

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Muhammadu Buhari is a 72 year old Nigerian having long experience in Nigeria politics. He originally is half Hausa from his father and half Fulani from his mother. Born in Daura, Katsina, Muhammadu Buhari grew as North Nigerian. Unlike the common North Nigerian kids, Buhari was fortunate to be able to get an education in schools. His pace in Nigerian politics was started since his participation in Nigerian military.

In the latest election of Nigeria in March 2015, Muhammadu Buhari came up as the winner and was formally inaugurated as the current president of Nigeria. The winning of Muhammadu Buhari in this election was the result of his struggles in running the election after losing in several previous Nigerian elections. Muhammadu Buhari beat the incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan with about 2.7 million votes.¹ In the previous election, Muhammadu Buhari also competed with Goodluck Jonathan but he lost at that time.

The winning of Muhammadu Buhari in this election practically placed him in a presidential chair for the second time, in light of the fact that Muhammadu Buhari led the country in 1980s. What makes the difference is that Muhammadu Buhari was a former military dictator served as a military ruler which implementing authoritarian methods back

¹Al Jazeera. (2015, April 5). *Buhari Secures Historic Election Victory in Nigeria*. Retrieved May 11, 2015, from Al Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/03/opposition-party-declares-victory-nigeria-election-150331135603507.html>

then. Democracy emerged in Nigeria since 1999, therefore the government is supposed to act in a more democratic way now.

The 2015 election is not only about the first election in Nigeria where the incumbent is beaten by the opponent candidate but it is also the first time an opposition party democratically takes control of the country from a ruling party. For instance, since 1999, the elected president of Nigeria was come from candidate of People Democratic Party started by President Olusegun Obasanjo which led Nigeria since 1999 until 2007 and continued by President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in 2007 which also the candidate from People Democratic Party. Traditionally, elections in Nigeria are formal affairs. As agreed in the unwritten arrangement in 1999, the presidency should alternate between Muslim and Christian occupants serving a maximum of two terms. This arrangement is meant to ensure that both religious groups get fair access to the level of power or so-called a power-sharing zoning agreement.²

2015 election was firstly scheduled on February 14th and 28th but on February 7th the Independent Nigeria's Electoral Commission (INEC) announced that the election would be postponed for six weeks because of the security issue related to the actions of Boko Haram. According to Nigeria Security Tracker, Boko Haram has been responsible for nearly 11.000 deaths since May 2011.³ The election then was held on March 28, 2015. In the election, 14 out of 26 parties submitted the names of candidates.

The election drew a high rivalry between two stronger candidates, Muhammadu Buhari from All Progressive Congress (APC) and the incumbent Goodluck Jonathan from People

²Nadeau, J. (2015, January 13). *Nigeria's Watershed Elections*. Retrieved May 5, 2015, from Foreign Policy Association: <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2015/01/13/nigerias-watershed-elections/>

³Campbell, J. (2015). *Nigeria Security Tracker*. Retrieved May 5, 2015, from Council on Foreign Relations: <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/nigeria-security-tracker/p29483>

Democratic Party (PDP). This was the most competitive presidential race in the biggest democratic country in Africa. Even John Kerry stated that this was the most fair and free election in Nigerian history.⁴

It was a long wait for Muhammadu Buhari after defeated in several previous elections in 2003, when he appeared under All Peoples Party (APP) and lost to Olusegun Obasanjo, an incumbent candidate. Four years later, he run again as presidency candidate under All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) competed with Umaru Yar'Adua, a candidate from North, but he lost again. In 2011, under Congress of Progressive Change (CPC) he run as the candidate again and faced Goodluck Jonathan as incumbent at that time but again, he lost. Not stop on that, Buhari run again in 2015 under a new united party called All Progressive Congress (APC) competed with his last opponent Goodluck Jonathan and won the election. Finally, the election placed Buhari's winning over 19 states.⁵

B. Research Question

Why Muhammadu Buhari finally won in 2015 Nigerian Election after three times lost in previous elections?

⁴Nossiter, A. (2015, March 30). *Nigeria's Presidential Race Stretches to Another Day*. Retrieved May 11, 2015, from The New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/31/world/africa/nigerias-presidential-race-goodluck-jonathan-muhammadu-buhari.html>

⁵Associated Press. (2015, March 31). *Buhari wins in Nigeria, defeating Goodluck Jonathan*. Retrieved May 11, 2015, from Yahoo News: <http://news.yahoo.com/nigerians-await-final-tally-bitter-presidential-vote-104829737.html>

C. Theoretical Framework

The goal of every candidate of election must be the winning. Regarding to that matter, every candidate will set some plans and actions. The winning of Muhammadu Buhari surely caused by many factors that can be analyzed through theory and concept such as the theory of campaign strategy which will led to what has the candidate done to make his campaign success, theory of political participation which will help to analyze the winning of presidential candidate by the voters, and other factor such as cooperation with other countries in order to support the election.

1. Concept of Campaign Strategy

Campaign is a way used by candidates to gain support from the voters. Campaign is involving strategy, technique, and fund. Brams and David designed one of the first models of resource allocation in presidential campaign. In their model, the goal of the candidates is to maximize the number of electoral votes they win by spending resources in the country.⁶ Meanwhile based on Webster's New World, campaign is a set and planned activity to a certain goal, which is the election of a candidate in certain political link.⁷ Few things that should be noted by the campaigner are:

- a. The existing situation
- b. Who is affected by the campaign issue
- c. What changes could improve the situation

⁶ Day, J. P. (2010). The Strategy of Presidential Campaigns. *Iowa Research Online*, 5.

⁷ Webster's New World College Dictionary. (2002). Willey Publishing, Inc.

- d. What resources, tactics and tools are available to implement a campaign that will address the issue.⁸

Campaigners understand those four points to create their strategy which guides them in strategy planning, implementing, marketing, monitoring, improving, and evaluating their campaign,⁹ which those can be elaborated by making more specific plans which will be followed by more operational strategies. It can be a direct interaction with public, using mass media, and fund raising.

In a sum, campaign strategy embraces the campaign techniques that are operational, including these points:¹⁰

- a. Make a contact with the voters. *Door to door* system or by phone is most traditional one. It is called so because this technique depends on the effort to contact voter by both candidates and the campaign team. This technique may be inadequate in the current era which requires speed and flexibility to deliver the message.
- b. Using mass media. This technique is more modern compared to the *door to door* method. The basic concept of media campaign is how the candidates are able to approach the voters as close as possible, in the shortest possible time to as many voters as possible.
- c. Combining several techniques at once. It takes media such as public places where the candidates can directly come and interact with the voters. The other way is that the candidates also use mass media so the approach can get wider.

⁸Namita Singh and A. Ravi. (n.d.). *Campaign Strategy*. Retrieved May 7, 2015, from Tactical Technology Collective: <https://archive.informationactivism.org/basic1>

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Cipto, Bambang. (2003). *Politik dan Pemerintahan Amerika Serikat*. Yogyakarta: Lingkaran Buku.

- d. Campaign fund. Fund is a significant element in campaign. Without it, there will be no campaign. But then the bigger amount of fund does not determine the success of a candidate because fund is just a means for support. The most important is the ideas of the candidates, whether it accepted by people or not.

From the explanation, it can be assumed that one of the factors of the winning of Muhamadu Buhari in 2015 is his campaign strategy which is well-planned or we can say better planned than before, and how he is able to influence the public opinion. In the campaign, Buhari uplifts the issue of security and economy which become most problematic in Nigeria now. The other issues uplifted by Buhari are about construction of infrastructure, environmental issue related to pollution and governmental transparency.

Back to its essence, a campaign is purposed to influence public opinion and in the end get the support from the society for the candidate. One of the facts is that both candidates used the U.S. democratic political strategies to help the campaign.¹¹ Muhammadu Buhari and his party APC in this case engaged with the AKPD Message and Media, a successful team of Obama's campaign in 2008 and 2012. The other strategy was that Muhammadu Buhari gained support through social media such as twitter and facebook. The use of social media is also intended to make people feel that their opinion is important.

2. Theory of Political Participation

Political participation based on Sidney Verba and Norman Nie is any activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government

¹¹Temple-West, P. (2015, February 14). *Democrats working both sides of Nigeria's presidential election*. Retrieved May 12, 2015, from Politico: <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/02/nigeria-presidential-election-goodluck-jonathan-muhammadu-buhari-115190.html>

personnel and/or the actions they take.¹² This definition is broad in that it takes into account many activities beyond voting in elections, active in organizations, working on campaigns, contacting officials, attending political meeting, or being member of a political organization.¹³

Political participation here focused on the participation in election especially voting. In democratic country, voting is part of the definition.¹⁴ A democratic country cannot be stated as successful if there is no support and votes from the citizens. Practically, voting gives the ability for people to express their opinions about the government. The voter has the ability to change what they don't like and bring about something they like. Every vote reassures the democracy and makes it stronger.

While Nigeria is the biggest democratic state in Africa, participation of its people becomes the important thing. The participation in election including giving the vote must be one form of that participation. But unfortunately, the number of vote-absence is remains big. Nigerian people are dominated by the Muslim and Christian, divided in the South for the Christian and North for the Muslim. The rising of Boko Haram's terrors since 2009 created a critical condition in Nigeria especially in the North as its territory. As a matter of that fact, in 2011 election Boko Haram threaten people especially the Muslim not to give their vote. As the result, there are many of vote-absence number from North.

This year election as followed by the improvement of the condition, Northern Muslim started to participate again in election and give their votes. The Independent National

¹²Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie. (1972). *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper & Row. Page 2.

¹³ Ibid. Page 31.

¹⁴Brewster, B. (2005, September 12). *The Importance of Voting to Democracy*. Retrieved May 6, 2015, from Mount Saint Joseph Academy, Rutland, VT, VT:

https://www.sec.state.vt.us/kids/contest/2005/9_12_winner_2005.htm

Electoral Commission (INEC) of Nigeria stated in this election that it was the most peaceful and democratic election in the history of Nigeria.¹⁵ It can be seen by the decrease of the number of abstention in the last election in 2011. Even though the obstacle from Boko Haram remains indisputable, but the chance for people to vote is wider than previous election. There are more alternatives and additional ballot even for the refugee.

The North Nigerian which dominantly Muslim is been experiencing low economy and also in the edge of insecurity of Boko Haram, which actually also affect entire country. The feeling of disappointment to the government, the break of the unwritten arrangement which placed Christian president in the second term of Muslim, and social imbalance with the South region made them seek for a new figure of leader, which obviously came from their circle.

3. Concept of International Cooperation

All countries in this world cannot stand by itself to fulfill its needs in order to develop the country. They need to cooperate with other countries because there is interdependence among countries based on their own interests. The development of international relations marked by the making of any international cooperations and the economic rationalization are led to any socio-economic conflicts which took the attention of international community these days. Countries also gain their dependent positions focusing on increasing prosperity of the people to other countries based on mutual trust and respect.¹⁶

The relation and cooperation done by countries emerged based on their own need and condition but sometimes the ability of every country is different. Therefore, they need a source from other countries. Kalevi Jaakko Holsti argued that:

¹⁵Olubodun, O. (2015, April 28). *Nigeria's 2015 Elections - History Made, Lessons Learnt* . Retrieved May 6, 2015, from Voices of Youth: <http://www.voicesofyouth.org/en/posts/nigeria-s-2015-elections---history-made--lessons-learnt>

¹⁶Holsti, K. J. (1994). *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis (7th Edition)*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall; 7 edition.

“International relations may refer to all forms of interaction between the members of separate societies, whether sponsored by the government or not, the study of international relations would include the analysis of foreign policies or political processes between the nations, however, with its interest in all fact of relations between distinct societies, it would include as well studies or international trade, transportation, communication and the development of international values and ethics.”¹⁷

Facing long stand security problems inside the state, Nigeria cannot do it by itself. There is a need of international aid. As the biggest democratic country in Africa, Nigeria seeks help from the father of democratic country, the United States. For the past decade, the U.S. military already settled its military in the land of Africa. The strategy has been to encourage local military to fight terrorism themselves.¹⁸

For Nigeria matter it is of course to dismantle the murderous group of Boko Haram which now is considered as international terrorist group. Officially, the aid had been requested since Goodluck Jonathan was seated on the presidential chair and it is still needed until now because the destructive action remains exist, mostly towards the 2015 election which expected to be the most free, fair, and credible election in Nigeria history.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the exposures above, the hypothesis will draw the factors of Muhammadu Buhari’s victory in Nigerian election 2015 after lost in previous elections, which are:

¹⁷Ibid. Page 10.

¹⁸The White House Office of the Press and Secretary. (2014, October 14). *U.S. Efforts to Assist the Nigerian Government in its Fight against Boko Haram*. Retrieved May 6, 2015, from The White House: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/10/14/fact-sheet-us-efforts-assist-nigerian-government-its-fight-against-boko->

1. The campaign strategy of Muhammadu Buhari by embracing social media and the engagement of APC with Obama's campaign strategist, AKPDP Message and Media.
2. The more active participation of North Nigerian (Muslim) in 2015 election than in the previous one.
3. The United States assistance in ensuring a free, fair and credible election and also bring the mission to put end the global terrorism particularly the Boko Haram.

E. Purpose of Writing

Through this thesis, the writer aimed to achieve the following matters:

1. To fulfill the requirements of the writing thesis for achieving the Bachelor of International Relations from University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.
2. To know the factors of Buhari's victory in Nigerian Election 2015 after his several lost in previous elections.

F. Research Method

The method used in this undergraduate thesis is by the library research with the help of the printed materials such as book, journal, and report. It also helped by the electronic media such as television news and online media retrieved from the internet. Therefore all the data collected for this analysis are the secondary data. The data being analyze using theories and concepts that already explained before. Despite the data collected in this undergraduate thesis is the secondary data, the data come from the reliable sources therefore this undergraduate thesis is a trustworthy research.

G. Scope of Research

This undergraduate thesis will analyze the victory of Muhammadu Buhari based on his running in election since November 2014 until the announcement of his winning in March 2015.

H. System of Writing

In order to create understandable analysis the system of writing is really important. This undergraduate thesis provides analysis in systematic order by separating the analysis into several chapters. Every single chapter is a coherent body of analysis in order to answer the question generated before. These would be as follows:

Chapter I: This chapter consist of seven sub-titles; background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, scope of research, and system of writing. Introduction is the brief opening about what case the thesis will analyze.

Chapter II: This chapter will describe about Muhammadu Buhari, his journey in Nigerian politics and his party All Progressive Congress.

Chapter III: This chapter will explain about the history of Nigeria and the governmental system in Nigeria. This chapter also stresses on 2015 Nigerian election and the issues that drive the election.

Chapter IV: This chapter will analyze the victory factors of the winning of Muhammadu Buhari in 2015 Nigerian election.

Chapter V: This chapter will conclude the thesis.