



LASU JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Vol. 10, No. 2, April 2022

ÒPÁN'BATÀ

JỌNÀ ÌMỌ ÁFÍRÍKÀ



Subashish (2) yalusi
Lsn.
Hassan, Suriana
(as a. editing
10/05/2022



ÒPÁNIBATÁ

(Jónà Ìmò Áfíríkà)

LASU Journal of African Studies

Volume 10, No. 2, April 2022

ISSN: 1118-1311

Ò PÁNBÀTA — JÓNÀ ÌMÒ ÁFÍRÍKÀ

(LASU Journal of African Studies)

Volume 10, No. 2, April 2022

© 2022

Department of African Languages,
Literatures & Communication Arts,
Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be
reproduced in whole or in part without the express
permission of the publishers.

ISSN: 1118-1311

Published by:

Department of African Languages, Literatures & Communication Arts,
Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria

Send your mail to: The Editor,
afrillycom@lasu.edu.ng

Produced by

FREE ENTERPRISE PUBLISHERS LAGOS

HEAD OFFICE: 50 Thomas Salako Street, Ogba, Ikeja, Lagos.
☎0814.1211.670. ✉free.ent.publishers@gmail.com



FREE ENTERPRISE PUBLISHERS



Ò PÁÑBÀTA — JỌNÀ ÌMỌ ÁFÍRÍKÀ

(LASU Journal of African Studies)

Volume 10, No. 2, April 2022

ISSN: 1118-1311

EDITORIAL BOARD

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:	ADESANYA, Ahmed O., PhD
Associate Editor	ONADIPE-SHALOM, Titilayo A., PhD
Associate Editor	ELESHIN-AJIKOBI, ALIMOT F., PhD
Business Editor	OLOMU, Oyewole O.
Business Editor	AZEEZ, Wasiu A.
Secretary to Editorial Board	Lawal, Qudus O.
Editorial Advisers	Prof. ADENIYI, Harrison R. Prof. OLUNLADE, Taiwo A.

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Prof. D.A. ADELEKE	Dept. of Linguistics & African Languages, University of Ibadan, Nigeria
Prof. Oladele ORIMOOGUNJE	Dept. of Linguistics, African & Asian Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria
Prof. Olusola AJIBADE	Dept. of Linguistics & African Languages, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
Prof. Olalere ADEYEMI	Dept. of Linguistics & Nigerian Languages, University of Ilorin, Nigeria
Prof. Olagoke ALAMU	Dept. of Linguistics & Nigerian Languages, Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti
Prof. Oluyemisi ADEBOWALE	Dept. of Linguistics & Languages, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko, Nigeria.
Prof. Akintunde AKINYEMI	Center for African Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, USA
Prof. Akinloye OJO	Institute of African Studies, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, USA
Dr. George ALAO	Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, France

ÒPÁÑBÀTA: *LASU Journal of African Studies* is an annual multidisciplinary journal. Its focus is on the publication of latest scholarly papers within the context of international best practices.

The journal encourages submissions of high quality, original papers which have not been submitted elsewhere and covers the field of Yoruba, English Studies, History, Linguistics, Communication Studies, Philosophy, Religious Studies, Theatre Arts and Music. Important issues in other disciplines like Education, Social Sciences, Management Sciences, etc., are also welcome.

The journal calls for well researched and incisive scholarly papers for publication. Manuscripts should be written in clear Yoruba or English language and should not exceed 4000 words or 15 pages, including References, typed in MS Word format in 12-pt font size, Times New Roman and 1.5-line spacing.

The paper should be accompanied with an abstract of not more than 200 words and a maximum of five keywords arranged in alphabetical sequence. The front page of the paper must contain the title, names, phone number, email address and institutional affiliation of the author.

Tables and figures should carry titles, relate directly to the text and be easily comprehensible. References should be spelt out and listed in alphabetical order at the end of the paper using APA or MLA manual citation style.

All correspondence via email to:

The Editor,
ÒPÁÑBÀTA
Department of African Languages,
Literatures and Communication Arts,
Lagos State University.
P.M.B. 1087, Apapa
Lagos, Nigeria
Email: afrillycom@lasu.edu.ng

Contents

1. A Contrastive Analysis of COVID-19 English-Yoruba Lexicon — Oluwafisayo Atanda & Ganiu Bangbose..... 1
2. Adultery as a Threat to Progressive Structures, Political and Economic Stability in Yorùbá Society—Àránsí, Ayòṣá Oládúnké, Ph.D 13
3. A Textlinguistic Study of Lexical Priming in Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*—Hunjo, Henry, J. PhD & Ajakah, John Chukwuma 25
4. Political Campaign Mobilization of Kwarans during the 2019 General Election in Nigeria: A study of the Campaign Slogan *Ó Tó Gẹ*—Suleiman, Hassan Biodun, PhD., Kadiri, Kehinde Kadija, PhD & Babs, Kazeem Semiu 46
5. Revisiting Moonlight Storytelling for Reclaiming Foundational Traditional Yoruba Culture in Nigeria—Adebajo, Y. Adebola Ph.D..... 60
6. An Assessment of the 4-Step New Testament Conflict Management Principles —Exradallenum Olusegun Akinsanya 69
7. Traditional Rulers and Conflict Resolution for Sustainable Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience—Obe Olubunmi Oyewusi & Fukpene Baitei 78
8. Ìṣàmúlò Orin Wákà Sàláwá Àbẹ̀nì fún Ìdàgbàsókè Orílẹ̀ Èdè Nàìjíríà—Olófínsao, Olúkẹ̀mì Morẹ̀nikẹ̀ & Àjàyí, Olúwáfúnmiláyò Tẹ̀mítópẹ̀ 90
9. Contemporary Yorùbá Home Video Films As Custodians Of Yorùbá Cultural Traditional Beliefs: A Case Study of *Balòkun*—Adams, Olábòwálẹ̀, PhD..... 100
10. Ètẹ̀ Ìdánìlẹ̀kọ̀ọ̀ nínú Àṣàyàn Orin Fújì Saheed Òṣùpá—Adéyẹmí A. Adéyínká . . 111
11. Zoological Codes as Nonverbal Communication in Yoruba Novels —Adesanya, Ahmed O. PhD 122
12. Ìlò Ọfọ̀ Nínú Àṣàyàn Fíìmù Àgbéléwò Yorùbá—Kareem, Múdàṣírù Àbáyòmí PhD & Adu, Olúbùnmi Tẹ̀mítópẹ̀ PhD..... 134
13. The Epistemological Perception of the Living Dead and its Metaphysical Implication in West Africa—Joseph Moyinoluwa Talabi 148

14. A Lexico-Grammatical Study of Cybercrime Discourse in Crime-Related Newspaper Reports—Oloko, M. Jamiu PhD 157
15. Social Media as the Wheel for the Christian Faith Amid COVID-19 Pandemic in Nigeria—Idowu-Davies, Temitope Oluwatofunmi & Bakare, Oluwabunmi D., PhD.....171
16. Violation of Bijection Principle: More Evidence from Reflexive and Reciprocal Constructions of Selected Languages —Imoh, Philip Manda & Dansabo, Friday Nyizo 182
17. Ìlò Èrọ̀ Ìgbàlódé Fún Kíkọ̀ Ewì Alohùn Yorùbá ní Àkóyege: Àgbéyèwò Yàrá-ẹ̀kọ̀-èdè ní àwọn Ilé-Èkọ̀ Gíga Ìpínlẹ̀ Èkó—Akanmu, Dayo & Adeniyi, Sakiru 198

Contributors

1. Adams, Justina Qlábòwálé
Dept. of Yorùbá, School of
Languages
Federal College of Education
Òsíèlè, Abéòkúta, Ògùn State.
2. Adebajo, Y. Adebola
Social Science Dept.
Faculty of Education
Kogi State University
Anyimba, Kogi State
3. Adéyemí, Abíódún Adéyíńká
University of Ìbàdàn
Dept. of Arts & Social Sciences
Education
Ìbàdàn, Oyo
4. Adesanya, Ahmed O.
Dept. of African Languages,
Literatures and Yoruba
Communication Arts
Lagos State University, Ojo
5. Adu, Olúbùnmi Tèmitópé
Dept. of Yorùbá
Federal College of Education
Osíèlè, Abéòkúta, Ogun State
6. Ajakah, John Chukwuma
Faculty of Humanities, Social &
Management Sciences
West African Union University
Cotonou, Bénin Republic
7. Àjàyí, Olúwáfúnmiláyò Tèmitópé
Dept. of Yorùbá
Adéyemí Federal University of
Education
Ondo
8. Akanmu, Dayo
School of Languages,
Lagos State University of Education
Otto-Ijanikin, Lagos
9. Akinsanya, Exradallenum Olusegun
Dept. of Languages, Arts & Social
Science Education
Lagos State University, Ojo
Lagos, Nigeria.
10. Àráńsí, Ayòólá Oládùnníké
Dept. of Linguistics & African
Languages
Kwara State University, Malete,
Nigeria
11. Atanda, Oluwafisayo
University of Ibadan, Ibadan
12. Babs, Kazeem Semiu
Dept. of Mass Communication
Moshood Abiola Polytechnic
Abeokuta
Ogun State.
13. Bakare, Oluwabunmi
Dept. of Information Management
Faculty of Communication &
Information Sciences,
Lead City University,
Ìbàdàn, Oyo
14. Bamgbose, Ganiu
Lagos State University, Lagos
15. Dansabo, Friday Nyizo
Dept. of Languages & Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
Nasarawa State University, Keffi

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>16. Fukpene, Baitei
Lagos State University International
School Ojo,</p> <p>17. Hunjo, Henry, J.
Dept. of English
Lagos State University, Lagos,
Nigeria</p> <p>18. Idowu-Davies, Temitope
Oluwatofunmi
Dept. of Christian Religious Studies
Emmanuel Alayande College of
Education, Oyo</p> <p>19. Imoh, Philip Manda
Dept. of Languages & Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
Nasarawa State University, Keffi</p> <p>20. Kadiri, Kehinde Kadija
Dept. of Mass Communication
University of Ilorin, Kwara State</p> <p>21. Kareem, Múdàşírù Àbáyòmí
Yorùbá Dept.
Federal College of Education
Okene, Kogi State</p> | <p>22. Obe, Olubunmi Oyewusi
Dept. of Religions & Peace Studies
Lagos State University
Ojo, Lagos State</p> <p>23. Olófínsao, Olúkẹmi Morẹnikẹ
Dept. of Linguistics & Languages
Federal University Oye-Èkìtì
Èkìtì State</p> <p>24. Oloko, M. Jamiu
Dept. of English Studies
Tai Solarin University of Education
Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria</p> <p>25. Sakiru Adeniyi
School of Languages,
Lagos State University of Education
Otto-Ijanikin, Lagos</p> <p>26. Suleiman, Hassan Biodun
Dept. of Journalism,
School of Communication
Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos</p> <p>27. Talabi, Joseph Moyinoluwa
Dept. of Religions & Peace Studies
Lagos State University, Ojo
Lagos State, Nigeria.</p> |
|---|--|

Political Campaign Mobilization of Kwarans during the 2019 General Election in Nigeria: A study of the Campaign Slogan *Ó Tó Gě*

Suleiman, Hassan Biodun, PhD., Kadiri, PhD & Babs, Kazeem Semiu

Abstract

The 2019 general elections campaigns were unique in a way that voters and electorates were sensitized and to some extent mobilized through different political slogans of different political parties that fielded candidates for various elective posts. Among these slogans was the Ó tó gě (enough is enough) adopted by the All Progressive Congress party (APC) of Kwara State chapter against the dominance of the Saraki hegemony in the State. The slogan was so popular that it became a sort of national anthem among the entire Kwara indigenes and settlers alike. The slogan eventually culminated into the winning of the gubernatorial election and all other elective posts by the APC in Kwara State. The outcome of the election also led to the defeat of the Saraki dynasty in Kwara after forty years of political dominance, that is, 1979-2019. This study examined the roles of the Ó tó gě slogan in political mobilization of Kwarans during the general election campaign of 2019. The study is qualitative in nature with interview guide as research instrument, interview as method of study as well as the secondary materials. It also comprised four research questions and the findings revealed that the poor governance contributed to the staging of O to gee campaign, the key stakeholders comprised of prominent Kwarans that financed the slogan and that radio was a major media that helped in mobilizing the people to believe in the projects.

Keywords: o to gee, political mobilization, Kwara, radio, social media

Introduction

In modern democracies, most political figures use political campaign slogan as an enticing and alluring aphorisms to articulate ideological stand prints, to convince their audience, to deepen ideology in public consciousness, and to drive political actions. Political campaign slogan has certain characteristics features that differentiate it from other varieties of language use in our day-to-day interaction. They remain unique with politicians and politics. Political campaign slogan embodied in propaganda and rhetoric, is persuasive and politicians adopt these slogans as a devices to cajole the electorates to vote for them and their parties by presenting themselves as the only credible and capable for the political positions.

Every four years in Kwara State, the general public prepares for another election cycle to determine who becomes the next state governor. The electioneering is characterised with various activities, ranging from the primary election within each party, campaigns rolling from one state to another as the Primaries begin, campaigns roll state by state, and citizens are bombarded with campaign advertisements in the form of brochures, television commercials, yard signs, bumper stickers, and door-to-door visits. One constant feature across the spectrum of advertising is the perpetual recitation of the candidates' campaign slogans. However, despite the continuous slogans present during gubernatorial campaigns, scholars from numerous disciplines have scarcely explored their motive, communication tools used, and power.

Various studies have lightly touched on specific aspects of gubernatorial slogans in developing countries such as Nigeria, while numerous experts, analysts, and historians have provided commentary and opinion on specific presidential and gubernatorial campaign slogans used throughout Nigeria history. Yet still, Despite all these, there hasn't been a single in-depth analysis or examination that has explored the motive behind political slogans, the stakeholders involved in the political slogan campaign or the communication tools that made the O to ge mantra slogan effective in Kwara.

The "O to ge" (enough is enough) campaign mantra is by far the most potent political mantra in the 2019 general election in Nigeria. The slogan which was adopted by Kwara chapter of the APC as its campaign catchphrase, is largely believed to have contributed to the defeat of Senate President Bukola Saraki and his allies in Kwara PDP.

Although there are conflicting accounts of how the "O to ge" mantra was birthed in Kwara. The dominant narrative is that it was coined by Islamic gospel artiste, Ibrahim Labaeka. Labaeka, a member of the Islamic Musicians Association of Nigeria (ISMAN), is a popular Ilorin artiste whose works were used for rally by voters against the anti-Saraki cause in Kwara. In Ilorin, the chant of "O to ge" is often followed by *Lílò lẹ é ló* (We will ensure you are chased away). LAK Jimoh, one of the elder statesmen in Kwara was also credited to have originated the use of the Slogan in 2010. The Hook advertising agency was hired by APC to publicize the mantra. Aside the campaign slogan that led to the fall of Mr Saraki, it also swept away all PDP aspirants across the state (Senate, House of Representative and the Kwara House of Assembly). Since then, it has taken a new dimension, even life of its own outside Kwara, as its been adopted people in other states, including Lagos.

Oladeinde (2019) highlighted some of the dominant campaign slogans during the 2019 general election that includes; 4-plus 4- "Next level" sign of a non-verbal use of sign language. It was essentially meant to convey the desires

to support President Buhari's re-election bid in 2019. Other popular slogans used during the 2019 general elections were #atikulated! " #takeitback." "om- ituntun"Openkele"; among others. There have been some of the most memorable political campaign slogans during the 2019 general elections in Nigeria. Many Nigerians can still remember these slogans, yet very little about the actual campaigns in which they were used. Although, many voters do not seem to appreciate or recognize the effect a candidate's slogan may have on them. Some observers believe the electorate has become "numb" from a series of failed and meaningless slogans, thus causing a tendency for voters to simply dismiss slogans as a mere formality (Mullins, 2013). As illustrated by Hosu and Pavelea (2010), even voters in Romania have felt the numbing effect of campaign slogans. Their study found that voters were rarely able to recall a presidential candidate's slogan, and when they could, they did not generally perceive it to be meaningful (Hosu & Pavelea, 2010). Voters interviewed by Hosu and Pavelea simply dismissed presidential slogans as a ritualistic formality, rather than an integral part of the campaign.

During election periods in Nigeria, campaign posters of different sizes and shapes are seen in strategic locations in cities, towns and villages. Sometimes, they make sign posts, roundabouts and even public buildings as an eye sore. However, they are there to communicate to the electorates about political candidates and their political missions/ideologies. *Ó tó gẹ* simply means 'Enough is Enough.' But enough of what? Enough of Saraki's family dominance of Kwara's politics. And why? A look into Kwara State history and Saraki family's political dominance expose the reasons for the slogan and its outcome in the 2019 general election in Kwara State.

Research Questions

- RQ1. What was the motive behind *Ó tó gẹ* political campaign?
- RQ2. Who are the stakeholders involved in the *Ó tó gẹ* political campaign?
- RQ3. What are the communication tools employed in disseminating the *Ó tó gẹ* political campaign to audience during the campaign?
- RQ4. What are the challenges encountered by *Ó tó gẹ* campaign stakeholders?

Method of Study

The study employed in-depth interview with interview guide as research instrument and review of secondary materials. Essentially, 10 key stakeholders

participated in the interview. This study demonstrated the potential that campaign slogans carry, while elucidating the various aspects of effective slogans to create a starting point for future research.

Conceptual Clarifications

Saraki hegemony in Kwara politics

According to 2006 population census, Kwara population is (2, 365,353). It is one of the states in the present north central part of Nigeria. (Kwara State Government, 2014:20). I'shaq (2019) stated that in 1978, when Abubakar Olusola Saraki was nominated to represent Kwara at the Constituent Assembly and this culminated in his joining National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in the Second Republic (1979- 1983), Saraki's influence in National Party of Nigeria (NPN) further positioned him to take up the position of Senate leader in the defunct Second Republic Assembly (1979-1983) and ultimately influential in the choice of the five civilian governors in Kwara State.

Dr. Saraki hegemony influence culminated in the election of Adamu Attah, the first civilian governor of Kwara (Ayoade, 2008:85). The tenure of Attah witnessed a frosty relationship with Dr Saraki which led to the withdrawal of support for Attah in his re-election bid. Saraki later shifted his support for Cornelius Adebayo of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), while still an NPN stalwart. Adebayo later emerged victorious in the governorship of election of 1983. Saraki repeated the same feat in 1999 when he supported late Muhammed Lawal, who later became the governor under the ANPP (Ayoade, 2008:85).

The cordial relationship between Lawal and Saraki later turned sour, which made Saraki to decamp to the PDP against Lawal, who was gunning for a second term. Saraki later sponsored his son, Bukola, against Lawal in the electioneering campaign for the governorship. Bukola won handily and became governor in 2003.

It seemingly appears that the relationship between the benefactor and the beneficiary is smooth at last (Ayoade, 2008:86). Again, the relationship between the elder Saraki and his son became frosty as the choice of who succeed younger Bukola as governor. This resulted into political turbulence between both of them preparatory to the 2011 elections. Father and son engaged in pitched battle for the prize that is the Kwara political structure. Having completed two terms as governor, the younger Saraki supported his former finance commissioner, Abdulfatah Ahmed, to succeed him, while the elder Saraki supported her daughter, Gbemisola. This degenerated into a face-off which caused the father to switch allegiances to the Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN).

Bukola later emerged the winner of the 2011 gubernatorial election and the younger Saraki dethroned his father and further spread his influence and political dominance between 2011 and 2018.

The tenure of Bukola also heralded lots of development in the establishment of Shonga farm, upgrading of the Ilorin airport, quelling of the recurring intercommunal clashes between Offa and Erin-Ile communities, establishment of the Kwara State University at Malete and others. However, Akogun (2015) described the administration as being wasteful, extravagance and not understanding the challenges confronting Kwarans. Akogun emphasised that the cost of governance was extremely high under Bukola. Government spent much money on the governor's travelling always to Lagos, Abuja, Kano, Kaduna and other cities in Nigeria. Jimoh (2019) equally affirmed that Ahmed's government sold the Agricultural Nursery at Oyun River bridge, Ministry of Agriculture and similar other institutions.

Jimoh reiterated that the years of Bukola Saraki's hegemony resemble an invasion of a community by "Barbarian hordes of Antiquity." This situation made a group of people such as Iyiola Oyedepo, Rex Olawoye, Alhaji L.A.K Jimoh Mr Femi Yussuf, Barrister Jawondo, Kayode Oyin Zubair, Engr Umaar Shaaba (Wakilin Lafiagi), Umar Sulaiman, Alhaji Alajagusi as well as clerics such like Dr Abubakar Aliagan, and Dr Olohun Oyin to sensitize people in Kwara State on government policies under both Bukola Saraki and Fatai Ahmed, his successor, this ultimately led to O to ge. This Study therefore attempts to analyze the role of O to ge political campaign during the 2019 general election in Kwara State

Use of Political Slogans in Nigeria's Election Campaigns

Slogans are catchy statement often utilized and adopted by political parties to win electorates to votes for both the political parties as well as their candidates fielded to contest for a vacant political position. Often times, during electioneering campaign in Nigeria, political candidates owe it a duty to disseminate information about their parties 'manifestoes to electorates. This manifestoes include the slogan. Thus, slogan is more of a punchy and brief statement that describe a political party philosophy. It is used to convey the political mission of the candidate to the electorates with a view to win their votes during casting of votes for election. In the first republic, 'Sawaba' slogan was used by the Northern Peoples' Congress and was utilised by People's Redemption Party (PRP) in the Second Republic (1979-1983). United Party of Nigeria (UPN) made use of the slogan of 'UP Nigeria' to gather support from voters. On the other side, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) utilized "One Nigeria" to mobilise people for their votes.

In the aborted third republic, The Social Democratic Party (SDP) led by

MKO Abiola, came up with a slogan "Hope '93" to campaign for Nigerians in order to win the presidential election in 1993. The former Lagos State governor, Babatunde Raji Fashola, came up with a slogan "BRF is working" based on his rating as one of the best governors in Nigeria. BRF is an acronym of his name. The All Progressive Congress APC's "Change" slogan in 2015 was also popular among electorates. At the 2019 general election campaign, APC had a slogan called 'Next Level' which according to the party means another four years of consolidation of the present APC led government. PDP had its own slogan of 'Let's Get Nigeria Working Again'

While the 2019 presidential campaign lasted, Atiku Abubakar, Presidential candidate of PDP, turns to articulated. Other state governors coined different slogans to win the heart of their voters as well. In the midst of all these political slogans, there is one slogan that is unique. The slogan embodies most of the qualities of good slogan. It emerged from Kwara State and it is O to ge.

Discussion of Findings

a) Motive behind o to ge political campaign?

According to the stakeholders interviewed, the O to ge political campaign came into being as a result of poor leadership, mismanagement of government fund, negligence on the part of successive government from 2003 to 2018 in the provision of basic amenities, health facilities, irregular payment of workers salary, wasteful spending and financing grandiose projects . Corroborating this view, LAK Jimoh explained the reasons behind the formation of O to ge this way:

Beginning from 1983, when I said it was time for change, Saraki, the father started very well. The community invited him in 1974 to come and give us leadership when Gowon said he wanted to hand over to civilian. The political eminence he was gaining started corrupting him and he was deviating. He was more or less building political empire for himself rather than championing the cause for himself than championing the cause of the state or the emirate. That's why I said it was time for change, the only thing you needed is for Saraki to endorse you to be candidate, that was why at that time, there used to be a song by our people, "Bi o tie dibo, O ti wole, ngbati Saraki ti fa okale, O ti wole." That was the germination of O to gee. With time, Saraki started building a dynasty, at that time, he wanted Adamu Attah believing Attah will be subservient, but it became worse when Bukola came in. He is difficult to access, very arrogant, full of himself, very inhumane, he was sadistic. He takes delight in ruining others So, no salary for people, look at our roads, look at our schools, go round the ministry, they are dead. This is what motivated us, why we say

Must it continue? That's why we say O to ge. Corroborating Jimoh, Olawoye has this to say :

We recognize that Ignorance played a big role in the way our people vote. A particular dynasty has already captured the mind of everybody. Because of that, we said it is enough. I was involved in bringing Bukola here. I suggested Bukola 's name to his father, and the father told me I was the second to suggest his name. We decided he should come, we thought he is going to revolutionized what the father was doing, he was a young man, so we decided to launch a radio programme called "PDP Gbode" that time. After that one, we started to examine the lifestyle of our people, the lies they tell, the looting, the mesmerizing manner, eating to the common wealth and swallowing all. Unfortunately, Bukola Saraki 's tenure witnessed the looting and neglect of the needs of Kwarans, this is one of the reasons that contributed to O to gee movement.

In line with the various above assertions, Olokungboye and Fapetu(2019) affirmed that Saraki's family became a center of licentiousness and depravity of corruption and influence peddling. The Saraki dynasty grew brittle and inflexible. It could not adjust to new realities. Addicted greed, out sized fraud, outlandish personality, pride, unrestrained appetite for graft and corruption and power ultimately eclipse the dynasty.

Lawal (2019) also corroborated the previous finding by saying that Bukola Saraki created the rivalry between himself and his sister and back a stooge, Abdulfatah Ahmed. The defeat of Gbemisola was a big slap to Saraki, the father who could not recovered from the shock and died a year later. He staged what looked like coup to emerge as the 8th Senate President and vehemently maintained uncordial relationship with the executive arm of government headed by Muhammadu Buhari. He seemingly contributed to the removal Ali Ndume as the majority leader of the House. He became pompous and over – ambitious by even trying to seek to be the President of Nigeria. His over confidence made him lose touch with the situation in Kwara Politics. Hence, the Abdulfattah Ahmed's government was seen as the extension of Bukola Saraki, with Kwara State Bureau of Statistics estimated poverty of the state to be 80.4 percent . More worrisome was that Bukola Saraki made sure a pension law was approved that allows a former governor to enjoy a monthly pension benefit equivalent to the monthly salary earned while in office. Other benefits of the pension include: a choice residence within the state, an annual vacation of 30 days outside Nigeria with daily estacodes, free medical treatment for the ex- governor or family members anywhere worldwide, three cars and a furniture allowance

payable every two years en bloc; two cooks, a steward, gardener and other domestic staff as well as other goodies of office.

b) Stakeholders involved in the O to ge political campaign?

Findings from the interviewees revealed that everybody in Kwara were involved in the O to ge political campaign. The market men and women, the artisans, carpenters, the taxi drivers, the *keke Marwa* drivers, the school children, the adolescents, the adult, the known and the unknowns. Making his assertion on key stakeholders and their roles in the O to ge campaign, Engineer Shaaba explained this way:

The stakeholders are many both known and unknown. There are former Minister of Transport, Bio Ibrahim, Senator Muhammed Ahmed, Jafar Ibrahim. Alhaji Umar Sule Sabi, my humble self, Alhaji Musa Aliru, Alhaji Ahmed Oyoru, Chie James Sinabio, Alhaji Sule Seko, Alhaji Ibrahim Sabi, Dorcas Afeniforo, Issa Abdullahi, party executives and others. (2019)

Jawondo explained thus:

There are those that did not come out and it cut across all ages. We have market men and women, elderly people as old as above 80, Dr. Amuda Aluko, Funsho Alabi, Akogun Oyedepo, senator Ajadi, Dr. Ajia. Kwara Liberation Movement, they used pamphlet to talk to people, Kwara Reform Group by Dr. Ajia, Kwara Council of Elders led by Chief Cornelius Adebayo, Kayode Oyin Zubair, Engineer Umar Shaaba, (Wakinlin Lafiaji), Alhaji Yunusa Gada. was going as far Benin Republic to communicate with people in Kaima and Baruten. That is the extent we have gone. (2019)

Yussuf has shared his views on stakeholders on O to ge this way:

Iyiola Akogun Oyedepo, Chief Rex Kola Olawoye, Hon Yekeen Alajagunsi, House of rep elect, Kwara Centra, Musibau Esinrogunjo. There were other people that one cannot remember. There were a lot of them doing well on social media. They gave out fact. There were others like Kwara Liberty, Liberation Movement, Kwara Must Change Movement that contributed immensely. (2019)

Zubair expatiated his views this way:

we have people in different department doing different things, it will amount to injustice if we begin to single out names because we may not be able to do justice by mentioning every names, but I am sure that for every category or every

department attached to the struggle, you will see a number of people in that area. I know young people who abandoned their work, even as ...and what have you, who are always on the streets doing one thing or the other, I know professionals, who are taking money from their practices to sponsor radio programme.

Ascertaining his view, Solomon (2019) stated that all Kwarans felt that strongly that any leader voted out of power when the entire populace decides that their welfare and needs were not attended to. Thus, every Kwarans determined to vote out leaders who did not perform and still held to power. Therefore, All Progressives Congress (APC) had a clean sweep of the February 23 presidential and National Assembly elections in Kwara State. (2019)

c) Communication tools employed in the dissemination of O to ge political campaign?

Findings from interviewees revealed that radio played a great role in the O to ge political campaign. Most of these respondents claimed that Sobi F.M (101.5), Harmony F.M (103.5), Royal F.M (95.1) and a radio station in Bida were utilized during the campaign. It is imperative that these are privately owned. One could attribute the roles of these radio stations to Decree 38 of 1992 which created the platform for the establishment of private owned radio station in Nigeria. The stakeholders made use of media such as the above line and below the line tools such as, social media, telephones, posters, bill boards, face -caps, Teeshirts, interpersonal communication and public announcements in markets, garages, community halls, recreational centres, football fields, social gatherings, festival gatherings among others. Elucidating on this, Umar Sulaiman Sabi opined thus:

In the *O to ge* campaign, we used mostly radio because most people we are talking to are not literate, if you do a write up, you have to translate. Telephone calls also helped us seriously. We made calls to elders in various wards or villages in order to acquaint ourselves with happenings in the grassroots. These really paid off. (2019)

Expressing his view, Alh. Olohunoyin said that radio and internet were usually heavily to promote O to ge campaign. Yussuf justified the role of radio as means of disseminating O to ge political campaign in this manner:

We used that our radio programme is the major tool. We don't want calls to waste our time, we allowed sms, we presented our case and the listeners responded. Harmony F.M, 103.5, Royal F.M 95.1. Alhaji Lukman Mustapha, one of us established a radio station, Zobi F.M, 101.5, he gave us one hour. We went as

far as Paraku, Benin Republic. That's the radio station that covered Baruten and Kaiama, we went to Bida radio, Niger State

For those Patigi and Edu, the Nupe speaking people. We implore those people that understand the language to help us anchor the program. (2019)

Akogun stated thus:

I made use of newspaper to discuss issues that bothered on governance in Kwara State. I was once writing for National Interest, established by Mohammed Lawal, I wrote for Pilot, The Observers, Tribune, The Nation. I used to write for Punch. I have been to Channels and Galaxy television stations.

LAK Jimoh further confirmed the role of radio in the O to ge political campaign in this way :

I don't think there is any media tool greater than the radio. We started with just one radio house, Harmony, a federal government owned radio, then joined Royal fm. Sobi came. We have four of them. We now have programmes on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Before, we started with only one, Harmony on Thursday, Sobi on Wednesday, Royal on Tuesday. All these are party sponsored programmes. Then in between again, there were other programmes from other people like Esinrogunjo, he too has a radio programme, they have another radio programme in that is titled O to gee in Okin radio in Offa. They are 8 in number. Occasionally, in Albarika F.M, Ganmo. There is another one in Benin for our people in Kwara North, Baruten area and others (2019)

Alluding to various assertions of the stakeholders, Lawal (2019) emphasised that an advertising agency called the Hook Creative Agency was hired by APC to publicised it. According to him, they used all means available, bill boards, social media, radio television, handle bills and others means of communication to turn 'O to ge' into household name and made Kwarans to trooped out to vote for the party.

d) What are the challenges encountered by the O to g campaign stakeholders?

According to all the respondents, the stakeholders were confronted with a lot of challenges The challenges include inadequate funding, logistics, security harassment and intimidation, fear of thugs and touts, threat to life and family members, illiteracy among the dwellers in both urban and remote parts of

Kwara State, getting loyal members in Kwara North to disseminating the ideology of the campaign in Nupe language and also the need to win the heart of youth in the state to use various social platform to gather support for the campaign. According to one of the stakeholders, Aliagan, he explained thus:

They wanted to close my school through too heavy taxation. They collided with WAEC not to register my school. They called me all sorts of name and even threaten me most times on phone calls. They even threaten some of my immediate family life.

Another stakeholder has this to say based on the challenges: Akogun expressed his view this way;

Challenge of paucity of funds is one, there is also the challenges of security, my aged mother was threatened. They told her “your son may die any time,” I lost so many things. Personal depravation, government agencies were not ready to patronize my chamber, even the road to my community was stopped. My wife was denied deanship in College of Education, Ilorin. (2019)

Jawondo, another respondent shared his opinion in this way

O to ge of an entrenched system is very difficult; they have absolute control of funds. Our resources are limited. We also enjoyed some support from clerics and some traditional rulers, but they couldn't come out openly. Finance is another challenge, to print T shirts, media and the rest cost money. Some of us contributed money and our time to do certain things and you know when you are fighting a sitting governor. By and large, one thing that worked for us is goodwill from the people. (2019)

Yusuf, another stakeholder said:

Aside from financial challenges, we have very few people sponsoring us from the beginning, we have issue of threat to life, they threatened to kill me. We were attacked at the studio with guns in Harmony FM station. Another issue is, identifying serious people that were serious with the idea. What is needed is getting few people that were serious. The ruling government created a faction among us.

According to Umaar Shaaba, another key figure in the campaign explained thus :

Finance is one of our issues, we don't have enough finance, and we resorted to soliciting for fund from all walks of life. We also experienced logistics problem,

especially when we have to fuel our buses and campaign cars for mobilization and house to house canvassing. We also battled with large set of illiterate populace, especially those in the 60-65 years who still need to be convinced that Saraki government has not really performed well and therefore the need for a change. (2019)

Olohunoyin explained thus:

On our part, we are not politicians, we are just an independent religious radio producer of programme. I must commend the role of Dr Abubakar Aliagan in sustaining the radio programme. Strictly, we made use of Qur'an and Hadith to buttress our discussion on air. We were summoned many times by the police. Our programme explores current issue in the society and try to be an agenda setter (2019).

Conclusion

The study revealed that radio proved to be a viable tool of disseminating political campaign message to people of Kwara State. In spite of the growth of the internet, radio still serves the purpose of information, education, enlightening and entertaining the diverse audience in Kwara State. According to majority of the respondents, private radio stations were mostly used especially in the dissemination of the campaign message and thus served the purpose of mobilizing Kwarans for participation in 2019 general election.

Television stations were also employed to project the campaign activities of the group. unlike television, radio remains a better medium of reaching and mobilizing the rural audiences and change their stereotypes. No doubt, this is one of the reasons why the O to ge political campaign recorded success in Kwara State.

Aside this, inter-personal communication also proved useful in the dissemination of the campaign messages. Community organization and social groups also assisted greatly in house to house mobilization which further spread the campaign message. These associations and groups sensitized families about the wrong doings of past government and the need for a change. These groups also stated the manifestoes of the APC and what Kwarans will gain if voted into power.

The masses (artisans, market men and women, Okada riders, apprentices, government workers, those in private sectors, clergymen, religious groups, house wives, traders, hawkers, taxi drivers, commercial drivers, private school owners, carpenter). Among others were effectively mobilized through banners displayed in strategic places by the group. Moreso, the study also revealed

that people were recruited to serve as interpreters in places such as the Kwara North, especially, areas like Kaiama, Barutean, Dumagi Faigi, Tsaduko, Chetta buro, Chetta Majaki, Chetta Kansin, Chetta Gilagi, Nda kansa, Todo, Gunbagi, Chikangi, Sancitagi, among others to speak Nupe to convince people and to achieve the desired goals of the campaign.

Flyers, facecaps, newsletters, T-shirt with APC logo, banners, billboards, branded key-holders and other below-the-line advertising tools were employed in the dissemination of the campaign. It is essential to add that bill boards were erected at strategic areas for visibility with catchy statement which drew the attention of residents and voters alike. According to Olawoye, facecaps were distributed in various markets such as Sango, Kulende, Gambari, Kankatu in Ilorin East. In KwaraSouth, these items were also distributed in Asunnara market, Offa Garage, Owode, Idofian and Omu Aran. In Kwara North, both facecaps, T-shirt were also given in various markets such as Bode Saadu, Ganmo, Kaiama and Yashikira. Bill boards were also erected in Eyenkorin, Taiwo road, Offa Garage, Sawmill, and Sango market, according to Olawoye.

The success of O to ge political campaign is a manifestation of the need for people to speak with one voice against corrupt leaders and government. The success of the campaign group also attests to the viability of unity in diversity in promoting a just cause. More importantly, government officials should operate an open door policy with people. This will promote cordial relations and sustain robust government policies.

REFERENCES

- Akinsiku, I. 2011. *Propaganda, public relations, opinion and political communication. Seminar paper presenter at the Department of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, Nigeria.*
- Akogun Y.O (2019). *An interview session, March 14*
- Akogun Y.O. (2015). *Letters to the Emir: A Vision for a heterogeneous Kwara State Ilorin: Integrity publications.*
- Aliagan, M. (2019) . *An interview session April 30.* <https://allafrica.com/stories/201903010621.html>
- Ayoade, J.A, (2008). *Godfather Politics in Nigeria*, in Adetula, V.A.O (ed.) *Money Politics in Nigeria*. IFES-Nigeria. p. 85-96.
- Daily Champion*, March 21, 2001.
- Daily Champion*, April 25, 2001

- Daramola, A.C. (1994). Public relations and propaganda: An unpleasant association of terminologies. *Masscope* 2 (1): 10-22.
- Daramola, A.C. 2003. Fundamentals of professional public relations: A global overview. Lagos: Certified marketing communication institute of Nigeria (CMCIN)
- Ezegwu, D.T., Enemy, U.M. and Ndife, C.J. (2017). North and south dichotomy: An analysis of Nigeria newspaper coverage of 2016 U.S presidential election campaigns: *Crutech. Journal of communication (CJC)*.
- I'shaq, M.K. (2019). [https:// www. Vanguardngr.Com](https://www.vanguardngr.com), October 7
- INEC and FES Nigeria (2011). Voter Apathy and the 2011 Elections in Nigeria: A research report. Lagos: Muhamsaid Commercial Press.
- Jawando, S(2019) An interview session, May 12
- Jimoh, LAK. (2019). An interview session. May 5.
- Kwara State Government (2014). Kwara: Positioning the State of Harmony within the Centenary History of Nigeria (1914-2014).
- Labaeka. I. (2019). An interview session. May 4.
- Lynn, S. (2009). Political campaign planning manual: A step by step guide to winning elections. Retrieved from www.ndi.org/files/political.campaign-planning-manual-Malaysia.pdf.
- Nelson, K.A. (1996). How consumers make socially responsible decisions. In Lee R. Beach (Ed.), *Decision making in the workplace: A unified perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associate, pp.165-80.
- Olawoye, R (2019) An interview session . May 16
- Olatunji and Akinjogbin (2011). Roles of newspaper advertisement in the democratic process: the case of the 2007 presidential election in Nigeria. [www. Wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://www.Wileyonlinelibrary.com)
- Olohunoyin, A(2019). Interview session . April 30.
- [https://www.Premium Times.com/March 2, 2019](https://www.PremiumTimes.com/March2,2019). <https://Punchng.com.March,6,2019>
- Shaaba .U. (2019). An interview session. April 29. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/abdulrazaqs-o-to-ge-movement-on-fire-in-kwara/>
- Watson, J. (2003). Media communication: An introduction to theory and process. New York: Palgrave.
- Yusuf. F. (2019). An interview session . April 29
- Zubair. K.O (2019). An interview session. April 28th