 while PDP had the percentage post rate (48%) with the frequency of 52.

Could the above table observation be related to the result of the election where the APC emerged the winner? The crosstabulation of the will attempt to answer the above question.

4.2 Cross Tabulation Analysis between the APC and PDP

Table 4.12: Summary of the crosstab between APC and PDP

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Comment * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Share * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Video * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Photo * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Graphic * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
pre and post election * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Date * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Time * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%
Emoticon * party	108	100.0%	0	.0%	108	100.0%

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

The table contains the summary of the coding sheet. It has nine variables with 108 number of items captured. There was no missing datum. The variables used in the crosstab of the two parties are comment, share, video, photo, Graphic, Pre and Post election, date, time, emoticon. Finally, the total number of items and percentage of the table remains 108 and 100% respectively.

Table 4.13: Crosstab of the Comment Variable between the Two Parties.

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Comment	0-500	Count	42	0	42
		% of Total	38.9%	.0%	38.9%
	501-1000	Count	6	0	6
		% of Total	5.6%	.0%	5.6%
	1001-2000	Count	1	0	1
		% of Total	.9%	.0%	.9%
	2001-5000	Count	4	28	32
		% of Total	3.7%	25.9%	29.6%

5001-10000	Count	2	16	18
	% of Total	1.9%	14.8%	16.7%
10001 - 20000	Count	1	8	9
	% of Total	.9%	7.4%	8.3%
Total	Count	56	52	108
	% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

The comment rows were placed into six categories under the label column in the variable view. The table sampled the audiences' comments of the two political parties. It revealed that APC gained most of their comments under the lowest comment rate of 39% with the frequency of 42, while PDP gained none. PDP made the highest rate of 25% in the category (2001-5000). On the other hands, the APC had in the highest category range (2001-5000), a very low rate of 4% with the frequency of 4. Table 4.4.2 showed finally that the PDP gained too much comments from the audiences in each of their post than the APC.

Table 4.14: Crosstab of Share Variable between the Two Parties.

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Share	0 - 500	Count	48	2	50
		% of Total	44.4%	1.9%	46.3%
	501 - 1000	Count	4	15	19
		% of Total	3.7%	13.9%	17.6%
	1001 - 1500	Count	2	15	17
		% of Total	1.9%	13.9%	15.7%
	1501 - 2000	Count	2	9	11
		% of Total	1.9%	8.3%	10.2%
	2001 - 2500	Count	0	2	2
		% of Total	.0%	1.9%	1.9%
	2501 - 5000	Count	0	7	7
		% of Total	.0%	6.5%	6.5%

5001 above	Count	0	2	2
	% of Total	.0%	1.9%	1.9%
Total	Count	56	52	108

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

Similar to the comment table, this table revealed that under the categories of 0 – 500 the APC had the majority of the audience reaction under the rate of 44% with the frequency of 48. The PDP had a very low audiences' reaction, having the rate of 2% with the frequency of 2. Under these categories – 501-1000, 1001 – 1500, 1501 – 2000, 2001 – 2500, 2501 – 5000, 5001 above – the PDP outnumbered, approximately having the rate of 48% with the frequency of 50. Under all selected categories, the APC had sum total rate of 15% with the frequency of 8. This implied that PDP had much audiences' reaction and participation than the APC.

Table 4.15: Crosstab of Video Variable between the Two Parties.

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Video	No	Count	53	51	104
		% of Total	49.1%	47.2%	96.3%
	Yes	Count	3	1	4
		% of Total	2.8%	.9%	3.7%
Total	Count	56	52	108	
	% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

Table 16 contained the percentage and frequency of the video posted on their Facebook page by the PDP and APC. Both parties virtually adopted the use of video post in their online campaign. They had 96.3% no video post with the frequency of 104. Looking at the table, both APC and PDP made a total video post of 4

approximately 4%. APC had the rate of 2.8% (frequency of 3) while PDP had 1% (frequency of 1). By implication, APC made more use of video post than the PDP.

Table 4.16: Crosstab of Photo Variable between the Two Parties.

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Photo	No	Count	39	25	64
		% of Total	36.1%	23.1%	59.3%
	Yes	Count	17	27	44
		% of Total	15.7%	25.0%	40.7%
Total	Count	56	52	108	
	% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

The above table revealed the party crosstabulation of how the two political parties used Facebook for political communication in campaign manner during election. like the **video * party crosstabulation**, both APC and PDP used photo in their online campaign less in a sum total rate of approximately 41% with 44 frequencies. However, table revealed that both parties virtually made no photo post in 59.3% rate in 64 frequencies. Between the two parties, PDP made more photo post than the APC having 25% (27 frequency statistics) against 16% (frequency of 17).

Table 4.17: Crosstab of Graphic Variable between the Two Parties.

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Graphic	No	Count	42	52	94
		% of Total	38.9%	48.1%	87.0%
	Yes	Count	14	0	14
		% of Total	13.0%	.0%	13.0%
Total		Count	56	52	108

Table 4.17: Crosstab of Graphic Variable between the Two Parties.

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Graphic	No	Count	42	52	94
		% of Total	38.9%	48.1%	87.0%
	Yes	Count	14	0	14
		% of Total	13.0%	.0%	13.0%
Total	Count	56	52	108	
	% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

Table 18 revealed the party crosstabulation of how the two political parties used Facebook for political communication in campaign manner during election. Unlike the **video and photo * party crosstabulation**, only APC used graphic design image in their online campaign consuming 13% rate in a frequency of 14. PDP made no post in this section.

Table 4.18 Crosstab of the Pre and Post Election between the Two Parties

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
pre and post election	After Election	Count	0	16	16
		% of Total	.0%	14.8%	14.8%
	Before Election	Count	56	36	92
		% of Total	51.9%	33.3%	85.2%
Total		Count	56	52	108
		% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

This section revealed the party crosstabulation of how the two political parties used Facebook for political communication in campaign manner before and after the election. The table revealed that after the election the APC had no post while the opponent party PDP had 15% post rate of 16 frequency.

Under before the election, the table that the APC made all their posts and acquire 52% post rate with the frequency of 56 while the PDP acquire the 33% post rate with 36 frequencies. To sum them up, APC made a total post of 52% with the frequency of 56 while PDP made a total post rate of 48% with the frequency of 52.

Table 4.19 cannot be contained in this space. See Appendix B.

On table No. 19, four months were collected to put down data – January, February, march, and April 2015. We selected only the January month because it captures the month they made most post on Facebook. Another reason is that no date was skipped out by the both parties to make at least a post. Being the first month of the year and the year of the election, it ushers in the audiences' mind what each political party holds for them.

A careful study of the table revealed that APC made the highest post on 5th and 1st January 2015 while the PDP had theirs on 19th and 22nd January.

Table 4.20 cannot be contained in this space. See Appendix C.

The table identified as Appendix C showed the time the two parties made all their Facebook post during and after the election. between 19.01-20.00, 24:01 – 01.00, 13.01-14.00, time categories, the APC made the highest post rate of 8.3% with the frequency of 9, 7.4% with the frequency of 8 and 5.6% with the frequency of 6. Similarly, the PDP between 08.01-09.00, 09.01 -10.00, 19.01-20.00, made the much post rate of 7.4% with the frequency of 8 and 5.6% with the frequency of 6. One issue noticeable in the table is that a particular time category was used by the two parties, 09.01 -10.00.

Table 4.21: Crosstab of Emoticon Variable between the Two Parties

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Emoticon	0-500	Count	4	0	4
		% of Total	3.7%	.0%	3.7%
	501-1000	Count	17	1	18
		% of Total	15.7%	.9%	16.7%
	1001-2000	Count	22	0	22
		% of Total	20.4%	.0%	20.4%
	2001-5000	Count	12	2	14
		% of Total	11.1%	1.9%	13.0%
	5001-10000	Count	1	24	25
		% of Total	.9%	22.2%	23.1%
	10001 above	Count	0	25	25
		% of Total	.0%	23.1%	23.1%
Total	Count	56	52	108	
	% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%	

Source: Author's Computation using SPSS 24

In this table, audiences' reaction to the different post made by the two parties on Facebook was statistically analysed. Looking at the table the following emoticon categories – 2001-5000 below were populated by the APC's audiences' reaction. They had the reaction rate of 51% with 55 frequencies. On the other hands, the emoticon categories from 5001 above were populated by the PDP's audiences' reaction. They had from 5001 above the reaction rate of 45.3% having frequency of 49. This implies that the PDP had far more reaction on their Facebook post then the APC.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

The successful social media use for political campaign in 2011 by former president Goodluck Jonathan hypothesized the fact that social media could mean another way of engaging in grassroot campaign. The 2015 general election was also period of online political communication by different political parties and actors. In 2015, History was made in the Nigeria politics where and when opposition parties defeated the then incumbent ruling party. We are going to discuss the findings of the analysed data and see whether there is a relationship between the voting behavior of the electorates in the outcome of the election. But before then, let us refresh our memories on what inform the study as seen in the research question and place them in line with our results.

In our study, we tried to examine the following (1) what aim do the political parties achieved in their involvement of new media for political communication in the 2015 general election? (2) Did the Facebook political campaign of PDP and APC drive the voting behavior of Nigerians? (3) Did the different ways PDP and APC engage in Facebook campaign during election create digital public sphere in Nigeria effectively? (5) Could their different ways and manner of Facebook campaign serve as determinant for winning an election?

a) **What aim do the political parties achieved in their involvement of new media for political communication in the 2015 Nigeria General Election?**

The frequencies table of all the variables helped us to understand how in general the two parties created public opinion but the party crosstabulation unveiled how each did theirs. In the date frequency table, January 1, 5, 19 and 22 were when they made the highest post rate. The party crosstabulation table revealed that why this is so.

January 1 was the first day of the new year 2015. It was the election year also barely two months to the election. People were enthusiastic of the politics of the nation. Nigeria is also festive nation. They celebrate virtually every event and happening. So, the APC party might have thought it wise to make four posts on that day while the PDP made two posts.

Still on the same table, on 5 January the APC party made their highest post on Facebook during the election. The message content revealed that it might be the day they started to show off the party's manifestoes while the PDP highest post revealed textual composition of what they will do for the people if they were to be re-elected.

The time frequency table, indicated that between the time range of 24:01-01:00 and 19:01-20:00, they made the highest post on Facebook. In the crosstabulation, the APC party preferred 24:01-01:00 and 19:01-20:00. The reason might be because of their target audience. In Nigeria both government and self-employed worker have all closed work in those time range. It may be that between 19:01-20:00, they might intend to target on the general audiences while between 24:01-01:00 might be targeted to the young youths which constitute a major amount of the nation's population. In a similar vein, the PDP used these two time range categories - 08:01-

09.00 and 24:01-01:00 most to make post on Facebook during the campaigning. It might be they post between 08.01-09.00 to focus on the general mass because that is the time for most people prepare for work and still have time for themselves while 24:01-01:00 might be to target the young youths.

b. Did the Facebook political campaign of PDP and APC drive the voting behavior of Nigerians?

In the emoticon, comment and share crosstab, the PDP acquired high amount of audiences' reaction far more than the APC. This showed the voting attitude of the electorates was not solely and absolutely on the online campaigning of the both parties.

In the video, photo, graphic crosstab, the APC party seems to used them better than the PDP. This could possibly imply that there is more to convincing between the imagery and textual composition of online message content by the two parties.

c. Did the different ways PDP and APC engage in Facebook campaign during election create digital public sphere in Nigeria effectively?

Before, media policy was strictly created and implemented by the government. The new media forced such policy out from the absolute control of the government. Digital public sphere was noticed in Nigeria as seen the reactions of many audience in an attempt to discuss the policies that shape their lives.

d. Could their different ways and manner of Facebook campaign serve as determinant for winning an election?

The APC made more post on Facebook during the campaign particularly before the election than the PDP. This showed consistency of the APC in driving the mass action (public opinion) than the PDP.

In addition to how the electorates processed the campaign message content, theories of public opinion will always be considered to explain what and how those contents are developed and constituted, which defines the evolution of media. The research revealed that political parties used stereotypical context to create opinion for the audiences. How the audience react to the opinion created reminds us what Lippman would called the *Phantom public* (Lippman, 1925). He used the phrase to demonstrate the individuality of the public. According to him the individualistic character of the public would not allow the public to have a position on an issue. In other words, the individual person does not have said in public issues. That is to say, democracy is yet to be for the public.

This is line with the theory of use and gratification in mass media. Facebook is a mass medium that is situated to express the controlled individuality of the people. In this theory, there are two significant factors to have in mind – the reason why people submit themselves to different media and the wish and demand audience seek satisfaction using media. The theory revealed that the audiences' psychological and social want regulate the design and prospect of the audience from the media. Use and gratification theory was used first to explain how and why the audience use mass media during the political campaigns, while treating the audience as voters. But later, it was and/or still use to comprehend the audiences' attitude during political campaign to acquire information.

Some theorists believed that there are some reasons why the audience gratify themselves. It could be for cognitive purpose, it could relate to affection demand, it could be for personal need and social need.

Moreover, in 21st century, the theory was adopted to be used in teaching speakers a better way to reach targeted audience.

That is to say, speakers can easily with the aid of this theory detect the hidden aim of a message and even foresee the unintended consequences of those messages (Klapper, 1960).

However, there are various ways of using the use and gratification theory in a communication research. But in this research, Luo seems appropriate when he identified different attitude of online consumers towards the web (Luo, 2002). In other words, different uses in approach defines the different kinds of gratifications from the web. Simply put, this theory explains the reason behind audience use of the web – their attitude, motivation, satisfaction. This study made us to understand that there is slight difference between the convention media of use and gratification and the new media use of use and gratification theory. the mass media audience are the electorates or voters who during any political communication campaigns, adopt the available media to satisfy their various needs.

5.1 Summary and Suggestion for Further Study

The new media use for political campaign in Nigeria is really a promising one. From the result above, this study divulges wonderful details. 2011 was kind of trial of online political campaign which saw massive success on the side of those who used it. 2015 saw non-corresponding outcome between the new media campaign, political

actors and the voting attitude of the electorates. Although many political parties have seen that new media could be incorporated into the activities of politics, only few parties tapped into its reimbursements. This is manifest in the quality content of the message on policies and manifestoes before and after the election to the audiences.

That was not the exact insinuation. Looking at the two political parties sampled, the percentage of the result of the election – 53.96% to APC and 44.96% to PDP – indicates that social media were not major constituent to determine or measure the winner. Though two years after the election and two years of president Buhari's administration, people have started to revisit the APC policy and manifestoes made. To mark his two years in power, SBM intelligence released a report that president Buhari is yet to fulfill most of his political campaign promise. The report said that out of the 171 promises made during the campaign, only 16 has been taken to be worked on (Adegun, 2017). Similarly, Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) report scored Buhari's two years administration pass mark. Detailing the analysis of the report, North-West and North-East scored him 85% and 66% respectively, while South-East and South-South scored him 72% and 60% respectively (Adegun, 2017).

This study focused on the use of the new media to campaign before and after election. This is one of the research out of the numerous studies conducted on this. There could be other social activities achievable with the new media particularly the "Digital public sphere". Therefore, a call is made for further studies while relating it to Nigeria.

Based on the research, there was a huge gap between the audiences' reaction on both the parties' Facebook post during the campaign and the voting attitude of the electorates during the election. An investigation should be made to ascertain the possible cause of it.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table 4.2: Date Frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 January 2015	6	5.6	5.6	5.6
	2 January 2015	2	1.9	1.9	7.4
	3 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	10.2
	4 January 2015	4	3.7	3.7	13.9
	5 January 2015	8	7.4	7.4	21.3
	6 January 2015	2	1.9	1.9	23.1
	7 January 2015	4	3.7	3.7	26.9
	8 January 2015	5	4.6	4.6	31.5
	9 January 2015	1	.9	.9	32.4
	10 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	35.2
	11 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	38.0
	12 January 2015	5	4.6	4.6	42.6
	13 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	45.4
	14 January 2015	1	.9	.9	46.3
	15 January 2015	2	1.9	1.9	48.1
	16 January 2015	4	3.7	3.7	51.9
	17 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	54.6
	18 January 2015	4	3.7	3.7	58.3
	19 January 2015	6	5.6	5.6	63.9
	20 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	66.7
	21 January 2015	2	1.9	1.9	68.5
	22 January 2015	6	5.6	5.6	74.1
	23 January 2015	1	.9	.9	75.0
	24 January 2015	4	3.7	3.7	78.7
	25 January 2015	6	5.6	5.6	84.3
	26 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	87.0
	27 January 2015	3	2.8	2.8	89.8
	28 January 2015	4	3.7	3.7	93.5
	29 January 2015	4	3.7	3.7	97.2
	30 January 2015	1	.9	.9	98.1
	31 January 2015	2	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	108	100.0	100.0	

Appendix B

Table 4.19. Crosstab of Date Variable between the Two Parties

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Date	1 January 2015	Count	4	2	6
		% of Total	3.7%	1.9%	5.6%
	2 January 2015	Count	0	2	2
		% of Total	.0%	1.9%	1.9%
	3 January 2015	Count	2	1	3
		% of Total	1.9%	.9%	2.8%
	4 January 2015	Count	2	2	4
		% of Total	1.9%	1.9%	3.7%
	5 January 2015	Count	7	1	8
		% of Total	6.5%	.9%	7.4%
	6 January 2015	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	.9%	.9%	1.9%
	7 January 2015	Count	3	1	4
		% of Total	2.8%	.9%	3.7%
	8 January 2015	Count	3	2	5
		% of Total	2.8%	1.9%	4.6%
	9 January 2015	Count	0	1	1
		% of Total	.0%	.9%	.9%
	10 January 2015	Count	1	2	3
		% of Total	.9%	1.9%	2.8%
	11 January 2015	Count	2	1	3
		% of Total	1.9%	.9%	2.8%
	12 January 2015	Count	3	2	5
		% of Total	2.8%	1.9%	4.6%
	13 January 2015	Count	3	0	3
		% of Total	2.8%	.0%	2.8%
	14 January 2015	Count	0	1	1
		% of Total	.0%	.9%	.9%
	15 January 2015	Count	0	2	2
		% of Total	.0%	1.9%	1.9%
	16 January 2015	Count	2	2	4
		% of Total	1.9%	1.9%	3.7%
	17 January 2015	Count	1	2	3
		% of Total	.9%	1.9%	2.8%

18 January 2015	Count	1	3	4
	% of Total	.9%	2.8%	3.7%
19 January 2015	Count	2	4	6
	% of Total	1.9%	3.7%	5.6%
20 January 2015	Count	1	2	3
	% of Total	.9%	1.9%	2.8%
21 January 2015	Count	1	1	2
	% of Total	.9%	.9%	1.9%
22 January 2015	Count	2	4	6
	% of Total	1.9%	3.7%	5.6%
23 January 2015	Count	0	1	1
	% of Total	.0%	.9%	.9%
24 January 2015	Count	2	2	4
	% of Total	1.9%	1.9%	3.7%
25 January 2015	Count	3	3	6
	% of Total	2.8%	2.8%	5.6%
26 January 2015	Count	1	2	3
	% of Total	.9%	1.9%	2.8%
27 January 2015	Count	2	1	3
	% of Total	1.9%	.9%	2.8%
28 January 2015	Count	2	2	4
	% of Total	1.9%	1.9%	3.7%
29 January 2015	Count	3	1	4
	% of Total	2.8%	.9%	3.7%
30 January 2015	Count	0	1	1
	% of Total	.0%	.9%	.9%
31 January 2015	Count	2	0	2
	% of Total	1.9%	.0%	1.9%
Total	Count	56	52	108
	% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%

Appendix C

Table 4.20. Crosstab of Time Variable between the Two Parties

			party		Total
			APC	PDP	
Time	24:01 – 01:00	Count	8	3	11
		% of Total	7.4%	2.8%	10.2%
	02:01 – 03:00	Count	0	1	1
		% of Total	.0%	.9%	.9%
	05:01 – 06:00	Count	1	0	1
		% of Total	.9%	.0%	.9%
	08:01-09:00	Count	0	8	8
		% of Total	.0%	7.4%	7.4%
	09:01 -10:00	Count	2	6	8
		% of Total	1.9%	5.6%	7.4%
	10:01-11:00	Count	1	3	4
		% of Total	.9%	2.8%	3.7%
	11:01-12:00	Count	6	3	9
		% of Total	5.6%	2.8%	8.3%
	13:01-14:00	Count	6	4	10
		% of Total	5.6%	3.7%	9.3%
	14:01-15:00	Count	0	3	3
		% of Total	.0%	2.8%	2.8%
	15:01-16:00	Count	2	3	5
		% of Total	1.9%	2.8%	4.6%
	16:01-17:00	Count	5	3	8
		% of Total	4.6%	2.8%	7.4%
	17:01-18:00	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	.9%	.9%	1.9%
	18:01-19:00	Count	4	3	7
		% of Total	3.7%	2.8%	6.5%
	19:01-20:00	Count	9	6	15
		% of Total	8.3%	5.6%	13.9%
	20:01-21:00	Count	4	1	5
		% of Total	3.7%	.9%	4.6%
	21:01-22:00	Count	3	3	6
		% of Total	2.8%	2.8%	5.6%
	22:01-23:00	Count	3	1	4
		% of Total	2.8%	.9%	3.7%

23.01-24.00	Count	1	0	1
	% of Total	.9%	.0%	.9%
Total	Count	56	52	108
	% of Total	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%

Appendix D

Notes		
Output Created		09-Aug-2017 15:23:25
Comments		
Input	Data	C:\Users\bahire\Desktop\Benedict2a.s
		av
	Active Dataset	DataSet1
	Filter	<none>
	Weight	<none>
	Split File	<none>
	N of Rows in Working Data	108
	File	
Missing Value Handling	Definition of Missing	User-defined missing values are treated as missing.
	Cases Used	Statistics are based on all cases with valid data.
Syntax		FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=Date Time emoticon comment share video photo graphic election party /ORDER=ANALYSIS.
Resources	Processor Time	00:00:00.016
	Elapsed Time	00:00:00.005

Appendix E

Crosstabs

Notes

Output Created	10-Aug-2017 09:12:19
Comments	
Input	Data
	C:\Users\bahire\Desktop\Benedict2a.sav
	Active Dataset
	DataSet1
	Filter
	<none>
	Weight
	<none>
	Split File
	<none>
	N of Rows in Working Data File
	108
Missing Value Handling	Definition of Missing
	User-defined missing values are treated as missing.
	Cases Used
	Statistics for each table are based on all the cases with valid data in the specified range(s) for all variables in each table.

Syntax		CROSSTABS
		/TABLES=comment share video photo graphic election Date Time emoticon BY party /FORMAT=AVALUE TABLES /CELLS=COUNT TOTAL /COUNT ROUND CELL.
Resources	Processor Time	00:00:00.015
	Elapsed Time	00:00:00.024
	Dimensions Requested	2
	Cells Available	174762