



Training Manual

Youth Interested in Politics in Edo, Delta and Bayelsa States



CENTRE LSD



**FORD
FOUNDATION**

Centre LSD Book series No.10 - May 2018

TRAINING MANUAL



YOUTH INTERESTED IN POLITICS IN EDO, DELTA AND BAYELSA STATES



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ISBN: 978-978-55807-2-3

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Preface

The role of leadership and governance to the success and sustainability of development efforts has increasingly become clearer in contemporary times and therefore has attracted the attention of interested parties across the globe. In Africa, there is a dearth of leadership and governance, that manifest in unsavoury service delivery in contravention of government investment into social services. Absence of good governance or the lack of it is at the heart of the failures that is witnessed in Nigeria. Good governance presupposes how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources to the benefit of society and citizens. In direct terms, governance is a process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented. In Nigeria, implementation is a problem that the country is still grappling with because of absence of ownership, basically due to the fact that a larger segment of the population is not consulted and do not contribute to decision making beyond their quasi participation on election day activities. Whereas women to men ratio is almost at par, youth constitute about 60% of the country's population. Yet, these two categories and particularly the youth suffer alienation from mainstream politics. They are marginalized and used intermittently by selfish politicians and dumped. The Nigerian youth deserves more than is getting in the socioeconomic and political environment given their potentials and contributions to every sector of the economy. Across the globe- in France, Canada and lately Austria etc, young people in their mid-thirties and above have climbed to the pinnacle of leadership of these countries as presidents. Africa and Nigeria cannot afford to wait any longer for leadership (power) to be transmitted to the youth. While this is important, the imperative to build the capacities and prepare the next generation of leaders (youth) to begin a process of learning the ropes of power and decision making at both formal and informal spheres of governance is crucial. This way, the failures of the old generations would not be repeated.

The African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development (Centre LSD), with the support of the Ford Foundation is implementing a project titled "Capacity Building for Youth Interested in Political Office in the Niger Delta" with focus on Edo, Delta and Bayelsa States. The project was initiated against the backdrop of the marginalization and alienation of youth in every sphere including politics- elective and appointive positions in Nigeria and particularly in the Niger Delta region. They have the requisite dynamism required to fledge and help the socioeconomic transformation that an economy like Nigeria urgently needs numerical strength, they constitute reproductive segment and the bridge between the present and the future of the country, but despite this attributes, the youth are often the neglect segment of the population even in mainstream politics. In view of this, the Centre undertook to capacitate a number of youths from this region with knowledge and information relevant to their political aspirations and which can put them on a better pedestal in the process of running for political offices at different levels.

A training manual with which youth interested in political office can be trained was developed. The manual is a product of a research conducted by the Centre. The document itself is a compendium of knowledge spanning the key areas in which every political aspirant or those learning the rubrics of leadership must acquire if they must make a difference in their aspiration. By design, the manual covers areas such as: Leadership, Political Parties and Elective Offices; Managing the Electoral Process and Election Observation; Introduction to Democracy, Politics and Party Organization; Campaign Planning and Message Development; Public Speaking; Election Campaign Framework (Electoral Laws and Political Party Code of Conduct); Campaign Financing, and, Group Exercises on each of the Seven thematic areas detailed in the training manual. We at the Centre strongly believe that developing a training manual of this nature is an onerous contribution to both trainer and trainees spread across the continent of Africa. The reason being that the issues around youth active involvement or participation in governance are similar if not the same. We are not unmindful of the fact of geographic difference across the region, yet this training manual is adaptable to suit which ever environment in Africa. By this, we will recommend it to users -trainers, trainees and even to those wishing to develop their own manual to use it as a guide.

We will not fail to appreciate all those who made the publication of this document a success. The Centre deeply appreciate Ford Foundation whose financial support to Centre LSD, ensured the implementation of this project- Capacity Building for Youth Interested in Political Offices in the Niger Delta. The funding for this project came at the right time given that active participation of the youth in governance have gained momentum across the globe. Nigeria is not an exception as the body language of politicians as well as political parties is suggestive of the need for youth to be given the chance to test their abilities in elective and appointive positions in politics. We cannot but acknowledge the effort of the Consultant/Researcher Professor Daniel Atime Omoweh whose professorial acumen was brought to bear on the entire work- of developing the Training Manual. Those who have read through the work commended the depth and the energy exerted on this piece. We commend the effort of the project team who remained committed to the course of making sure that this document comes out in the form it is today. Mr. Monday Osasah -the Centre's Programme Director; Mrs. Victoria Ose Udoh- Programme Coordinator, Mr. Lawal Amodu - Senior Programme Officer and Project anchor; Mr. Omaojor Ogedoh - Programme Officer (Research and Campaign), and Mr. Essien Nyong - the Project Intern, who painstakingly took the time to review this document. We commend Dr. Otive Igbuzor- the Executive Director of Centre LSD, whose expertise and technical sagacity were leveraged to give direction and guidance on the project. We once again appreciate you all and recommend this training manual to all, which we believe will spin more interest and action in the Nigerian political spectrum.

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Section A Training Guide

1. Introduction

The training guide was designed to provide background knowledge of the basic issues the youth interested in politics has to understand in Nigeria. Within this context, the manual is aimed at helping the users to gain deep insight into the following:

- Leadership, Political Parties and Elective Offices;
- Managing the Electoral Process and Election Observation;
- Introduction to Democracy, Politics and Party Organization;
- Campaign Planning and Message Development;
- Election Campaign Framework (Electoral Laws and Political Party Code of Conduct)
- Campaign Financing and
- Group Exercises on each of the Six thematic areas

These issues are addressed in the subsequent sections covered in this manual.

2. Setting the Stage

To begin with, trainers should welcome participants, then the participants are required to introduce themselves. The introduction of participants in subsequent sessions may not be necessary except when participants arrived late at the opening session and they have to be introduced to other participants. Trainers will now take over the stage, introduce the areas of coverage, the objectives of the sessions and the expected outcomes. This will be followed by a pre-test to ascertain the base knowledge of the participants in all the areas. The trainers should inform the participants that the focus of the training module is to enhance their knowledge of the major issues covered in the manual.

The participants must be encouraged to ask valuable questions and make observations because that will increase their knowledge of the issues that are examined in the training guide. Participants should be assured that copies of the presentations will be given to them at the end of the session. At the onset, the rules of conduct and behaviour during the training session should be explained and agreed with participants. The trainees should be informed that there will be a group exercise at the end of the session and a post-test to ascertain improvement in their understanding of the subject matter. This will be followed by a general evaluation of the workshop by the trainees.

3. Methodology

The trainers will impart the participants during the sessions using:

- Participatory and interactive training and learning approach;
- Raising thought-provoking questions to generate guided debates on critical issues and;
- Participatory questions and answers.

4. Apparatus

The presentation at the training session will be facilitated using the instruments notably:

- PowerPoint;
- Flip chart and makers for illustrations and elaborations and;
- Copies of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) and
- The Electoral Act of 2010 (as amended)

Section B Presentations

Module 1

Understanding Leadership,
Political Parties and
Elective Offices

1.1 Outline

- Leadership
- Political Parties
- Elective offices

1.2 Objectives

- To acquaint the participants with deeper understanding of political leadership in the focal states of Edo, Delta and Bayelsa in Nigeria;
- To provide the participants with adequate knowledge of the political party, its history, types, functions and politics and;
- To provide the participants with appropriate understanding of an electoral office, its role and the conditions for its occupation.

1.3 Expected Outcomes

At the end of the training session, the participants should have enhanced knowledge of what to do to participate in active politics.

1.4 Clarification of Conceptual Issues

The concepts used in this training manual are clarified in order to enable the participants gain a clear understanding of the contexts in which they are used and applied.

Leadership is concerned with the capacity to influence, inspire, rally, direct, encourage, motivate, induce, move, mobilize, and activate others to pursue a common goal or purpose while maintaining commitment, momentum, confidence and courage. It is about you and how you behave and provide service to others. The leader may not necessarily be the brightest or the best or the most competent or the most skilled in every area.

A political party is an association of people with common interest and with an ultimate aim of contesting and winning political power at the levels of the Ward, Council, State and National. It is a process of political recruitment of political leadership, political education, training of its members, and interest aggregation. In practical terms, the political party constitutionally compels any intending candidate interested in politics to be a card-carrying and financial member, duly registered at a Ward and participate effectively in the activities of the party at virtually all levels.

An electoral office is a political office created by the Constitution and occupied by candidate(s) who contested and won an election or voted in by the people. It is a public office aimed at serving the people. An elective office is not an appointed office, nor personal, nor ethnic, nor religious. Examples of elective offices include Councilor of a Ward, Chairman of a Local Government Area, a Member of the State House of Assembly, the Governor of a State, and Member of the National Assembly and the President of Nigeria.

1.5 Understanding Leadership, Political Parties and Electoral Office

The trainer should provide the participants with an interpretative understanding of leadership, political parties and electoral offices in Nigeria. At this stage, the trainer begins with leadership.

1.5.1 Leadership

The trainer first, should interpret leadership as the ability of a person to lead others by influence. This includes the capacity to inspire, rally, direct, encourage, motivate, induce, move, mobilize, and activate others with the purpose to pursue a common goal while maintaining commitment, momentum, confidence and courage.

Political leadership, on the other hand, refers to the ruling class that bears the responsibility of managing the affairs and resources of a political entity by setting and influencing policy priorities affecting the territory through different decision-making structures and institutions created for the orderly development of the territory.

The trainers should provide practical instances of the power of the political leadership to the participants with examples of the power of the incumbent Governors of the three focal States. As indicated in the survey report, for instance, the Governor of Delta State had reportedly appointed the Chairmen of the 25 Councils in Delta State before the election was held on January 6, 2018. Therefore, the victory of the PDP in the Chairmanship of the 25 Council areas was mere formality. The same situation was reported in Bayelsa State where the incumbent Governor, had preferred the appointment of the Chairmen of the Caretaker Committees of the eight (8) Councils in April 2017 to conducting a Council election.

The trainer should exhort the participant that political leadership goes beyond the ruling elites that directly manage the affairs of a territory and embraces the totality of the political class that has the capacity to manipulate the machineries of government even

from behind the scene. Rather, political leadership includes those who are in government, but they may not necessarily be in power in terms of calling the final shot as opposed to those who are in power but may not be in government; yet they influence the policy and programmes of the government of the day.

1.5.1.2 Leadership Styles

Broadly, there are six styles of political leadership and the trainer should briefly explain them as follows:

- (i) Autocratic political leadership style keeps main emphasis on the distinction of the authoritarian leader and their followers. It follows the vision of those that are in control and may not necessarily be compatible with those that are being led. Authoritarian leaders have a focus on efficiency, as other styles, such as a democratic style, but may be a hindrance on progress.
- (ii) Democratic leadership style consists of the leader sharing the power of decision-making abilities with group members by promoting the interests of the group members and by practicing social equality. The democratic style encompasses the notion that everyone, by virtue of their human status, should play a part in the group's decisions.
- (iii) Charismatic leadership has a broad field of knowledge, has a self-promoting personality, high/great energy level, and willing to take risk and use irregular strategies in order to stimulate their followers to think independently and sustain followership.
- (iv) Paternalistic leadership works by acting as a parental figure by taking care of their subordinates as a parent would have. The leader supplies complete concern for his followers or workers. In return, he receives the complete trust and loyalty of his people. Workers are expected to become totally committed to what the leader believes and will not strive off and work independently. The relationship between the co-workers and the leader is extremely solid. The workers tend to stay with a company for a longer period of time because of the loyalty and trust. They treat each other like family inside the work force, both outside too.
- (v) The Laissez-faire leadership style is where all the rights and power to make decisions is fully given to the worker. This style of leadership allows followers to have complete freedom to make decisions concerning the completion of their work. It allows followers opportunity for self-rule while at the same time offering

guidance and support when requested. The leader does not directly participate in decision making unless the followers request their assistance. This style of leadership is effective to use certain conditions which include: (i) Followers are highly skilled, experienced, and educated; (ii). Followers have pride in their work and the drive to do it successfully on their own; (iii). Outside experts, such as staff specialists or consultants are being used and; (iv) Followers are trustworthy and experienced.

- (vi) Transactional leadership focuses on motivating followers through a system of rewards and punishments. This type of leader identifies the needs of their followers and gives rewards to satisfy those needs in exchange of certain level of performance. Transactional leaders focus on increasing the efficiency of established routines and procedures. They are more concerned with following existing rules than with making changes to the organization. There are two factors which form the basis for this system: Contingent Reward and Management-by-exception. Contingent reward provides rewards, materialistic or psychological, for effort and recognizes good performance. Management-by-exception allows the leader to maintain the status quo. The leader intervenes when subordinates do not meet acceptable performance levels and initiates corrective action to improve performance. Management by exception helps reduce the workload of managers being that they are only called-in when workers deviate from course. Ironically, Nigeria is still under autocratic leadership both under the civilian and military regimes. The trainer should elaborate on the need for democratic leadership and its gains for Nigeria's political and economic development to the participants who are interested in politics and seeking elective positions to fulfill their ambition

1.5.1.3 Qualities and Skills of Political Leadership

There are qualities and skills of political leadership that the trainer should expect the participants to understand. They are:

- Conceptual skills which means the ability to analyse, research, formulate policy, reflect on issues and actions and possess technical skills for project identification and implementation; financial management, evaluation, technology, social skills required for working with people, networking, collaboration, partnerships and public relations.
- Viability and progressive in thought and action;
- Strong, principled, decisive, deliberative and open traits and an achiever or goal getter;

- Honest and integrity. The leader should display honesty and integrity. S/he should be trusted, deliver on campaign promises and should have track record of financial propriety;
- The leader should have values, experience, expertise and abilities which are to be brought to bear if voted into power and;
- The leader should promote selflessness, goodwill, personal strength and interest in the wellbeing of the people and community. Other leadership qualities include strong ego, resilience, stamina, patience and smartness.

1.5.2 Political Parties

1.5.2.1 Understanding Political Parties

First, the trainer should provide the participants with clear knowledge of a political party, its history, roles and politics in the country. Accordingly, a political party is an association of members with common aim of contesting and winning political power. It is a process of recruiting and training political leadership, interest articulation and aggregation and political training. The political party is the only platform for any candidate to contest for elective position in the country.

- The trainer should also provide the participants with an understanding of the conditions that must be met before an organization can be called a political party and they include: it must apply for registration to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and if approved, must have its registered headquarters office in Abuja and in all the State capitals in Nigeria; a Constitution, Manifesto and Structures like Board of Trustees, National Chairman, Secretary, Treasurers, Chief Whip, Publicity Secretary, Youth Leader among others. This structure must be replicated at the State, Council and Ward levels. There are about 60 political parties in Nigeria and some of the notable ones include All Progressive Congress, (APC), Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), Labour Party (LP) Social Democratic Party (SDP) All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) and Alliance for Democracy (AD)
- The trainer should get the participants to understand that in order to participate in politics they must be duly registered at the Ward level with a political party and be issued a membership card and pay the financial dues before they are allowed to contest for election and engage in other forms of political participation at virtually all levels. The trainers should acquaint the participants with the relevant sections that deal with the political parties such as section 222-229 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria and; the Electoral Act of 2010 as amended (copies of these documents should be provided for the participants at the training session).

1.5.2.2 History of the Political Party

There is the need for the trainer to provide the participants with the brief history of the political party which is presented below:

- In 1959, three key political parties were formed in Nigeria. They were the Northern Peoples' Congress representing the Hausa and Fulani stock from North and led by Sir Ahmadu Bello; the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) represented largely by the Ibos in the East and led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe; and the Action Group (AG) populated by the Yorubas from Southwestern Nigeria and led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.
- During the 1959 general election, none of the party won a majority to form a government, resulting in the merger between the NPC and NCNC to form a coalition government in 1960 which produced Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister while Nnamdi Azikiwe as Governor General. By 1963, Nnamdi Azikiwe became the President playing ceremonial roles while Tafawa Balewa remained the Prime Minister with the executive power.
- The 1963 census which favoured the North angered the NCNC on ground of falsification of figures to pull out of the union. The NCNC joined a faction of the AG lead by Obafemi Awolowo and it was known as the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and the NPC joined forces with the remaining faction of the AG led by Samuel Akintola to form the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). The civil war broke out in 1967 and ended in 1970. It was followed by a coup d'etat in 1976 led by Lt Col Suka Buka Dimka which claimed the life of then military Head of State Gen. Murtala Mohammed. General Olusegun Obasanjo succeeded Murtala Mohammed.
- By 1977 General Obasanjo, opened the political space for the formation of political parties and promised to hand over power to an elected government in October 1979. The major parties were National Party of Nigeria (NPN) with its strongholds in the North and led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) with most of its members drawn from the Southwest and led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Nigeria People Party (NPP) with its base in the Southeast led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Great Nigeria People Party (GNPP) with major base in the Northeast led by Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri, and People Redemption Party (PRP) with base in Kano and led by Mallam Aminu Kano. Elections were held in March 1979 and the country was restored to an elected civilian government in October 1979

with the NPN winning the Presidential general election and Shehu Shagari sworn-in as the President of Nigeria.

- Between 1979 and 1998, the military was in power. The May 1998 election led to the second coming of General Olusegun Obasanjo as a civilian and elected President with the PDP as the major political party and others like AD, ANPP, LP and APGA among others. The March 2015 general election brought General (Rtd). Muhammadu Buhari as the President.
- There have been more than 20 political parties seeking for elections in Nigeria since 1979, but two dominant parties with one of them in power and the other in opposition have captured the political leadership at each period. This is called the duo political party system that is often misconstrued as the multiparty system. The strongholds of the political parties have remained ethnic-North, East and West. One of the implications of this, is the absence of a national political party and political leadership; and party politics has been ethnic based.

1.5.2.3 Role of the Political Party

The trainer should make the participants understand the roles of the political party as they get engaged in politics which include:

- The political party should, before and after the conduct of primaries short list the candidates for election, back the selected candidates with adequate knowledge of the role of the party. This is largely because s/he mirrors the political party and it is on such basis that s/he stands for election.
- The political party should organize enlightenment sessions for the candidates interested in politics in order to provide them with deep knowledge of the basic functions of the party and its constitution, manifesto and programmes. The party rally might be important, but it does not provide the contestant the opportunity to explain his/her own programmes for the community, council, state and national levels. Across the focal states, for instance, both the APC and PDP organized rallies during the Council polls in Delta State, but the contestants for the Chairmanship and Councillorship positions barely campaigned. As a result, the people could not make appropriate choices at the polls.
- The trainer should educate the participants that political candidate for election in the political party is the head of his/her campaign team and is accountable for the

success or failure of the management of the team.

- The trainees should understand that the candidate seeking election under the political party is the chief vote getter for the campaign and the candidate must ask for the votes personally and directly from the people.
- The trainer should provide clear understanding to the participants that the political parties should assist the candidate seeking election with appropriate information that would deepen his/her knowledge of the community, the key issues, the followers, the criticisms that would help and lead the people.
- The trainer should provide participants with clear understanding that the onus is on the political candidate to recruit appropriate and sound members of the campaign crew and directs its affairs.

1.6 Elective Offices

1.6.1 What is an elective office?

There are misconceptions about the elective office. The trainer should begin the clarifications of these misconceptions reported in the three focal States. It is often understood as a family appointment especially when a member of the family won an election at any of these levels: ward, council, state and national. Expectedly, the member of the family of the politically elected person is, in most cases, construed as the major provider of the financial needs of the family. Elective office has also been construed as an ethnic appointment for an ethnic group. The appointment could also be for the occult when its members mobilized the votes and financial resources that gave the contestant victory at the polls. In fact, this has taken a dangerous trend in Nigerian politics of today. It is noteworthy that elective office is not an appointed political office.

- Therefore, the trainer should provide the participants with clear understanding of an elective office. An elective office is a political office occupied by the candidate who contested and won an election or voted into power by the people. It is a public office created to serve the people and should not have spiritual, ethnic, family and regional connotations. The examples of elective offices include Councilor of the Ward in an LGA, Chairman of a Local Government Area, Members of the State House of Assembly, the Governor/Deputy Governor of a State, and Members of the National Assembly and the President/Vice President of Nigeria.
- The trainer should provide the participants with the clear understanding of the conditions that govern the operations of an elective office and they include

service to the people, integrity, accountability, transparency and service delivery among others. There is also the need for the trainees to be educated by the trainer of the mechanisms to guide the occupants of an elective office. And they include: the Code of Ethics in Civil Service and Political Offices, the EFCC and the ICPC.

- However, there are challenges that could influence the occupants of such office like 'God Fatherism', Political Entrepreneurs and Jobbers ravaging the country's politics in search of a candidate to invest huge financial stakes in to enable him/her win elections and wait for the financial returns almost immediately.

1.6.2.2 Requirements of an Elective Office

- The trainer should provide the participants with an understanding that the first concern of the candidate seeking for political office is the need to understand that an elective office is purely political and about service to the people whose votes brought him/her into power. The elective office is neither personal nor ethnic nor religious.
- The trainer should enlighten participants that an elective office is tenured and not for life. The tenure ranges from two years in case of the Chairmanship of an LGA, four years for the Lawmakers at the State and National Assemblies, the Governor of the State and President of Nigeria at an instance and s/he could re-contest.
- The trainer should provide the understanding for the participants that occupants of elective positions are the servants of the people and much more importantly, the activities of such office are opened to public scrutiny. This suggests transparent and accountable service to the people.
- The trainer should explain to the participants that ultimate power of any elective position resides with the people whose votes brought the occupant to power and s/he must work hard to sustain and even increase the people's votes in subsequent elections in order to remain in power.
- The trainer should provide the participants with the knowledge of stewardship, life style, targets of critical appraisal and balance sheet of the projects undertaken and accomplished by occupants of elective office. The participants should also understand that the elected officer may have projects that are in progress and others still on the drawing board, but they must be accounted for because they will be subject to public scrutiny anytime the need arises. His/her periodic accountability to the people provides the feedback on the areas of strengths and weaknesses and the need for actionable strategies for the way forward.

The trainer should let the participants realize the need for an elective office to prepare handover note about a minimum of two months ahead of the end of two-year tenure in case of Councilor of Ward and four months for a State legislator pending the arrival of a successor to the office.

Module 2

Managing the Electoral Process
and
Election Observation

2.1 Outline

- Electoral Process
- Election Observation

2.2 Objectives

- To acquaint the participants with a clear understanding of the electoral process and election observation;
- To provide the participants with the key stages and issues of the electoral process and the agencies entrusted with its management and,
- To differentiate the scope of the management of the electoral process from that of election observation.

2.3 Expected Outcome

As noted, at the end of the training session, the participants should have an improved knowledge of what it takes to manage the electoral process and election observation.

2.4 Conceptual Clarifications

The trainer needs to provide the participants with clear understanding of the basic technical concepts used in the manual and they include:

- Election is a major instrument for the recruitment of political leadership in the politics of Nigeria and other societies. It is the key to participation in a democracy and the way of giving consent to government. There are two major types of election, namely, primary and general.
- The electoral process encompasses activities that take place before, during and after elections. They include legal and constitutional framework of elections, the registration of political parties, party campaigns, the activities of the electronic and print media, party financing and access to the activities of security agencies and the government in power.
- Election observation is the process and activities undertaken before, during and after election. It entails collation of facts and the observations that have been noted, interpretation of the facts gathered against the background of the law guiding election; detailing the facts and findings collated and the interpretation arising from the report and the events that follow the Election Day.

2.5 Types of Election and Its Phases

The trainer has to provide the participants with broader knowledge of election and its types which include the following:

- A primary election is a nominating election in which the candidates that will run in the general election are chosen. The victory of a contestant in a primary, usually results in the candidate being nominated or endorsed by a political party for the general election. A general election is an election held to choose among candidates nominated in a primary (or by convention, caucus or petition) for federal, state and/or local office. The purpose of a general election is to make a final choice among the various candidates who have been nominated by the parties.
- Three major phases can be identified in the electoral process:
 - i. Pre-election phase which includes activities like delimitation of voter registration, registration of political parties, nomination process, campaign process, media and civic and voter education;
 - ii. Election phase, which is the election day and it entails activities like manning the polling stations, maintaining the integrity of ballots, safety of the ballot papers, ballot boxes, electoral materials, counting of votes, election monitoring and observation.
 - iii. Post-election phase which includes the announcement of results, post election review and post election disputes.
- Election monitoring is an integral part of the election management structure that ensures election takes place on the day of election and the aforementioned stages are adhered to. The election monitor is the agency duly authorized to undertake such task. In Nigeria, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is the only agency and its personnel authorized to monitor election. At the state, the State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) is in charge of the council polls.
- On the other hand, an election observer does not have any role in the administration of the election or any control or oversight function on election but to take note of what transpired during election, especially at the polls and the follow-up to the announcement of the results of election.

2.6 Managing the Electoral Process

The trainer should provide a clear understanding to the participants on how the electoral process is managed to attain credible and transparent election in order to promote democratic governance and the enhanced wellbeing of the people. The mechanism for undertaking such tasks is explained below:

- The INEC is the only legitimate national body allowed by the Constitution to manage the electoral process in the country. The Commission undertakes such duty through its national offices at the headquarters in Abuja. It is headed by a Chairman who is appointed by the President of Nigeria. The INEC has a Board of Commissioners who assist the Chairman to discharge his/her duties. The Commission is based in Abuja and has the 37 Commissioners in the 36 States plus one for the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.
- There is the State INEC (SIEC) for each of the 36 State plus one for the FCT that are constitutionally empowered to conduct elections into the Chairmanship and Councillorship of the Wards and Council areas in the State. It is headed by a Chairman who is appointed by the Governor of the State.
- The INEC seeks to promote transparent and credible elections in the country by adopting the electronic voting and the card reader thereby minimizing the incidences of snatching ballot boxes among other forms of rigging elections. But there are still challenges about the results from the collection and collating centres.
- The INEC creates Election Tribunals in anticipation of post-election challenges to ensure fair play, equity and transparency of the election. But the aggrieved candidates could disagree with the decision of the Election Tribunals and send their petitions to the Courts.
- The INEC and its affiliates at the State levels discharge their civic duties to the people by encouraging through the public address system, print media to exercise their civic rights, register the people for elections, issuance of voters' cards, delineation of political wards and constituencies for elections among others.
- The INEC also engages the services of international non-governmental organizations like the Ford Foundation to sponsor capacity-building programmes for the domestic civil society organizations interested in elections such as the

Centre LSD, Centre for Policy and Legal Services, the Centre for Democracy and Development. The international development agencies like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to help provide financial supports or sponsor capacity programmes on election for both the INEC and NGOs to help train the majority of the inexperienced temporary staff hired to help conduct civic duties like registration of voters and conduct of election. As indicated in the survey report, the DSIEC in Delta State has benefited from the UNDP among others since 2014 council election.

2.6.1 At the Primary:

At this stage, the trainer should provide clear knowledge of the sequence of managing the electoral process at the stated basic level to the participants which are explained below:

- The participants should understand that the first to pick the ticket for nomination at the primary of the political party and sustain the drive will win at the general election. The majority of the voters do not make up their minds on who to vote for until very late. The candidate must be far ahead of other competitors in the political race.
- The participants should understand that there is really no luck in politics but hard work. That is, to say that, the harder a candidate works, the luckier s/he may get voted. Therefore, the candidate must launch his/her well packaged programmes even at the primary because victory at this level, if sustained, will usually result in victory at the general election.
- The trainer should make the participants to understand that the candidate must identify his/her opponents in the same or different political party at the level of the primary and launch initial and sustained issue based attacks (not hate speech or violence) on them even at the general election before s/he is dented, weakened and defeated.
- The trainer is expected to give the participants clear understanding that the candidate should have deep knowledge of his/her community, identify and plug all loopholes that the opponent could zero in to weaken his/her chances of victory.

- The participants should understand through the trainer that the candidate must constitute and head a formidable team of supporters well in advance to enable him/her closely monitor the delimitation exercise and voter registration taking note of the advantages.
- The trainees should be educated by the trainer of the need of candidate to be involved right from the community level in several meetings leading to the registration of political parties and nomination process and.
- Soon after the primary, any successful candidate must double his/her campaign efforts before the real election day.

2.6.2 On Election Day

The trainers should provide the participants with clear knowledge of the importance of the Election Day and its activities. The details are explained below:

- The election day is the real day of election and it encompasses activities right from the primary and intense campaign period, fixing all the odds, regular appraisal of areas of strength and weaknesses, lobbying and building of alliances between and among political groups, individuals, communities and deploying funds to ensure all campaign materials are in place and concretizing alternative financial arrangements. Campaigns are disallowed by law a week before the Election Day.
- The participants should be made to know by the trainer that money is a key issue to success in politics. Robert Kennedy is right when he said that 'money plays the most important role in modern politics. 'Without money, political campaign is at a disadvantage'.
- The trainer should exhort the participants on the great significance of the people at the grassroots who work with their neighbors and friends and encourage them to vote for a candidate. The bulk of the votes come from the rural areas, meaning politics is local.
- The participant should be made to understand by the trainer that politics is not over until it is over. The political candidate should sustain the mood at his/her victory at both the primary and the general election even if there are sudden changes in alliances that might threaten his/her chances of victory.

2.6.3 Post-Election Day

Election does not finally come to an end on the day of election. The trainer should educate the participants that after election there are post-election reports and petitions by aggrieved candidates and their political parties. Some of the issues are explained below:

- The major electoral complaints are the rigging of election in some of the polling booths in the Wards and even Council areas, falsification of election results, and fraudulent collation of results, cases of violence and snatching of ballot boxes.
- The trainer should explain to the participants the next step to be taken by the aggrieved contestants and they include writing petition to the Election Tribunal and the Court, where the final decision on the petition could be taken, but not to stage bloody violence.

Module 3

Introduction to Politics, Democracy
and
Party Organization

3.1 Outline

- Politics
- Democracy
- Party Organization

3.2 Objectives

- To acquaint the trainees with the deep understanding of politics as the struggle by the people for legitimate authority to govern, taking note of the actors (politician and political elite) and institutions (political parties and pressure groups) involved, their strengths and limitations and the consequences for the growth, development and underdevelopment of the people and Nigeria.
- To provide the participants with the clear knowledge of democracy as not an end in itself, but only a political instrument to achieve the desired goal of development of the people and the society.
- To provide the trainees with the deep understanding of political party as an instrument for recruiting political leadership, its internal organization and the socio-political and economic environment in which the party is formed and function and about how free or restricted the party is in carrying out its political and electoral activities; and the legal provisions that regulate it.

3.3 Conceptual Clarifications

What is politics? Politics is understood as the authoritative allocation of values and compliance to the legal frameworks governing these values. In practice, politics means power and the struggle by the people to access and sustain the legitimate authority of such power to govern themselves and their resources.

The term democracy comes from the Greek language and means "rule by the (simple) people". Democracy is not an end in itself, but only a political instrument to achieve the desired goal of development of the people. There are two types of democracy: liberal and social. Liberal democracy merely provides for the unattainable fundamental human rights which the propertied class had used as an alibi to sustain capitalism and the market; promised to provide and when it sought for the collapse of the City-State. It became a correlate of the market. Social democracy is concerned with the actualization of the fundamental rights of the people. But in Nigeria, the political elite preferred liberal democracy because the state is capitalist. On account of the Nigerian experience, democracy does not necessarily mean 'the Government of the people, by the people, for the people' as defined by the U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865).

Party organization refers to the internal structure of the party taking note of its internal socio-political and economic environment in which the parties are formed and function and about how free or restricted the parties and the members are in carrying out their political and electoral activities; and the legal provisions that regulate parties. It gives an understanding of the founding of party, its registration and internal functioning, the rules and regulations for contesting elections, the conduct of election campaigns and the agencies that monitor the conduct of parties.

3.4 Understanding Introductory Politics

Having clarified the conceptual issues, the trainer should provide a clear understanding of introductory politics for the participants. This is done in the subsequent section.

- Politics is the authoritative allocation of values and compliance to the legal frameworks governing these values. Politics is about the people, their wellbeing, the interest they represent and the interaction between the groups and the rationalization of interest. The group could consist of the political parties, pressure groups and political movements and the struggle to subordinate one group by another. For instance, the political competition between the contestants of the APC, PDP and LP for the Chairmanship of the Councils and Councillorship of the Wards of Ughelli North and South during the council election on January 6, 2018 in Delta State is quite instructive. In Edo state though the council polls took place on March 3, 2018, 3 days outside the scope of the study, the result of the election showed that the APC won the 18 Chairmanship and all the Councillorship positions. In Bayelsa State, the caretaker committee in the 8 council areas are still enforced without any plan for council poll at the time of the study.
- Power is the currency of politics because it is the ability of A to compel B to do the biddings of the former without which it would have done otherwise. Power makes politics feasible and practicable. The struggle for power could be violent and even bloody, but participants should understand that politician disagrees to agree on issues and the process goes on and on.
- Political power should be democratic and derived from the people through votes. An absolute power is undemocratic and breeds dictatorship and frustrates the involvement of more people in political participation.

- Politic is the process of rationalization of interest through political participation. Politics involves the process of getting oneself involved in the discussions of the politics of developmental issues with other political actors who may be politicians, political parties and pressure groups and the interest they represent, the benefits to the people inclusive of oneself and the good of the society.
- Politics means the rationalization of interest and influencing the policy and programmes of the legitimate authority in favour of the interests of political class, ethnic, religious and professional groups in the society.
- One key principle in politics is the separation of power into three but interrelated components, namely: the executive (headed by the President, which formulates policy for the day-to-day running of the country), judiciary (that interprets the laws of the land including the Constitution) and legislature (the arm that formulates laws for the protection of the lives of the people and good governance of the country). But they must of necessity, have to cooperate in order for politics to be democratic and society governable.
- The State is a key factor in politics. The state has to be understood in a materialist context because it helps to deepen the analysis of politics and political economy of development, contrary to its context as a government in the modernization theories with very limited understanding. In the critical literature, therefore, the state is understood as a public social force created out of the society as it develops. The public social force that steadily wielded enormous power and stands above the society is called the state. The state is an institutional mode of domination of the society. It is usually aligned with the owners of property, the bourgeois class, and its ideology and politics controls all branches of government, the economy and the world market.

3.5 Democracy

3.5.1 The trainer should provide the participants with clear knowledge of democracy, its brief history, gains and challenges. This is presented in the sequence below:

- The term democracy comes from the Greek language and it means "rule by the (simple) people". The Greek City-State practiced democracy with a one-day government thereafter; another government was elected by the people. But that was only possible with a small population. As the population increased and the society was polarized into propertied and non-propertied class, it became difficult

to sustain the Greek City-State structure of government and even more difficult for capitalism to flourish.

- The U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) defined democracy as ‘Government of the people, by the people, for the people’. But, this definition has problems because the people, in most countries, do not really have much say in electing those who govern them as evident in African countries’ experiment with democracy. Democracy, by far, has become the most challenging form of government so much that the question now is about what democracy does and why is it important.
- Democracy is not an end in itself, but only a political instrument to achieve the desired goal of development of the people. That means when a political party is voted into power at the national level, as the APC currently is, Nigerians expect the President to provide adequate security for the life of the people and their property. The inability of the Buhari-led government to stem the tide of killings orchestrated by the herdsmen in the country is contrary to the promise by the APC and widely condemned.
- Democracy can be broadly grouped into the liberal and social democracy. Liberal democracy provides for the fundamental human rights which the propertied class promised to provide and it sought for the collapse of the City-State. It became a correlate of the market with unrealistic human rights and popular in the G7 member-states like the United States, the UK and Canada where capitalism is practiced and the market forces are in charge of the economy. Nigeria is capitalist in all intents and purposes and this accounts for its adoption of the liberal and neo-liberal ideology and the resultant monumental challenges like unemployment and worsening trend of closure of manufacturing companies in the focal states and the country.
- Social democracy, on the other hand, is concerned with the actualization of the fundamental rights of the people and the government has bias for socialist principles. Then USSR and its socialist ideology influenced social democratic practices in Cuba. In Africa, countries like Angola, Mozambique, Benin and Namibia among others in the 1970s adopted as a tool for political independence struggles, but they could not sustain it largely on account of weak leadership.

- Democracy is an ideal. Therefore, what is before Africa for instance, is not so much about democracy as democratization. Democratization is concerned about the empowerment of the people in the process of development. A development in which the people are the means, agents and ends of the sought development. But the political elite do not support democratization because of the fear that it whittles down its political power as the people become more empowered in the process.
- Democracy is a tool for achieving development and if the governance of the sought development remains top-down as in Nigeria, there is the need for its democratization in order to empower the majority people in the development process. Democratization is about a ground-up approach to development matters, say from the rural to the urban areas. This is to empower the people in the kind of development based on their experiences socio-culturally, but not received from the donor agencies.

3.6 Party Organization

3.6.1 Political Party, Its Roles, History and Types

The trainer should provide the participants with a clear understanding of political party, its roles, history and organization. This is presented as follows:

- What is a political party? A political party is an association of like-minded people with the common aim of contesting election and winning power. The political party is an instrument for recruiting political leadership. It is the platform for expressing practical politics. Some of the examples of political party in Nigeria are the APC, PDP, LP and APGA.
- The major roles of the political party include interest articulation and aggregation of people, and political leadership and education for the purpose of winning election. Its activities includes the conduct of primaries where members of the party are selected through election by other members to compete the real elections that make politics practicable at all the levels- ward, council, state and national. There is really no ideal political party and its organization is hardly perfect. This major function can be accomplished through the organization of the party.

- The history of political parties in Nigeria can be traced to the non-democratic setting of colonial rule. The nationalist struggles for Nigeria's independence left the colonist, Britain, with an understanding that sooner than later, the country would become independent. It became an opportunity to introduce Nigeria to the Western political institutions, including the formation of political parties that would oversee the development of a legislature similar to their own.
- The formation of political party was shaped by various factors. They include socio, political, economic and global cleavages. In the 1960s, the three major political parties in Nigeria were the Northern People's Congress (NPC) populated largely by the Hausas and Fulani from Northern Nigeria, the Action Group (AG) belonged to the Yorubas from the West; and the NCNC had its base in the East and belonged to the Ibos. This socio-political cleavage has not really changed even at the current political dispensation where the dominant political parties, the APC is predominantly populated by the Hausas, while the PDP has more of its members in the South-South geopolitical region.
- There are different types of party system in Nigeria. The One-Party system refers to political systems in which a single party enjoys the monopoly of power through the exclusion of all other parties (by political or constitutional means). It is a fused state machine with one party in power. Nigeria never had a one party system but multi-party political arrangement.
- The two- party system can be identified by three criteria: (i). There could be a number of 'minor' parties, only two parties enjoy sufficient electoral and legislative strength to have a realistic prospect of winning government power; (ii) The larger party is able to rule alone (usually on the basis of a legislative majority); the other provides the opposition.(iii) There is power alternates between these parties; both are 'electable', the opposition serving as a 'government in the wings' Therefore, the two-party system can safely be described as **duopolistic** in that two 'major' parties have a roughly equal prospect of winning government power. The system fosters pluralism and it is common in Africa where there are ethnically-based political parties and this party system obtains in Nigeria.
- The multi-party system is defined by competition between more than two parties and this reduces the chances of single-party government and increasing the likelihood of coalitions. Multi-party system is not characterized by the number of parties engaged in political competition, party democratization as instructed by the donor agencies as a condition for loans as the World Bank and IMF forced the

President of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi in the 1980s to break-up the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) party. Multi-party democratization could be informed by ideologically committed grass-roots by the political activists. Nigeria is also an example of multi-party system.

- The political parties have not really been directly or indirectly affected by religious diversity in the country - Christianity, Islam and African religion. There is no political party in the country that can be described as solely Christian or Islamic. But, members of any of a religious group could numerically be in majority in any of the six geo-political zones in the country, North West, Central and East in the North and; South-West, South East and South-South from the South. The Constitutional requirement for registered political party to have offices in the 36 States and the FCT and the President of Nigeria to have won elections in two-third of the States of the Federation makes it difficult for either an Islamic or Christian-dominated political party to emerge in Nigeria.
- The socio-economic context of Nigeria throws up the glitter of the few first generation capital cities like Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Enugu and Benin, and the later category of Port Harcourt, Maiduguri, Ilorin, Abeokuta, Sokoto and then Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. This explains why the dominant political parties are urban-based and financing of the parties are undertaken largely by the money bags living in the urban centres. But politics remains local because the largest number of votes is usually secured from the rural communities.
- The global context may not have necessarily shaped the formation of political parties in Nigeria. But, the strong presence of global financial institutions and the development policy of donors and external actors have meant that the political parties in Nigeria are gradually being influenced by the design and socio-economic policies and agenda of international development and donor. There is a limit of financial investment for the political offices in the country. The Board of Trustees, Chairmen and Secretaries of political parties in Nigeria are becoming conscious of financial recklessness, economic recession and corporate economic governance. This is already posing challenges to the political parties in Nigeria.

3.6.2 The Party Structure

The trainer should provide clear knowledge of the party organization to the participants. This is explained below:

- Political party competition should be inclusive because it is part of a healthy democratic system whereby competition encourages the diffusion of innovative ideas. Political competition is one major condition that political parties must first, imbibe internally then encourages in practical politics. A highly inclusive level of political participation in the election of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections is a great asset to the political party and its member and among individuals and organized groups seeking for all elective positions in government power. It also encourages an assured level of civil and political liberties such as freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations all of which is to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation.
- A clear-cut approach to political party is its institutionalization. The basic elements are: (a) stable rules governing political competition; (b) the major parties have deep roots in the society; (c) all significant political actors accept the legitimacy of political parties; and (d) parties have strong organizations and their own resources.
- The party structures consist of a membership organization parallel to the electoral structure in the majority of African countries, not the least, Nigeria. That is, to say, the political party structure consists of the following multiple layers: (a) the polling place (ward, settlement, and neighborhood) organization at the lowest level; (b) the electoral district or constituency level in the national or local elections; (c) the district or provincial coordinating office; and (d) the central or national office. The political party structures are parallel to the structures of the Parliament and by extension to the government in power. The Conference (highest) – Party National Committee - Party Constituency Committee - Party Agent - Party Agent Committee - Voter (lowest).
- The institution of the party whip is at the heart of the business of how political parties influence members of government and parliamentary behaviour. The African whip system is inherited from the Westminster system, and whips therefore have an important role in party business within parliament, particularly when the voting strengths of the main parties are close. For important votes, it is

imperative for government and opposition to maximize the turnout of the Members of Parliament (MPs), and the Whips try to ensure that every member from their party turns out to vote.

- The duties of the party Whip include keeping the members of the party informed of forthcoming business of the party; maintaining the party's voting strength by ensuring that members attend important debates and support their party in elections; and passing on to the party leadership the opinions of the members.
- The management of the party is a major concern to its members and the politicians. The party must exist as an organization capable of contesting elections, maintaining their membership, supporting their members if they become the party in government and sustaining its political programmes. The party must keep contacts with its national, state and local networks, and creating networks with special-interest groups, such as young people, women, the private sector, trade unions and civil society organizations.
- The bureaucracy of the party is a critical factor in its management, because it informs the day-to-day running of the party office, or the relationship between political office-holders (the chairperson or secretary and their deputies, the treasurer and various portfolios) and the administrative staff together with the office administration, personnel, financial and election campaign and publicity management, programme development and party policy implementation procedures.
- The employees of the political party are integral part of the bureaucracy of the party that constitute a special category of party personnel who may be capacitated into a special-interest group within the political party, and their level of remuneration depends on their political commitment to the party's values or ideology, and the level of service they provide to the political leaders.
- The internal party democracy of the political party constitutes the very foundation of democratic governance. If the leadership and the selection of candidate at the primaries are democratic then political competition is likely to be democratic. In fact, internal party democracy in terms of the selection of candidates, leadership contests, regular membership conventions, and internal rules to discipline the party members and hold them accountable is ideal. But if it is in short supply in all the major political parties such that ethnic, regional or religious cleavages and patronage affect internal party democracy of the party, then political parties will become either fiefdoms of their political leaders or hijacked by small groups of core committee members who now decide party affairs and policy.

- With the realization that political parties are at the core of democratic governance, there has been the need for capacity building for political parties, which includes funding, and creating an enabling environment to function optimally. The engagement of the civil society organizations in the functioning of political parties has helped to open up the political space for capacity building and other forms of interventions into the activities of the political parties as evident in the participation of women organization, labour unions, churches, student and community-based organizations that will help influence policies.
- The internal party finance is a major factor in the transparency and accountability of the party. Political parties, in Nigeria, like their counterparts in the relatively politically developed countries in Europe and the United States, need money in order to perform their functions creditably well. The parties need money to maintain themselves as organizations, recruit personnel, win support, hold conventions, manage election campaigns, handle the media, establish political offices to canvass support and get their message through to the electorates. The main sources of political party funding are: donations; public funding; minimal membership fees, public funding/subsidies; trust funds; and corrupt kickbacks from businessmen and women.
- However, most political parties lack membership list and this has negative impact on membership fees which are not regularly paid. Incumbent political parties depend on the national coffers and the advantage of the incumbency to access resources in order to attain their political ambitions. This weakens the opposition political parties as they are unable to source for resources which limits their political outreach.
- The financial incapacity of the political parties compromises the independence of political parties, which are supposed to serve public rather than private interests. Money corrupts and gives advantage to the "highest bidders" to lead. Money stifles internal party democracy and entrenches patron-client relationship. It ushers in authoritarian party hegemons.
- The Electoral Act of 2010 as amended stipulated the limit for funding political parties

Table 3. 1: Spending Limits by Candidates during the 2007 General Election Position

Political Positions	Spending Limits in Naira
Presidential candidate	500 million
Governorship candidate	100 million
Senatorial candidate	20 million
House of Representative candidate	10 million
House of Assembly candidate	5 million
LG Councillorship candidate	500,000.00

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria, Electoral Act 2006

Table 3. 2: Spending Limits by Candidates during the 2010 General Election Position

Political Positions	Spending Limits in Naira
Presidential candidate	1 billion
Governorship candidate	200 million
Senatorial candidate	40 million
House of Representative candidate	20 million
House of Assembly candidate	10 million

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria, Electoral Act, 2010 (as amended)

- There is leadership succession crisis in the political parties. This stems largely from the absence of internal party democracy and the non-democratic nature of the governments. The leaders of party want to stay in power despite constitutional provisions that restrict their office to a specific number of terms (mostly two years). There is also a strong correlation between government party leaders tampering with the constitution to secure more terms than what is constitutionally permitted, and this has caused conflict. Some of the succession-driven conflicts were the Third Term Agenda of Olusegun Obasanjo when his two-terms of four years each expired in May 2007. In other West African countries, leadership succession crises affected Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Togo.

Module 4

Campaign Planning and Message Development

4.1 Outline

- Campaign Planning
- Message Development

4.2 Objectives

- To provide the trainees with a clear understanding of the process of planning political campaign and its major mission of persuading the people to vote for the candidate during election and;
- To acquaint the trainees with a deep knowledge of scripting the campaign message, its policy, programmes and strategies for implementation of the political contestant at campaign rallies and communities' town halls. It advises that a well-thought out and written campaign message of the candidate is halfway into his/her winning the election because the majority of people who attend campaign rallies should not struggle to understand what s/he has to deliver.

4.3 Conceptual Clarifications

Campaign planning is the process of working out the key issues and the strategy to get campaign underway. The key issues are the vision, mission, strategy, timeline, the cash flow and the finance plan.

Message development is the scripting of the policy and programmes of the candidate for the community and people and the strategy devised for implementing them within a timeframe.

4.4 Planning the Campaign

The trainer should provide clear understanding of the campaign issues and the strategies for implementation to the participants. They are identified and explained as follows:

- Know the law governing campaign. The candidate must understand that there are laws governing campaign and work within the ambit of such laws. There are limitations that the candidate may face during campaign like the size of bill board allowed and their locations. The content of message should find answers to the development challenges of the people. Campaign is disallowed a week to the day of election and no hate speech is allowed. The trainees should be provided with the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended).
- For any campaign to be successful, there are key issues to be sorted out at the

onset. These are the vision, mission, strategy, timeline, the cash flow and the finance plan. There are other critical issues like the purpose of the campaign and who the exercise is meant for: the candidate. The expected qualities of the candidate should include honesty and truthfulness, be current and relevant, visionary, emotional and dramatic, creative and inventive and creating contrast. As indicated in the survey report, the reality of the campaign in Delta State during the two-week campaign of the Council elections in Delta State for instance, the focus of the campaign was not so much about the candidate but the major political party, the PDP, its programmes and the plan to keep the incumbent in power in the 2019 general elections.

- There are other issues that will successfully drive the political campaign of the candidate and they include ideology (the power of principles and ideas), power to understand trends, organization (the ability to organize workers and management) and the media (the power of publicity and advertising).
- The candidate must have an idea of the scope of the campaign. For instance, how many votes will be required to win in the election? This can be ascertained by studying previous elections, but the probability of getting significant number of votes may be low.
- In addition to the qualities of the candidate as noted in module one on leadership, there is the need for him/her to demonstrate the capacity for public speaking. Here, the candidate should have rehearsed the key issues in his/her speech, understand the body language of the people, and respond appropriately, have a team of public relation experts to prepare him/her for public appearance and talk-his dressing, avoid throwing punches back at the people unduly if foul languages are used to humiliate him/her but provide answers to issues raised among others.
- The stronghold of the APC gubernatorial candidate, Otega Emerhor, is Evreni, his home town in Ughelli North Council Area. But PDP won the Chairmanship and Councillorships positions even in his community contrary to his popularity at previous elections. The size of the community in terms of whether it is small or big, and the estimated cost of running the campaign are very essential. It is always better to have a big budget because of miscellaneous expenses during campaign. Find out what is the budget of other campaign teams because it will give an idea of how much should be planned for. This could be applicable to small and unpopular political parties like the Labour Party fielding candidates in either PDP-dominated States like Delta and Bayelsa where the PDP undertakes the campaign rallies.
- Raising money for the campaign will require the candidate to draw up a list of

supporters. How many support staff does the candidate need? The reality, however, is that the majority of the candidates fielded for elections by the political parties were sponsored by either incumbent Governor or money bags in the political party. The case of the campaign rally for the March 3, 2018 Council poll was quite instructive. The National Chairman of the APC, the incumbent Governor and the immediate past Governor of Edo State stormed the Samuel Ogbemudia's stadium, Benin City and mounted the rostrum at the campaign rally. The candidates for the Council election were barely heard at the rally where they were expected to allow them to deliver their messages to the people. Even though the APC won all the Chairmanship and Councillorship of the 18 Council Areas in Edo State, none of the candidates was allowed to deliver campaign message.

- Before moving the planned campaign to the field, there is the need for huge resources namely, the time, money, people and ideas to succeed. The candidate is the head of the campaign and s/he must be viable, effective, possess organizational ability and must have meaningful support base. The reality in Bayelsa State, another PDP controlled State is a contradiction. The election campaign at the levels of the Council, State and National is organized, financed and executed by the incumbent Governor. In the 2015 general election, one youthful candidate, Moses Siasia was denied membership of the PDP strictly on the ground that he indicated interest to compete for the governorship. He eventually joined the PDM, a relatively unpopular party, contested for the governorship seat and expectedly lost.

4.5 Developing the Message

To begin with, the trainer should provide the participants with clear understanding of the nature of campaign message and the strategy for its delivery. This is presented as follows:

- First and most important, the message must convey the political goals and programmes of the candidate subsumed under those of the political party, and the strategy for delivery. The language must be succinct, clear and unambiguous. It is not sufficient for a PDP candidate who contested for the Council election in Delta State on January 6, 2018 to repeatedly announce to the people that the umbrella, the symbol of the Party, has sufficient room to accommodate the various interests of Nigeria as appropriate campaign message for the vote of the people.
- The trainer should give the participants clear understanding that candidates seeking for election should develop campaign message based on the peculiar

needs of the people and the community. A major campaign message in the degraded environment in Bayelsa should not fail to address the crisis of oil pollution and strategies to combat it. Yet, not even the campaigns by politicians in Bayelsa and Delta States have ever addressed the politics of the environment.

- The message must be derived from the overall philosophy, vision and mission of the main political party that the candidate belongs. It is expected of the candidate to bring the political party to the people because it is the party that provides the platform for the candidate to seek for election.
- The strategies for message delivery are as important as their sources. The sources should consider the elective positions being sought- Chairmanship and Councillorship, and State and National/Parliaments among others; and where the votes are expected to come from, and where the people/voters are located namely, the village, community, semi-urban and urban areas and cities. The array of media available to the contestant includes the, print and electronic, road show and town hall meetings. The message of the campaign and the most appropriate one will take cognizance of where the bulk of voters are located.
- The languages of communication are as important as the messages being delivered. They include English Language for fairly literate communities; but native languages like Bini, Esan, Igbo, Ijaw, Urhobo and Itsekiri could be used simultaneously with pidgin English Language especially in rural and urban areas because the candidate can never tell where his/her votes would come from.
- The radio station is quite important and some of the radio stations could offer free air time to the candidates. With appropriate message delivered in some radio stations, some unknown supporters of the candidate could pay for free radio advertisement without publicity.
- The visibility of the candidate is quite important at campaign rallies because s/he is the head of the campaign team and is accountable for the success or failure of the management of the team. s/he must be an interesting speaker and be able to survive punches and counter-punches that characterize political campaigns. As observed in the focal states, the APC and PDP would not want to risk the loss of any vote, but the candidate seeking for election must be projected. The situation where the political parties assume that a huge campaign rally would amount to secured victory for the candidate has not really helped the candidates for his/her future political ambition.

Module 5

Election Campaign Framework
(Electoral Laws and
Political Party Code of Conduct)

5.1 Outline

- Election Campaign Framework
- Electoral Laws
- Political Party Code of Conduct

5.2 Objectives

- To acquaint the participants with the framework that governs election campaign in Nigeria;
- To provide the participants with a clear knowledge of the electoral laws and;
- To provide the trainees with the expected approach the political parties should display at the campaign ground.

5.3 Conceptual Clarifications

The election campaign framework is the general rules and regulations that allow and limit campaign by the political parties. Specifically, there are electoral laws and code of attitude of the political party.

The electoral laws are pieces of legislation that guide the environment of conduct of election by the political parties and the politicians.

The political party code of conduct regulates the behaviour of the political party and its members at the scene of voting during election.

It is ideal to examine the environment in which political competition is played out in concrete terms, namely, the electoral laws and the code of conduct of the political party

5.4 Electoral Laws

The trainer should acquaint the participants with clear knowledge of the electoral laws that govern election campaign in Nigeria. The key issues are sequenced as follows:

- The trainer should provide the participants with an understanding of the major sections in the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as amended that deal with election campaign. For instance, Sections 222-229 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria deal

with election. They request that all political parties have to display decorous attitude towards elections. In particular, it calls on political parties to display and distribute their manifestos and their candidates being fielded for election at the campaign ground. This is one of the indicators used by the Nigerian voter to assess the seriousness of the political parties and their candidates at election campaign.

- The provisions of Sections 222-229 also stipulated the expectations of the political parties stated as follows; (i) no political party shall do nothing whatsoever; individually or collectively to undermine, flout, disrespect or circumvent the conditions stipulated therein; (ii). every political party shall provide equal opportunity to qualified persons to participate in electoral activities; (iii) political parties have the right and freedom to put forward their views to the electorate without hindrance; (iv) all political parties are enjoined at all times to hold the rights and freedom of the Nigerian people, as guaranteed by law; (v) all political parties shall ensure, and practice internal party democracy by adhering strictly to the provisions of their Party's Constitution and; (vi) no political party shall engage in violent activities of any kind, as a way of demonstrating its strength.
- However, the political parties have, in some instances, run roughshod of the aforementioned requirements. The major grouse some of the youth nursed against the leadership of the PDP in the focal states was the imposition of candidates preferred by the Governors, Party Chieftains and financially wealthy members on the party to the detriment of the popular but financially weakly connected ones. According to the YiPDS, the Chairman of the Sapele Council Area in Delta State during the January 6, 2018 election was an imposition by the PDP.
- Ignorance is not an excuse in law. To overcome this, the trainer should explain to the participants the implication of being ignorant of the laws governing elections. In this context, any prospective member of the political party should not just have a copy of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria, but should read, discuss and have an interpretative understanding of the document.
- The trainer should give the participants clear understanding that it is his/her rights to join any political party of his/her choice and to contest for any elective position on the platform of the party after winning the primaries.
- The participants should be made to understand by the trainer that a registered member of the political party should pay financial dues regularly and have a copy of the Party's Constitution. The member should read, discuss and interpret the party's constitution in order to know his/her rights in the party.

- The participants should be exhorted by the trainer on the imperative of being a disciplined member of the party, not to engage in anti-party activities and obey disciplinary measures as contained in the Constitution of the party if charged for any offence.

5.5 Political Party Code of Conduct

There is the need for the trainer to introduce the participants to the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) because it specifically addresses the expectations from members of the political party; the electoral issues as they affect the conduct of the political parties at election campaign. These issues are explained as follows:

- The participants should have clear knowledge of the provisions of the Act because they explain what the political party does and restrained to do;
- That INEC is mandated as the sole body responsible for the conduct of elections in Nigeria;
- That members of the political party should invoke any of the section of the Act to defend himself/herself should there be conflicts arising from election and;
- The Act defines party members' eligibility for party nomination to contest for election
It is expected that copies of the Act will be provided for the participants.
- The trainer should provide the participants with the knowledge that the Code of Conduct provides all political parties to uphold the rights and freedoms of the Nigerian people, as guaranteed by law: In this context, every political party shall provide equal opportunity to qualified persons to participate in electoral activities.
- The participants should be made to understand by the trainer they are expected to explore and actualize one of the provisions that all political parties shall abide by all the Laws, rules and regulations of Nigeria relating to elections and the maintenance of public order. In this regard, all the parties shall fully cooperate with the police in any investigation and processes of enforcement of the relevant laws, rules and regulations;
- The participants should be made by the trainer to realize that subject to the

relevant Laws and Regulations, all political parties have the right and freedom to put forward their views to the electorate without hindrance. For this purpose, every political party shall respect the rights of all participants in an election and;

- The participants should be made to know by the trainer that no political party shall use State apparatus including State-owned print and electronic media to the advantage or disadvantage of any other political party or candidate at an election.
- The participants should be given clear understanding by the trainer that no candidate or the political party shall during campaign, resort to the use of inflammatory language, provocative actions, images or manifestation that incite violence, hatred, contempt or intimidation against another party or candidate or any person or group of persons on grounds of ethnicity or gender or for any other reason. Accordingly, no political party or candidate shall issue any poster, pamphlet, leaflet or other publication that contains any such incitement.
- The participants should also be exhorted by the trainers that the candidate is expected to take all necessary steps to coordinate his/her campaign activities in such a way as to avoid holding rallies, meetings, marches or demonstrations close to one another at the same time. Accordingly, whenever the date, venue or timing of any such activities of different political parties clash, their representatives will meet to resolve the issue amicably, without resort to intimidation, force or violence.
- The trainer should provide clear understanding of financing election to participants that candidates are forbidden from vote buying, banned from using foreign currencies for party contributions and financing his/her party and; to submit to the INEC the details of the financial statements of the political parties; and
- The trainer should provide knowledge for the participants that every political party shall ensure the promotion of active participation of women, youth and the physically challenged in the electoral processes.

Module 6

Campaign Financing

6.1 Outline

- Financing Campaign
- Legal Framework
- Sources of Financing

6.2 Objectives

- To acquaint the participants with a clear understanding of the funding of political campaign;
- To provide the participants with the legal framework instituted to guide the financing of political campaign and;
- To present and review the sources of funding of political campaign

6.3 Conceptual Clarifications

Campaign finance is the process of sourcing and spending of money intended to influence a political vote, such as the election of a candidate at both the primaries and the general election. It is the financing of electoral campaigns of political parties and candidates for major elective positions at the federal, state, and local levels. It could take the form of using money or gifts to influence the outcome of the election.

In Nigeria, the finance campaign law is the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended). The Act has the primary task of keeping elections as clean as possible by regulating donations, spending and public funding. The funds for political campaigns come from Nigerians, special interest groups, political entrepreneurs who raise and spend money trying to influence elections with the sole purpose for huge returns.

6.4 Financing political campaign

Arising from the clarification of the concept of financing campaign, the trainer should provide the participants with some of the gains and challenges of campaign financing which are explained as follows:

- The political parties and the candidates require money to publicize their electoral platforms and to pursue effective campaigns. This is because the rise in campaign expenditures has grown in the country over the years.
- Financing campaign will help to ameliorate rising cost of elections so that politicians will not have to sell their property to raise money for campaigns and

- compromise their political offices in order to pay back their debts.
- The monetization of politics has become one of the major challenges the political parties and politicians are faced with.
- Campaign finance also raises critical ethical issues for democratic regimes and the question about the protection of freedom of expression, censorship and the prevention of corruption.
- By regulating campaign fund-raising and spending, governments seek to avoid a situation whereby politicians use the power associated with their office to reward large contributors.
- Finally, there is the need to regulate campaign finance in order to avoid the commonly held belief that uncontrolled political fund-raising and spending can undermine the integrity of the democratic process and shatter the confidence of the electorate in political institutions and the politicians.

6.5 Legal Framework

The trainer should provide clear knowledge of the law governing campaign financing to the participants. This is explained as follows:

- The Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) is the legal framework for financing campaign in the country. It sets the limit of financial donations to political parties and political positions as stated in the table below.

Table3. 2: Spending Limits by Candidates during the 2010 General Election Position

Political Positions	Spending Limits in Naira
Presidential candidate	1 billion
Governorship candidate	200 million
Senatorial candidate	40 million
House of Representative candidate	20 million
House of Assembly candidate	10 million

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria, Electoral Act, 2010 (as amended)

- However, majority of the political parties have not complied with the limits set by the Act. In 2015, the PDP reportedly raised N12 billion for the general elections thereby violating the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended). The leadership of the party responded with the contention that the money raised was meant for the management of the PDP family and not strictly for elections. Even though the PDP lost in the 2015 election, it was a clear violation of the Act.

6.6 Sources of Campaign Financing

Fund raising for political campaign is expected to commence at the same time the candidate decided to seek for elective positions. Financing political campaign is laden with risks. It is a mixed grill because they are sources the candidate believes are 'sure bankers' like very close friends and money bags and institutions and clubs, but they turn out to be most disappointing; and there are others the candidate will reluctantly contact for funding his/her campaign and they respond positively. The trainer should provide the participants with knowledge of the sources of campaign finances. This is stated below:

- The political party and the politician are the chief funds raiser and they should be in-charge of drawing up the list. The most political donors fall within three groups, namely, the candidate's list of personal supporters, community groups, friendly business groups and associations.
- The first group to consider is the politician's personal supporters, which could include his/her business associates, co-workers, neighbours, family and friends. This group of supporters know the candidate very closely and may support him/her with very minimal amount of money, say, N50,000.00, but they are in better position to reach out to the people to secure their votes for him/her. It is advisable that the candidate should not be discouraged by the little amount of financial support.
- The second group of the fundraising list entails local community and neighborhood groups, professional associations, communities of faith and parents. Again, the financial contributions from this category may not be much, but it can be trusted for returning reasonable votes during election because of the relative intimacy with most members in this category.
- The third list of possible fund raisers is the party-friendly donor and business groups. The members are monetarily productive and have established practice of financially supporting other party candidates in their areas.

- The fourth list is the group of ex-Governors, ex- Chairmen of political parties, Chairmen of Business Groups who have accumulated much funds from previous political appointments and businesses and the only major business for them is to sponsor candidates for elective positions on the condition that certain percentage of the incomes of the government will be deducted to the creditor group(s). The majority of the candidates who sought finances from this group hardly made the first term in office and became bankrupt and perpetually dependent on the political 'God fathers'.
- The politicians are advised to keep watchful eyes on the bottom-line (an eye on the cost of campaign, prospects of victory and the challenges) because they are to meet all debts and obligations promptly.

Group Exercises

7.1 Exercise 1

- Participants are grouped in 10 persons per group, with group chairperson and Rapporteur.

Question: Name and discuss the steps an aspirant must take to get elected.

7.2 Exercise 2

- Participants are grouped in 10 persons per group, with group chairperson and Rapporteur;

Question: Name the phases of the election process known to you.

7.3 Exercise 3

- Participants are grouped in 10 persons per group, with group chairperson and Rapporteur;
- Write the name of your party
- Each group should have a 10-minute discussion on Democracy, Politics and Party Organization
- Identify five major problems with democracy in Nigeria.
- Explain how the problem affects the system
- Make a 5-minute presentation of your group to the plenary.

7.4 Exercise 4

- Participants are grouped in 10 persons per group, with group chairperson and Rapporteur;

Question: Pick the developmental issues in your constituency and develop a campaign message assuring the people that you will bring solution to the issues if supported. Presentation should be in English and local language.

7.5 Exercise 5

- Participants are grouped in 10 persons per group, with group chairperson and Rapporteur;

Question: There is a dearth of knowledge of the Electoral Law amongst politicians in Nigeria, what can be done to address this challenge?

7.6 Exercise 6

- Participants are grouped in 10 persons per group, with group chairperson and Rapporteur;

Question: Name five campaign financing issues and how they can be mitigated.

About Centre LSD

AFRICAN CENTRE FOR LEADERSHIP, STRATEGY AND DEVELOPMENT (CENTRE LSD)

... Building Strategy Leadership for Sustainable Development in Africa.

The African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development (Centre LSD) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization established under Nigerian laws to build strategic leadership for sustainable development in Africa.

The African continent is very rich and diverse. There are abundant human and natural resources in the continent. But the continent has the worst development indices in the world: maternal mortality, infant mortality, literacy rate, HIV/AIDS prevalence, poverty rate, life expectancy etc. More than half of the populations of African people are living in abject poverty. Most country in Sub-Sahara Africa are unlikely to achieve the modest Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by world leaders at the UN Millennium Declaration in 2000. Many African countries continue to suffer food shortages. Some countries are in conflict. We have experienced democratic reversals in some countries with the military coming into power in Guinea Bissau. All of these make the development of Africa a huge challenge. The continent's effort to grapple with the developmental challenges have been complicated by its colonial history, globalization, leadership failures and adoption of development approaches that have been proved to be inadequate.

The importance of leadership for the success of organizations and nations cannot be overemphasized. Some scholars have pointed out that everything rises and falls on leadership. Despite this recognition, there is scarcity of leaders all over the world. There is a saying that the world is filled with followers, supervisors and managers but very few leaders. There are four kinds of people in the world: those who watch things happen; those who let things happen; those who ask what happen and those who make things happen. Leaders are those who make things happen. A visionless, insecure and incompetent leadership is a killer of organization and nations.

Similarly, strategy is very crucial to the development and performance of any organization or nation. Strategy occupies a central position in the focus and proper functioning of any organization or nation. This is because it is a plan that integrates an organization or nation's major goals, policies and actions into a cohesive whole. A well formulated strategy should therefore help to marshal and allocate an organization or nation's resources into a unique and viable posture based on its relative internal competencies and shortcomings, anticipated changes in the

environment, and contingent moves by others. Strategies help to create a sense of politics, purpose and priorities.

A dynamic and visionary leadership combines with appropriate strategy process will produce a correct development approach that will lead to the prosperity and development of Africa. Centre LSD is poised to contributing to the transformation of Africa through building dynamic and visionary leadership and proposing appropriate strategies and development approaches.

The major focus of work will be in the giant of Africa- Nigeria, but the Centre will work across Africa with a Pan-African perspective with partners in all the sub-regions in Africa. The Centre's strategy, programme and actions will focus on Africa with the operations being run from Nigeria partnering with organizations across Africa. Centre LSD is registered with Corporate Affairs Commission as an NGO in Nigeria.

Centre LSD's Vision

The vision of Centre LSD is an African society with strategic leadership and sustainable development.

Centre LSD's Mission

The Centre's mission is to work with forces of positive change to empower citizens to transform society.

Centre LSD's Values

The Centre is guided by the following values:

- a) Diversity
- b) Feminism
- c) Integrity
- d) Dignity of the human person
- e) Pan-Africanism
- f) Accountability
- g) Transparency
- h) Transformative change

The objectives of the Centre include:

1. To promote ideas, policies and actions that will lead to transformative change in Africa.
2. To promote leader development (expanding the capacity of individuals for effective leadership roles and processes) and leadership development

(expansion of organizations' capacity to enact basic leadership tasks including setting direction, creating alignment and maintaining commitment).

3. To develop the capacity for strategic thinking, formulation, implantation and evaluation.
4. To promote human centered and sustainable development with special focus on Governance, Human Centre Development and Environment.
5. To collaborate with individuals, organizations, networks, coalitions and movements that will help in achieving the Centre's objectives

Operational Approach

The Centre carries out its programmes through the following methods:

- Research
- Think Thank
- Capacity Building
- Advocacy and Campaign
-

Programmatic Approach

The Centre's programme is built on the principles of catalytic partnership and rights-based approach.

- a. The programme conception, design, implementation and evaluation are built around four principles:
- b. Dynamic and visionary leadership
- c. Appropriate strategy
- d. Relevant development approaches including the promotion of women's right, citizen participation, ownership, pro-poor orientation and focus on the next generation of youth and children.
- e. Building people and institutions.

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ISBN: 978-978-55807-2-3