



KWARA STATE UNIVERSITY, MALETE
SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES (SPGS)

**AN ASSESSMENT OF ‘O’ TO GE’ MEDIA CAMPAIGN IN 2019
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION AND ITS PERCEIVED IMPLICATIONS
FOR 2023 ELECTION IN KWARA STATE**

BY

MUSLIYU RAUFU

18/27/MMC015

OCTOBER, 2020



**AN ASSESSMENT OF ‘O’ TO GE’ MEDIA CAMPAIGN IN 2019
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION AND ITS PERCEIVED IMPLICATIONS
FOR 2023 ELECTION IN KWARA STATE**

BY

MUSLIYU RAUFU

18/27/MMC015

**Being a Thesis Presented and Submitted to the Department of Mass Communication,
Faculty of Information and Communication Technology, Kwara State University, Malete,
Nigeria in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Masters of Science
(M.Sc) Degree in Mass Communication**

OCTOBER, 2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis “**An Assessment of O’ To Ge Media Campaign in 2019 Gubernatorial Election and its Perceived Implications for 2023 Election in Kwara State**” is my own work and has not been submitted by any other person for any degree or qualification at any higher institution. I also declare that all the pieces of information provided therein are mine and those that are not mine are properly acknowledged.

Musliyu Raufu

.....

Name of Student

.....

Signature and Date

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that this thesis by Musliyu Raufu has been read and approved as meeting the requirements of the Department of Mass Communication for the award of Masters of Science (M.Sc) Degree in Mass Communication.

Dr Kamaldin A. Babatunde

.....

.....

Main Supervisor

Signature / Date

Dr. Isiaka Z, Aliagan

.....

.....

Co-Supervisor

Signature / Date

Dr. Isiaka Z, Aliagan

.....

.....

Head of Department

Signature / Date

.....

.....

Internal Examiner

Signature / Date

.....

.....

External Examiner

Signature / Date

Prof. Hamza Abdulraheem

.....

.....

Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies (SPGS)

Signature / Date

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Grandeur of the Uncreated Creator - ALLAH.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A study of this standard can never be completed unaided. It is in this light I deem it very apt to express my immense gratitude to ALLAH who graciously assisted me through the following persons who have contributed, in no small measure, to the success of this thesis.

Firstly, I thank my humble supervisor, Dr. Kamaldin A. Babatunde, who graciously accepted the task of supervising this study. His constructive and thoughtful criticism, as well as vast professional experience, have aided the smooth completion of this thesis. He had not only played an academic role, but also a huge paternal responsibility in the course of my programme. I am happy to register him as my academic lord.

Secondly, I am pleased to recognize the unquantifiable contributions of Dr Isiaka Z. Aliagan, the HOD, Department of Mass Communication. His advice and suggestions have been pretty useful and cannot be divorced from the success of this study and the programme by extension.

I would be glad to have on record the unquantifiable assistance I so much enjoyed from Dr Bello M. Semiu. His motivational statements on our induction made the sojourn worth pursuing. He is indeed a mentor. I thank him for everything even as I beseech him to forgive if I have erred in anyway. It is my prayer that Allah will comfort him and return him on his feet.

I also want to express thanks to all our lecturers who have, at one point or the other, taken pains and time out of their tight schedules to offer us the most unquantifiable gift of life. They have successfully reshaped our thinking in manners I find pretty difficult to explain. I, especially, want to mention Professor Innocent Okoye, Professor Ojaide Tanure, Dr. Azeez Lukman, Dr. Rasak Adisa, Dr. Ahmad Busair Murtada, Dr. Oba Laaro Abdulkadir, Mr. Victor Babatunde, Mr. Anthony Corsy, Mrs. Agnes Joe-Shaibu and a host of others too numerous to mention.

I want to thank my parents, Alhaji and Hajia Raufu Amao Oluokun, for their spiritual guidance and guidance in all ramifications. To me, they are great. I equally want to thank my young mummy, a confidant and ever reliable mother, Hajia Jimoh Rashidat Olaide for her unrelenting prayers always.

Special thanks to my beautiful wife, Mrs Abdulrauf Khadijat Wumi and my happy children, Abdulrauf Muhammad-Mukhtar O. and Abdulrauf Mutmainnah A. for their supports. This study has been done at their expense. The afforded opportunity will not go unappreciated. Thank you so much for that even as I look forward to enjoy similar privilege while determining to undertake the last lap and most important academic pursue - PhD.

Special thanks to my colleagues in this struggle prominently Comrade Suleiman Yusuf, Comrade Surajudeen Dayo, Comrade Abdulkair Yahaya, relatives, friends and well-wishers who, by virtue of their supports and prayers, I have today made my dream a reality.

Musliyu Raufu
October, 2020

ABSTRACT

This study was carried out to assess the impact of media campaigns under the aegis of ‘O’TOGE’ in the 2019 Gubernatorial Election and its perceived implications for 2023 Election in Kwara State. The study adopted a mixed method of Survey and in-depth interview to collect primary data from electorates in the State. The study found out that ‘Otoge’ media campaign was central to the victory of All Progressive Congress (APC) party in 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. The study reveals that the proliferation of radio stations in the State accounted for wider acceptability of the party as it helped to dilute the dominance of government-owned media houses and greatly amplified the ‘Otoge’ slogan which consequently set agenda for the public. The study further shows that the choice that the electorates made during the election was not connected to party’s ideology which, therefore, implies that the electorates voted for their candidates on the basis of O TO GE media campaign. In the light of the findings, it was concluded that the indigenous catchphrase of O TO GE as a campaign slogan had a huge impact on the success of Gov. Abdulrahman Abdulrazak’s election but the media depiction of the administration is momentarily unfavourable which portends perceived implications for the governor and APC’s chances in 2023 election. It was, therefore, recommended that the governor must make some adjustments to boost APC chances in 2023 as the negative media depiction arises largely from lack of unity within the party.

Key words: *O TO GE, Media, Campaign, All Progressives Congress, Gubernatorial Election*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Declaration	ii
Approval Page	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Abstract	vii
Table of Contents	viii
List of Figures	xi
List of Tables	xii
List of Appendices	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	5
1.3 Research Objectives	8
1.4 Research Questions	8
1.5 Significance of the Study	9
1.6 Scope of the Study	9
1.7 Definitions of Terms	10
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 History of Otoge Movement in Kwara State	11
2.3 Media Campaigns in Nigeria	15
2.4 APC, Abdulrahman Abdulrazak's Media Ad Campaigns in Kwara State	17
2.5 Election Campaign and Media Strategies	19

2.6 The Different Forms of Media or Outlets for Media Campaigns	20
2.6.1 Radio Broadcasting	21
2.6.2 Television Broadcasting	24
2.6.3 Role of Newspaper in Election Campaigning	26
2.6.4 Role of Outdoor Advertising in Political Campaigns	27
2.6.5 Social Media and Political Campaigns	31
2.6.5.1 Role of Social Media in Election Campaigning and Political Participation ..	33
2.7 The Media as an Agenda Setter	37
2.8 How Electorates Get their Information in Election Period	39
2.9 Theoretical Framework – Introduction	42
2.9.1 Agenda Setting Theory	43
2.9.2 Framing Theory	46
2.10 Review of Empirical Studies	48
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	55
3.1 Introduction	55
3.2 Research Design	55
3.3 Research Method (Survey and In-depth Interview)	55
3.4 Population	57
3.5 Sample and Sampling Technique (Survey and In-depth Interview)	57
3.6 Research Data Collection Method/Technique	62
3.7 Validity and Reliability	63
3.8 Data Analysis	64
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND	66
INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS	
4.1 Introduction	66

4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis (Questionnaire)	66
4.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation (In-depth Interview)	84
4.4 Discussion of Findings	97
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND	103
RECOMMENDATIONS	
5.1 Introduction	103
5.2 Summary of this Study	103
5.3 Conclusion	105
5.4 Limitations of the Study	107
5.5 Recommendations	108
References	110
Appendices	122

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1.1	OUTDOOR ADVERTISING DISPLAYED AT STRATEGIC LOCATION IN BABOKO AREA, ILORIN	30
FIGURE 1.2	OUTDOOR ADVERTISING DISPLAYED AT STRATEGIC LOCATION IN OFFA, KWARA STATE	30
FIGURE 1.3	A LED DISPLAYED ADVERTISING AT STRATEGIC LOCATION IN ILORIN METROPOLIS	31
FIGURE 1.4	KREJCIE AND MORGAN TABLE FOR SAMPLE SIZE	58
FIGURE 1.5	KWARA STATE POPULATION BREAKDOWN FIGURE BY THREE (3) SENATORIAL DISTRICTS	60

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 3.1	RESULT OF THE RELIABILITY TEST OF THE PILOT STUDY’S INSTRUMENT	64
TABLE 1	DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENTS	67
TABLE 2	AWARENESS LEVEL OF THE RESPONDENTS	69
TABLE 2.1	AWARENESS LEVEL OF THE RESPONDENTS	70
TABLE 2.2	AWARENESS LEVEL OF THE RESPONDENTS	71
TABLE 3	POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2019 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION	73
TABLE 4	MEDIA CAMPAIGN INFLUENCE ON POLITICIAN’S OR PARTY’S IMAGE	75
TABLE 4.1	MEDIA CAMPAIGN INFLUENCE ON POLITICIAN’S OR PARTY’S IMAGE	76
TABLE 4.2	MEDIA CAMPAIGN INFLUENCE ON POLITICIAN’S OR PARTY’S IMAGE	77
TABLE 5	PERCEPTION OF AGENDA SETTING INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA	78
TABLE 5.1	PERCEPTION OF AGENDA SETTING INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA	79
TABLE 5.2	PERCEPTION OF AGENDA SETTING INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA	80
TABLE 6	PERCEIVED IMPLICATIONS FOR 2023 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN KWARA STATE	81
TABLE 6.1	PERCEIVED IMPLICATIONS FOR 2023 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN KWARA STATE	82
TABLE 4.3.1	INTERVIEWEES’ PROFILE	84

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1	QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN FOR DATA COLLECTION	122-126
APPENDIX 2	IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE	127

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

For a democratic system to flourish, political parties and their respective aspirants owe a responsibility of presenting the voters with messages about their policies, foresight and their political agenda to enable voters keenly elect the aspirants of their choice (Ojekwe, 2016). In achieving this, political parties as well as their flagbearers make use of the mass media in conveying such messages (campaigns). According to Curran (2005) the media assist voters to make an informed choice before and during elections. In adjudging an election as free and fair, voters must have adequate education about the aspirants, the political parties under which they are contesting and election policies. By this, political parties as well as contestants have become increasingly responsive to the effectiveness of the media old and new; conventional and social – and the role it plays in persuading the electorates to elect a particular aspirant or party based on information made available to them by the media.

The use of these media in running campaign has overtime become indispensable and widely accepted, and is pretty vital to the electoral procedure and voting attitude because it closes the communication vacuum between political parties/ contestants and the prospective voters. Thus, political parties and aspirants globally devote a lot of resources (financial and human) to media drives to market themselves as the preferred products to the voters. However, the question that usually demands for answer in elections is concerned with voting attitude i.e. why the voters voted for aspirants over the other. The answer to it is just more than making yourself available to the media as political aspirants as indicated in the 2019 general elections in Kwara State.

The 2019 governorship election, in particular, in Kwara State saw political parties and aspirants inundating several types of media with campaigns all beseeching to win peoples' votes. Among

the several campaigns that filled the media - conventional and social - were that of the aspirants of the All Progressives Congress (APC), Mallam Abdulrahman Abdulrazak, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), Barr. Abdulrazak Atunwa and a host of others. At the end, Mallam Abdulrahman Abdulrazak of All Progressives Congress (APC) emerged as the governor setting a new record in the political history of Kwara State given that the victory marks the end of the reign of Saraki dynasty in the politics of the State. Besides its (APC) victory, interestingly, the All Progressives Congress (APC) won the 2019 general elections in totality in the State including the governorship thereby leaving the Peoples' Democratic Party led by former Senate President, Dr. Bukola Saraki with no victory at all cadres of contests.

In many quarters within and beyond the State, there are inferences that the victory of the All Progressives Congress (APC) was largely connected to many factors one of which was principally the radical use of O TO GE slogan. According to Brand Crunch Online news (2019), Senator Bukola Saraki lost the power that the dynasty bequeathed to him is no longer news. Perhaps, what could be of interest in the entire saga, is the unseen hands in "Oto ge" that sacked the dynasty and how the drive was conceived to achieve the unthinkable that it did.

The APC Abdulrahman Abdulrazak's media drive was widely acknowledged and filled media airwaves under the auspices of 'O to ge with its contents addressing almost every class of people who made up the voters. The pervasive jingles and continuous chanting and re-echoing of many of these drives dominated the radio stations. The social media sites (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and online sites) were not left out as the messages streamed the print and outdoor media such as placards, billboards, pamphlets with promises to deliver. The aspirant's slogan "O to ge" was a commanding word that served as a springboard for marketing the candidacy of the elected governor. However, the extent to which the media drives fostered APC victory in the State remains

unknown. The question of why the campaign of 'O' To Ge' was this powerful needs to be answered.

Like the Obama change media drives, the shoestring budget but highly strategic 'O' To Ge' reflects an idea movement as against the rabble-rousing campaign (Dele, 2019). The 2019 'O' To Ge' Liberation Movement judiciously made use of the new media thus vigorously assisting in framing the voters' behaviour towards the candidacy of the APC aspirants. The proliferation of the media houses in Kwara State such as Sobi FM, Royal FM, Alubarika FM, Okin FM, O Fm, Tiwa N Tiwa FM, Idofian FM provided an extension for the avalanche of tools at the hands of O'to ge' Movement. Before the 2015, the entire media outfits in Kwara State were government-owned and media drives were consequently censored in one way or the other. It was either not out rightly permitted or limited space for use by the opposition to run political advertisements. The rising in the number of media firms particularly private radio stations in the State weakened the government power in terms of media outlets to convey media drives/messages. The impact of these independent radio stations is huge as it provided the opposition with a veritable platform to sensitize the voters on what true governance is; what should be done to liberate themselves from the shackles of oppression, thereby swaying opinion and increasing the profile of the oppositions.

Besides the widely known traditional media such as television, radio, outdoor media, newspapers, magazines, etc. which controlled the global electoral space and consequently obstructed accepted involvement in the electoral procedure directly or indirectly coupled with the fact that there were scarcity of allocated airtime and space by the traditional media to the peoples to make their input in politics, governance and in the electoral procedure, the adoption of new media is one factor that cannot be left unmentioned. Critics of traditional media like (Fallows, 1996) cited in Abubakar (2011) thus opines that electorates had always been left with paid political hype with only empty slogans, making them to lose interest and as a result become cynical about politics. They are of

the opinion that there is practical absence of thoughtful deliberation in the traditional media that could make citizens to study the fundamental of concerned matters and policies, suggestions and related arguments which consequently precludes potential electorates from engaging vigorously in political matters. However, this is very unlike social media that are interactive and web-based in nature. The O TO GE deeply explored the social media and flooded it with discordant information, whether right or wrong, just to make the then government of Abdulfatai Ahmed appeared irresponsible to the yearnings of the masses. The new media broke the jinx of a time when conventional news firms were the main news sources. Today, it is countless with social media. Canter (2014) submits that the cradles of news stories are uncountable because sensible and insensible people with modicum technical knowledge are now able to involve themselves and influence the process of news creation. The theatrical change owes it to the invention of Web 2.0, which imparts on citizens the capacity to quickly gain access to unchecked information and even to unrestrictedly create their own content and share it with others globally. Consequently, this exceptional media situation has enhanced the merging of news firms and audience, and eliminating boundary between professional authority and amateur citizens. The understanding that the new media belong to the new genre of media that focuses on social networking which permits users to express themselves, interact with people of same or different values, share private message and broadcast their own opinions on the internet was deeply a channel that the O TO GE platform capitalized on. The voters' abundant access to these online platforms no doubt, has democratizing effect as they offer citizens chances to fully engage themselves in the political procedure more than ever. This implies that electorates have graduated from being just passive consumers of digital messages to creators of the media contents. Given this modernity, Kuhus (2011) cited in Adibe, Odoemelum and Chibuwe (2012) notes that the significance of the communication experience has endured a sea-change; from the need to share it, to the need to share in it. Technology and social

media in particular have returned power to the people; with such technologies, authorities that have been established are now weakened and users have become experts.

This, therefore, implies that citizens, against the backdrop of the status quo, now consume media messages as required rather than allowing media operators to schedule consumption times and contents crashing the gate keeping procedure that the conventional media have enjoyed almost eternally in the past. An individual can consequently communicate globally from any place at any time. Besides, using social media are inexpensive than the political media campaigns on the conventional media with high traits of flexibility and accessibility. The democratization of media is promoted which therefore alters the meaning of geographic distance, and permits for upsurge in the communication speed. Apart from that, the portability of this invention is warranted as a result its mobility simply because they are interactive and accessible to all. The ‘O TO GE’ media campaign, like the Obama Change campaign, online strategies of 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, tested the adoption of technology for discourse of politics during the 2019 gubernatorial election. The avenue granted voice to some political parties, politicians and voters alike to make their voice heard in the electoral procedure but the APC had its way as the victory of APC in 2019 governorship and other general elections have confirmed the O TO GE ideas for social change media drive efficacy. However, the extent to which these media drives have nurtured the APC victory remains unknown. Hence, the assessment of the O TO GE media campaigns on the victory of All Progressive Congress (APC) in the 2019 Gubernatorial Election in Kwara State and its implication for 2019 gubernatorial in the State.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

After losing elections as gubernatorial and senatorial aspirants in 2007, 2011 and 2015, Abdulrahman Abdulrazak again, this time, as APC aspirant, contested against PDP aspirant, Barrister Razak Atunwa strongly backed by the political warlord in Kwara State, Senator Bukola Saraki in the 2019 gubernatorial election and won. The APC victory has been largely connected

to O TO GE media drives propagated through a wide array of media outlets (conventional and new) such as radio, television, Facebook, Twitter, placards, billboards and social networks and grass-root mobilization strategies such as house to house drives, association and group discussion, etc. As a precursor to the drives, there were political re-alignments, amendment to game plan and serious display of political aggrandizement (DailyTrust Newspaper, 2019). This chain of events constituted a preeminent manifestation of the emerging trend linked to the redefinition of political information flows and social interactions by the O TO GE Media Campaign Team in 2019. The “O TO GE slogan” was seen as the beginning of the transformation of advanced politicking in Kwara State. In all of these, certain factors seemed to have played a key role in fueling this phenomenon: 1. the emergence and popularization of private media houses for political communication, mobilization and participation; 2. youth’s active engagement in politics on a wide array of social media platforms; and 3. the progressive realignment of APC membership and internal reform of structure and practices in the State, among others.

In the midst of all these, the media have acted as a specialized avenue of contemporary human communication and have become parts of the political culture and practices. Its usage, be it traditional or new, is one of the foremost types of communication among political parties, politicians and the voters given that it is tremendously and strategically utilized by the politicians and political parties to realise their objectives when it comes to media representation – i.e depicting positive images, keeping offices, and sustaining rapport with the public.

It is unarguable that the combination of traditional media and the new (social) media has, in the recent time, since its exceptional adoption by Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential election provided the political aspirants with an avenue to drive and mobilize voters in such a dynamic way (Alexander, 2010) which O TO GE also imbibed. In 2011 when the O TO GE slogan was first coined and adopted by LAK Jimoh, the first proponent of the slogan (Ijikanmi, 2019), it never

attracted attention. Many people trivialized its efficacy in any moment soon. Indeed, it was adjudged to be a child play. In less than a decade, the slogan resurfaced and became a subject to reckon with. The question of what accounted for its acceptability in 2019 gubernatorial election, therefore, became a cynosure. Conversely, popular opinions have linked it to poor media sensitization, publicity/advertisements and total control of state-owned media houses which in most cases account for low levels of political knowledge and participation.

Pointing to this fact, several studies have highlighted the efficacy of media campaigns, public sensitization on the success of elections over the years. In a study by Victor, Ikechukwu, Gerald and Chinedum (2017), submit that the daily use of the mass media by politicians, and the approach in which the user-citizen networks with the politicians and political parties on the several media platforms and grass-root mobilizations played a key role in shaping the voting attitude of voters. Consequently, politicians and their respective parties, vitally, anticipate the communication rapport to be progressive and beneficial, thus, political advocates of all shades of views, principles, intents and goals use the media with the belief that political communication through them might exert pressure or have an impact on users' opinion and attitude.

According to Alexander (2010), it is an acceptable fact that financial resources are indispensable assets in politics. The more financial resources aspirants possess; the more media reporting they stand to collect. Finance enables aspirants to upscale their platforms by relying on an extensive array of media like radio, television, newspapers' advertisements, blogs, and new media networks. The mass media hold important influence on aspirants' support among electorates. If aspirants are continuously being debated positively in the media, electorates have more tendency of evaluating and supporting them. Hence, the media's "spin" on aspirants, principally touched by the aspirant's financial resources, impacts the outcome of a given election.

So many researches have been done to examine the media depictions of politicians and political parties, and the impact of such depictions on the success of elections using catchphrases world over, to the researcher's best knowledge, the use of indigenous catchphrase in a dominated dynastic politics is scarce. This study, therefore, assessed the impact of media campaigns under the aegis of O TO GE in 2019 Gubernatorial Election and its implication for 2023 Gubernatorial Election in the State.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to carry out an assessment of the O TO GE media campaigns on the victory of APC in 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. Specifically, the objectives are:

1. To identify the most effective media outlets used by All Progressives Congress (APC) in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State;
2. To examine whether aspirants' party ideology/promises influenced voters' choice;
3. To understand the types of communication strategy adopted by party and how it influenced the voters in Kwara State;
4. To determine other factors that were responsible for the victory and probable failure of O TO GE in future elections;
5. To understand possible directions of electorate in the next Gubernatorial Elections in 2023.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What were the most effective media outlets and techniques used by APC in facilitating its victory in the 2019 Gubernatorial Election in Kwara State?
2. How did aspirants' party ideology or promises influence voters' choice?
3. What were the types of communication strategy adopted by APC and its influence on the voters' decision in 2019 Gubernatorial Election?

4. What are other factors that were responsible for the victory of All Progressives Congress (APC) in 2019 election and failure of O TO GE in future elections?
5. What is the possible direction of the voters and how can the O TO GE sustain the momentum for the next Gubernatorial Election in 2023?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Firstly, the significance of this study filled the gap in knowledge by adequately answering its research questions.

Secondly, it serves, in no small measure, as huge benefits to future researchers and other seekers of knowledge in the academia, as it contributes to the existing literatures on relevance and usefulness of mass media in politics and also widens the current expansive knowledge in it.

Thirdly, the study is of immense benefits to:

1. Politicians;
2. Political parties;
3. Public Relations (publicity) Practitioners and media consultants;
4. Media firms;
5. Electoral umpires and government across all levels.

It helps this category of individuals especially the incumbent governor and other APC political officer holders to identify and consequently value the gains and importance of undertaking media campaign under an aegis like O TO GE and how best to handle it for projecting the image of parties, clienteles and increasing awareness of the political aspirants for future elections with 2023 in focus.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study assessed the O TO GE media campaign on the victory of APC in the 2019 gubernatorial elections in Kwara State and its implication for 2023 elections.

Basically, the study focused on the last Six (months) to the gubernatorial election and the first one year of the APC government activities in the State.

The study population were residents of the three senatorial districts of Kwara State. However, emphasis was placed on two (2) populated and prominent local governments from each of the senatorial districts.

1.7 Definition of Terms

O TO GE: -is political movement slogan in Kwara State leading a rebellion, or a non-violent social movement, against an assumed oppressed political dynasty in the State that has held sway of Kwara Politics for over four decades, often seeking independence based on a State identity and an anti-imperialist outlook.

Media: These are main channels of mass communication such as broadcasting, publishing, and the internet.

Campaign: - is a planned series of radio interviews, jingles, music, newspaper articles, advertisements, cartoons, caricatures, billboard phrases, television interviews, one-one discussion, town hall meeting and all forms of interpersonal communications that are intended to achieve a particular political aim and set objective on conventional and social media.

All Progressive Congress (APC): - It is a political party in Nigeria that was formed on the 6th of February 2013 in anticipation of the 2015 elections.

Gubernatorial Election: - It is usually held for a State's primary executive body, as distinguished from by-elections and local elections. In other words, it is a regularly scheduled election where both governor is elected to head a State's executive arm.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to carry out reviews of relevant literature on subject matter of the study with a view to building the structure for the study as well as define the foundation for the phenomenon being studied. Hence, this research did review literatures in the following areas in order to explore the main subject of the study:

- i. History of Otoge Movement in Kwara State;
- ii. APC, Abdulrahman Abdulrazak's Media Ad Campaign in Kwara State;
- iii. Election Campaign and Media Strategies;
- iv. The Different Forms of Media or Outlets for Media Campaign;
- v. How Voters get their information in Election Period;
- vi. Theoretical framework; and
- vii. Review of Empirical Studies.

2.2 History of O TO GE Movement in Kwara State

The political history of the State is as old as the State itself, created on 27th May 1967. During this period of the State, there was a surfacing of a political dynasty birthed by Olusola Saraki, who held sway as one of the pioneer political gladiators and subsequently the grand Master of politics in the State. The influence of Dr. Olusola Saraki started as early as 1964 when he ran in the 1964 Parliamentary election for Ilorin, and later in the second republic, (1979-1983) when he got elected into the Senate and held the position of Senate Leader (Abdulrazak, 2019).

From that moment onward, the political affiliation and structure of Kwara State was fused with the Late Olusola ideology of grass root participation of politics by taking care of the needy,

tackling poverty and participatory democracy. In true terms, his style of democracy was friendly and very close to the common man. His firm grip on the political structure of the State spanned for decades, installing and influencing almost all the elected aspirants. One of his beautiful characters is his respect to both young and old, his humble disposition to issues by allowing participation and welcoming opinion, coupled with his love for his people which make him a rare politician (Mr Right, 2019).

He started his political career with the Obasanjo administration in 1999 as a SA on Budget and Planning. In 2003, he contested for the gubernatorial election and won. This chapter opened the beginning of Saraki style of godfatherism politics in Nigeria. The influence of his father started diminishing and in 2011, there was a disagreement over the gubernatorial aspirants; while the father supported his daughter, Gbemisola Saraki, Bukola Saraki chose one of his trustworthy aides as the gubernatorial aspirants and in the end Bukola Saraki aspirant won. Many see this scenario as a disgraceful act while others viewed it as a well-orchestrated plan to hand over the reign of the dynasty to the young Saraki. According to Abdulrazak (2019), Bukola Saraki performed well during his eight years with inauguration of many capital projects and people orientated policies, but after his tenure, the continuity of some of these critical projects was run in a sloth speed manner. This particular sluggishness in economic development of Kwara State affected its development and its people especially when compared to the neighboring State like Osun and Niger. After his tenure as the Governor, Bukola Saraki became a self-acclaimed leader, the control of State resources and its people started manifesting and it was soon obvious that his type of leadership could only be a self-serving one rather than to the people.

The ***O TO GE*** slogan which means “enough is enough”, ironically started in November 2018 and before that time, it has been there, filling the heart of good people of the State, resilience in silent and hoping one day their lots will improved. Its birth was as a result of long years of under

development, monumental corruption, self-serving style of leadership, decayed infrastructure, educational negligence, rejected and unmotivated civil servants, poor health services with dilapidated structures across the state. The slogan came by during the paid adverts in one of the opposition senatorial aspirant's jingles in the media, Dr. Ibrahim Oloriegbe by a respected singer in the name of Labaika. The advert was aired in November 2018 and it was subsequently used by the State gubernatorial aspirants as its slogan. The response and reaction generated at the launch was so massive that the Government of the State made an attempt to ban the slogan using the State advert regulating body, but it was not successful (Abdulrazak, 2019).

Conversely on another account by Vanguard online news (2019), the O TO GE movement had its beginning in 2017 following the local government election that was supposedly won by opposition but reportedly denied. With such anger in the electorates' disposition over the outcome of that Local Government election in the State, a rally tagged O TO GE was hatched and upon Police's approval, it was staged in the metropolis to express their grievances over the outcome of the election. Consequently, all members outside the camp of Saraki's political group under the aegis of Kwara Liberation Movement initiated a meeting where strategy on how to wrestle the State from Saraki was finalized (Vanguard online news, 2019).

Then decampment of Bukola Saraki and his few supporters out of the All Progressives Congress (APC) to Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) speeded up the manifestation of the plan. Following a wave of movements in and out of the two main political parties which enable to have a defined membership, the tacticians in All Progressives Congress (APC) resumed their full-fledged operation as opposition. The O TO GE political slang reappeared again after the party's aspirants, Hon Raheem Olawuyi Ajulo won the House of Representatives' bye election on 17th November 2018 (Vanguard online news, 2019). The slogan 'O TO GE' returned and it was adopted by

gubernatorial aspirants of the APC, Alh Abdulrahman Abdulrazaq after the party overwhelming performance in that bye election. (Vanguard online news, 2019).

By and large, and arguably, the song O'TOGE' was first used in 2011 by Alhaji LAK Jimoh. The birth of the phrase at the tail end of the 8-year rule of the former Kwara State Governor, Senator Bukola Saraki when he pursued a presidential ambition of the PDP where he could not even get the consensus of Northern aspirants of the Adamu Ciroma. Northern aspirants screening committee against the former President Goodluck Jonathan who came to power after the death of president Yar'adua. Having indicated interest and contested the presidency, Alhaji LAK Jimoh contested the Kwara central senatorial seat primaries of the PDP and won the ticket. However, after he (Senator Bukola Saraki) failed to win the PDP Northern consensus ticket against Goodluck Jonathan, the committee had settled for Atiku Abubakar as the Northern aspirants against Jonathan but was badly defeated by Jonathan then. Saraki, in connivance with the PDP State working committee changed the destiny of LAK Jimoh by snatching the ticket from the original owner and gave it to Saraki who never participated in the primary as indicated in the electoral law and contested against ACN senatorial Aspirants then, Dr. Yahya Oloriegbe. Jimoh sued the party and Saraki to court. His placard flooded Ilorin with the slogan O'TOGE. The birth of today's revolution in Kwara State started with L.A.K Jimoh in 2011 supported by Dele Belgore ACN 'Freedom' slogan (Mr Right, 2019). When the 'O' TO GE' slogan re-surfaced in the heat of political tension in Kwara State, it was strongly believed that it was impossible for the opposition party to register their presence with that ambition seeing how much the Saraki's dynasty was loved in Kwara (Abdulrazak, 2019). In view of this development, they, having been perceived as a movement by certain elements in the society, commenced on all fronts, and today the effect is massive across the State (Abdulrazak, 2019). Who are the key factors as the period heralded a moment for the first time in 17 years that Bukola Saraki would fail to win elections in the State? The 'O TO GE slogan was popularised by Kwara residents who wanted the exit of Bukola Saraki and some arrowheads of the movement

according to PremiumTimes (2019) are but not limited to the following personalities and manifestation of certain events: Ibrahim Labaeka, Lai Mohammed, Abdulrazaq Abdulrahman, Ibrahim Oloriegbe, Moshood Mustapha, Lukman Mustapha, Yahaya Seriki, Yinka Aluko, Cook Olododo, Oba Abdulraheem, Iyiola Oyedepo, Offa/Kwara South People, Kwara North Youth, Non-partisan Traders, Cab drivers and Youth, Bukola Saraki Messy Fight with Gbemisola Saraki.

2.3 Media Campaigns in Nigeria

The efficacy of mass media via publicity, public relations, advertising and profile-raising maintain status quo of pervading our daily lives has been reiterated by several communication scholars and experts worldwide. In politics, electioneering otherwise known as political campaigns are a vital instrument used by aspirants vying for several political offices to persuade the voters to cast their votes in their favour. This is no difference in Nigeria context. According to Sumaila (2013) and Ojekwe (2016), publicity and public relations take the centre-stage of upgrading political aspirants and parties contesting for different political offices during campaign. Nonetheless, over the years, political publicity has undergone several reformations. It changes with technological advancements.

Lyengar and Simon (2000) cited in Chandrappa (2014) posit that political publicity is progressively the crucial component in electioneering, thereby making party apparatuses and grass-root firm and vital than they appeared over time. Diamond and Bates (1992) postulate that, contrary political advertisements in the past years, developments in media know-how have restructured the procedure, giving aspirants more alternatives to stretch their reach to wider constituents with little or no efforts. According to boundless.com (2015), the development of electioneering and more specifically publicity especially in nation like USA are attributable to television and the internet.

In Nigeria, political publicity has developed greatly in the last twenty years. This growth is traced or connected immensely to high-wired publicity of consciousness by politicians and their respective political parties on the value of media to make the voters better informed of the aspirants as the best product and in transferring their offerings in form of political agenda to same voters (Ojekwe, 2016). Olujide, Adeyemi and Gboyega (2010) note that publicity is the most commonly used approach in creating favourable image for the aspirants and painting by same act a negative image for the opposition. Hitherto, political parties and aspirants have always directed their resources to political rallies, speeches, town hall meetings and direct contacts to gather the support of voters, (Opeibi, 2004) in (Ojekwe, 2016).

Between the 2011 and 2015, and recently in 2019 elections in the country – cutting across all cadres of elections - the adoption of media campaigns has opened up the delivery mode, language type used, to classes of media adopted to convey these messages. The 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State saw the wave of both conventional and social media with media drives of the two strong candidates namely Abdulrahman Abdulrazak of APC and Abdulrazak Atunwa of PDP. Because of their popularity amongst the voters, campaigns became highly aggressive. They both tried to beat each other using media campaigns of various kinds. They originated several slogans and jingles such as O TO GE”, “OTUN YA” amongst several others. So much were invested. This investment in media campaign is a necessary commitment that must be made in commanding voters. Supporting this view, Alexander (2010) posits that the more financial means an aspirant possesses, the more media coverage they will get. He is of the view that financial endowments enable political parties and their respective aspirants to market their platforms by relying on an expansive array of media like radio, newspaper, television advertisements, blogs and new media. Ojekwe (2016) submits that notwithstanding the general agreed views of most scholars that political publicity is vital to every election campaign, it is also conclusive that some scholars and political

consultants remain divided on the extent to which political publicity influences electing attitude. Many years ago, many political campaign scholars settled that politically orchestrated media campaigns did have immense impact on electorates' voting attitude. But recent studies have revealed a better perception on the efficacy of political advertisements and communication in election. Hoolbrooks (1996) concludes that disparities in aspirants support during the campaign period are fundamentally attributable to the existence of campaign events". Sharing this thought, Ansolabhere and Iyenga (1994) state that publicity in politics is persuasive and not cunning and that the communications are designed to notify electorates about the aspirants' vision which enable them (voters) to create different images of the aspirants. Excitingly, Nigerian electorates have increasingly become more exposed to political publicity a lot now than before, perhaps for proliferation of media houses, social media accessibilities, etc which in turn increases awareness on political choices before being considered by the electorates. Voters are progressively becoming more responsive to political communication/messages; messages about aspirants and their manifestos, the party's strategies and election procedures through continuous application of political publicity in campaign drives in Nigeria (Ojekwe, 2016).

2.4 APC, Abdulrahman Abdulrazak's Media Ad Campaigns in Kwara State

The 2019 gubernatorial in Kwara State experienced colossal use of conventional and social media on electioneering. It was evidently observed that aspirants and electoral parties dedicated certain resources on media political campaign to enable the party inform, educate and congregate patronage from the potential voters. In Kwara State, the governorship aspirant of the All Progressive Congress (APC) Abdulrahman Abdulrazak embarked on extensive and steady media campaigns. The party and in specific term the contestant's campaign which reliably and consistently centered on O TO GE slogan, inundated radio stations, television stations, billboards, social media, newspapers, pamphlets, placards, among others. APC's media campaigns were well celebrity-inclined and also offered residents of diverse social status; from the very elites to the communal traders in the State.

Popular to the governor's campaigns were his theme songs; "O TO GE", "Kwara Needs New Ideas to Move Forward" and "I have achieved a Lot in My Business, I want to Do Same for My People" which embossed with Nigerian celebrities, particularly ones with Kwara origin. These media drive adopted celebrity authorizations and sentiments to appeal specifically to the youths as potential voters. The "Ilu oda rara" video footage adequately represented all social classes and cultural upbringing in the State. This consequently showed solidarity and in return enabled them to demonstrate their sense of belonging. They all chorused in harmony stating why they each believed in Kwara and the Abdulrahman's dream. The Vanguard Online News (2019) described Abdulrahman Abdulrazak as a principal democrat who unites the people and a philanthropist per excellence who had never occupied public office before." This image sent a clear signal to the downtrodden that the governor would be a departure from the usual trend. The political party (APC) media campaigns were run on almost all available media including but not limited to broadcast media, the print media, outdoor media and new media with special emphasis on O' To Ge. All of these campaigns (media drives) appeared in diverse fashions and had many communications which appealed to various classes of audiences but were conspicuously youth focused. The Ad messages were drawn to suit the peculiarities of major languages and ethnic backgrounds of Christians and Muslims as well. In general, APC Unique Selling Point was clear – O TO GE. A challenge was also put up when the slogan was first piloted. According to Daily Trust Online News (2018), the Kwara government demanded for the withdrawal of the media drives slogan, "O TO GE" (enough is enough) through Kwara State Signage and Advertisement Agency (KWASAA) noting its potency to spark political unrest or suspicions in the State even as the drives slogan was properly vetted and approved by the Publicity Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON) being the only statutory and non-partisan body that should do so. O'TOGE

slogan simply means that our people have had enough and are desirous of change through the ballot box,” adding that the government was only jittery and trying to crackdown on the opposition.

The APC governor said despite their underwhelming performance in the past 14 years, the Kwara State Government and its patrons do not find their slogan of ‘continuity’ as contemptuous, provocative and utterly insulting to the people of Kwara State, it is quite annoying for them to complain that the opposition is saying O’TOGE and calling for a change. We totally reject Governor Abdulfatah Ahmed’s hypocritical statement of Friday December 7 in which he claimed that our drives slogan was capable of pitching people against one another. We also reject KWASAA’s claim that complaints have come from the Emir of Ilorin’s palace regarding the slogan. These are cheap lies with which our people are not only familiar but are totally fed up! We urge the Kwara State Government and its agencies to face governance, stop their boring propaganda and face the unavoidable prospect of being voted out of office in March 2019, God willing. Finally, our drive has been very peaceful, orderly and issue-based. We promise that it will continue to be so. But while using this opportunity to again urge our supporters to eschew every form of violence or disorderly conducts even in the face of unprovoked attempts to cage the opposition, we believe that our people have seen enough of deprivations, mediocre governance and mismanagement of public resources to say it loud and clear that enough is enough. O TO GE! (DailyTrust, 2018). By and large, the blend of placards, billboard advertising and his theme song which stunned every radio particularly private radio stations in the State, and television, new media platforms made it a tough race for APC’s challengers to keep up with.

2.5 Election Campaign and Media Strategies

No political party or aspirants can boost to win an election without choosing the right media. Effective media selection determines the message, language and its influence on the targeted voters or voters. In this modern democratic practice, the people and society by extension required

information. In this context, the mass media play an important function by informing the public about the political system, the political parties' campaign efforts and the regulations from electoral umpire. But while the audience needs communication/messages from the mass media, there exists a possibility for the media and politicians to have negative campaign reporting and a seeming media favoritism (Chandrappa, 2014). Because of media importance and its attendant biases, many politicians have established media firms either print, broadcast or both with the core objective to help their political careers. Since the time of African Pilot by Nnamdi Azikwe to the time of Nigerian Tribune by Chief Awolowo, National Concord of MKO, etc. Also, Chief Obafemi Awolowo founded Western Nigerian Television (WNTV) being the first in Nigeria and indeed Africa in 1959, this action was adjudged to be unintentional given the fact he (Chief Awolowo) chose to do following his denial to utilise the services of the Federal Radio station in reacting to the broadcast of former Governor-General Macpherson on 1953 constitutional matters. According to Ariye (2010), Chief Awolowo was not permitted to use Federal Radio in spite of the fact that the Commission had responsibility to provide balanced and unbiased news and views to the citizens. In the country today, many private newspapers, radio and televisions are owned and controlled by politicians or associates given the understanding that there is a recurrent link among the media, the government and the citizens and while the media can intermittently define the views of the public, it consequently has enormous impact in informing the electorates on matters with salient interest, about issues that the media work more on by placing a spotlight on them (Chandrappa, 2014).

2.6 The Different Forms of Media or Outlets for Media Campaigns

There are several methods upon which media can be classified. Media are classified on payment system such as paid media and free media. Media are also classified based on their operational system. According to Chandrappa (2014), the political landscape is being affected by many forms

of media. However, the two main types of media based on this classification are paid media and free media. Chandrappa (2014) explains that paid media has the potentials to make or break a campaign based on the amount a political aspirant has to devote to radio, television, newspaper, magazine, placards, fliers, pamphlet, etc. To a great level, electioneering expenses are determined by the conduct or attitude of the contestants. Olayinka (2015) says that proportionally, it is inferred that if the contestant is well-funded, the incumbent will be forced to spend more in response. By and large, paid media, unlike unpaid media, have established to be expensive and because voters have been educated to tune-out political propaganda, free-media can be greatly effective. With paid media, it is more often easy to get the communication heard by electorates. Audience do not have the patience now and political envoys have to operate in a half-minute's commercial to relax negative viewers who flip through television or radio channels and exist in a world laced with entertainment. The messages to them must, therefore, be sharpened and simplified to the least degree so as to be heard. Besides, the most popular entertainment media must also be adopted as the conveyor of their campaign messages. Olayinka (2015) points out that the most commonly used media for political campaigns and communication messages basically include the followings:

- i. Radio
- ii. Television
- iii. Newspaper/Magazines
- iv. Outdoor media
- v. Internet/social media, etc

2.6.1 Radio Broadcasting

Oyekanmi, (2006), describes radio as an electronic device that relies on electromagnetic wave for transmitting messages, information, communication and it retains some characteristics that places it upon the television broadcasting. Radio offers people a voice and serves as a forum for dialogue between communities and government. It takes up this onus and certifies that the vulnerable groups

in the society are brought to net and duly represented in their programme. For instance, community radio stations are set up to educate, sensitize and inform listeners on matters which directly and indirectly affect their lives be it health, education, water, human rights, etc. while acknowledging the importance of radio, Abiola (2010) opines that there is no doubt in the fact that radio has projected itself even with major technological breakthrough to be a genuine tool for local development. According to Alao (2016), radio as a medium comes with its unique characteristics that make it still very relevant despite the globalization, media convergence or intimidations by the new media.

Today, in Nigeria, given its importance, all States in the federation own, operate and control many radio houses coupled with private radio stations (Abdollahyan & Machika, 2017). According to Anifowose (2013) cited in Nkana (2015), The radio communication in Nigeria has to do with a process where information and understanding are transmitted from a person to a large and heterogeneous people in diverse locations. Radio is multi-faceted as among other things, it serves to convey information, advances the proficiency of calling upon and organizing groups and firms, expands forum for social discussion, affords and promotes effective capacity building of the community with a view to raising consciousness and knowledge of public issues, promotes oneness of the peoples for political gains and mobilizes community to tackle matters of great concerns (Abdollahyan & Machika, 2017). Based on these perspectives, Familusi (2014) cited in Alao (2016) posits and concludes that radio is the most significant instrument for development of communication. According to Omensea (1997) cited in Tejumaiye (2000), radio is ranked as the most popular channel of broadcasting messages, irrespective of planet given to break illiteracy barrier, the messages are done to reflect audience's own language. Despite modern day technology with sophisticated provisions of multimedia, computers and internet, radio still maintains its foremost role in information dissemination in Nigeria (Abdollahyan & Machika, 2017). Several other studies and submission by researchers in Nigeria have pointed to same direction.

Hence, the preparation for the conduct of 2019 gubernatorial election witnessed a rise in the use of radio as a means of airing political messages. Studies have proved radio to be the most effective in increasing political awareness and sensitization. Utor (2011) concludes, while attempting to find out reasons for lack of participation in politics by citizens, that radio has the enormous capacity to enhance the political information awareness of the Nigerian voters and more so, political drives/messages aired by the radio stations were an essential factor in the political decisions of the voters. Supporting this view, Abegan (2009) submits that it is significant to note that radio political drives/messages are instruments for swaying the manner electorates think, decide and choose from available options in their quests for participating in election in Nigeria. One of the ways to achieve this objective lies in the use of the radio given that reporting and broadcasting of news, communication, editorials and other analytic items relating to an issue are being persuasively and extensively applied for creating awareness. It is doubtless that political drives/messages that are funded and broadcast on radio perform as a means of fostering political awareness among people (Tejumaiye, 2000). Buttressing the power of radio and its capacity to influence voters on election, Oriavwote (2000) concludes that voting attitude rests heavily on the thoughtfulness of an important number of political campaigns, and that radio will serve to be best avenue to use among others. According to him, the impact of political advertising/campaign/message strategy on voting attitude is not significantly diverse between rural and urban voters in Nigeria. As powerful as radio appears, campaign managers, publicity developers, party workers, aspirants and political parties alike to adopt flexible approach in preparing and planning several drives messages. According to Pechmann (2001), the realization that voters questionably bank on some stimuli with which they already had contact to make their decisions is part of the consideration. Abdollahyan and Machika (2017) note that the planning of political campaign communications as good as it may be, radio is meant to widely distribute these political campaign messages which consequently prime voters to

remember the framing of certain publicity or campaigns that have the importance with them at the moment of voting.

Realizing the power of radio as a medium, the All Progressives Congress (APC) repeatedly and countless made significant use of radio stations in driving home their messages to the heart of voters in Kwara State. The proliferation of radio station in Kwara State has provided politicians with unrestricted access to the media and consequently enabling them to convey their messages to their targets. Unlike years back when the State fundamental source of messages on radio was Kwara State Broadcasting Corporation, the emergence of Sobi FM, Royal FM, Alubarika FM, Okin FM, O Fm, Tiwa N Tiwa FM provided an extension for the avalanche of tools at the hands of O'to ge' Movement which they explored to the fullest. Supporting this notion, Abdulrahman (2019) posits that we (the APC members) have run radio programmes for the people of Kwara State for about three and half years. That has gone a long way into sensitizing the people and shaping their political visions and opinions.

2.6.2 Television Broadcasting

Television is a medium for mass communication which combines both audio and visual signals in sending information from a station through a wireless means to the receiving set of audience in a diverse location simultaneously. Alao (2016) describes television as a device for translating visual images inclusive of sound into electrical signals, conducting them by radio or other means, and showing them electronically on a screen at the receiving end. Further to that, it can be seen as a device with a screen for receiving visual and sound messages/signals. According to Owauamalam (2007) cited in Patience (2019), television is as an audio-visual channel. It merges pictures and sound together to generate a transmission experience that is being shown on the screen. It makes use of sound signals to elucidate the motion/still pictures presented on the screen. It tackles the emotion and intellect in a remarkable way. Unlike other climes, television has not been widely

accepted as the reliable medium of communication by Nigerians. Many studies have been conducted on political advertising/campaign in the United States with television advertisements having prevailing form of communication between aspirants and voters (Kaid, 2004). Against this background, many democracies across the globe have frequently accused of “Americanization” of their political television subscriptions, differences in media, political, and cultural systems impose some limitations on the adoption of USA practices. For example, many nations across the world either set limit or prohibit the purchase of time for political publicity. This is unlike the United States that allows virtually unrestricted procurement of time and space. In some climes, provision of free airtime and space are made available on public channels to aspirants and parties, but the United States has no institutionalized system for such free-time provisions. These are fundamental and generic factors in political electioneering (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006). Conversely, some of these factors in addition to some peculiarities make Nigerian situation far diverse. Nkana (2015) submits during examination and extrapolation the views of public that is politically conscious on the pictographic power of political electioneering on television of the 2011 elections in Akwa-Ibom State, that television political electioneering pictures of the 2011 elections indicate any major influence on electorates that are politically conscious. According Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006), audience was not discouraged from one party to another based on their campaign pictures. It was also found out that pictures add dimensions to political drives/messages, beside from being communicative. This is because the factors of poor infrastructural facilities like poor power supply, illiteracy, large rural settlements, etc made the use of television as a medium unattractive. These two views are generally considered to be two parallels that can attract beaming of searchlight globally. In Kwara State, no private television station has come on board in the State. However, the privilege of federal might factor provided the APC in Kwara State unrestricted access to Nigerian Television Authority, Channel 9, Ilorin. This opportunity was optimally used to convey

their video footages on the O' TO GE campaigns of different kinds. But the assurances that it played a key role in the drive of the O'toge and APC media drives are not in any way certain.

2.6.3 Role of Newspapers in Election Campaigning

Newspaper is a concept that does not have universal definition as scholars see it from diverse perspectives. Alao (2016) says a newspaper is an arranged publication that contains news of recent events, informative articles, different feature stories, advertisements and publicity. It is always printed on moderately less expensive, low-grade papers like newsprint. According to Akinrosaye (2011) cited in Familusi (2014), newspaper is a boundless, printed periodical that is issued at consistent interval which offers messages/communication using words, often complemented with photographs. However, the location of the State in the north central bordering south west where most of newspaper firms operate provide it with timely accessibility to newspapers on daily basis.

Unlike radio stations that witnessed domestic proliferation in the State between 2015-2019, the two known newspapers in Kwara State – Herald and National Pilot – with the former belonging to government and the later privately owned, both of which have a production capacity of 2000 copies per edition and occasionally lesser than that (Aliagan, 2011). In the State and more particularly in the capital city, according to Aliagan (2011), The Punch newspaper has an average daily supply of 1,600, 1,900 for the weekend supply and in totality has an average monthly allocation of 49,870 copies to the State. Following closely is the Nigerian Tribune with an average monthly supply of 43,461. Maintaining a distant third is The Nation newspaper with an average monthly supply of 24,613 and the others follow.

Observations from across board indicate that the two major political parties – APC and PDP – inundated these newspapers with their campaigns/advertisements based on the party and candidates' choice and media team preferences. That moment saw many readers trooping to newspaper stands all in a bid to have a glimpse of what the contents of daily newspapers would

look like. It must be noted that these newspapers organizations also have their preferences even though they are less pronounced. What is, however, certain is that the audience of newspapers is selective in nature because newspaper only appeals largely to literates in the society and these literates would do everything possible to grab a copy on daily basis if not a conventional buyer, at least as a member of free club readers. According to Abdulrazak (2019), many readers of newspapers have always habituated their visit to the news stand not just to read paper but also to share intelligent, enlightenment and consequently form an opinion on matters that concern their wellbeing. This is the point where electorates' voting decisions are shaped and reshaped.

Because of this understanding, newspapers organizations have always taken positions to educate their audience and give news reportage that satisfies their philosophy and expectation of their targets. Part of the philosophy is the ownership interest. Because of ownership influence, the APC candidates in Kwara State appeared to be at more advantage than their PDP counterparts given the role of newspapers' editorials and manners/contents of their report before and during 2019 general election. Given the readership strength, two of the widely circulated newspapers - the Nigerian Tribune and the Nation - painted the APC flagbearers in Kwara State more positively than the PDP counterparts based on the analysis of the direction of news and adverts which have been classified into two categories of Favourable/Pro and Unfavourable/Anti, in order to assess the newspaper roles in balancing their reportage of political events between the two major political parties. By and large, high chunk of Kwarans are literates and their patronage of newspapers is pretty high.

2.6.4 Role of Outdoor Advertising in Political Campaigns

Other common media for political campaigns are the outdoor channels which include Billboard, Transit or Movable Publicity, Placards, Pamphlets and fliers etc but the common outdoor media for election campaigns are billboard, placards and transit publicity. Alao (2016) describes Outdoor publicity as a medium of advertising that reinforces the recall of names of brand and pay offs.

Furthermore, it is seen as one of the means of communication that is adopted for dissemination of information or publicizing messages to a targeted public. The outdoor media are regarded as “out-of-home media” or “traffic or position” media, because it appeals to audience and/or motorists passing through where they are situated to deliver their publicity. The South African Manual for Outdoor Publicity Control (1998) defines outdoor publicity as "any visible representation of a word, name, letter, figure, object, mark or symbol or of an abbreviation of a word or name, or of any combination of such elements with the object of transferring information." Outdoor publicity, therefore, entails much more than the ordinary billboard.

Out-of-home publicity or out-of-home media are publicities that reach the targeted audience while they are outside the home. Outdoor publicity is concentrated on promotion to consumers when they are on the move in public areas, in transit, waiting places like stadium, market, office, etc, and in specific commercial locations and it could be in any of the following forms such as Product Display, Newspaper stands, billboards, Roundabouts, Kiosks, Parks and Recreation, Bus Shelter, Branded t-shirts, Building branding, Street Furniture, banners on rig/vehicle, City walkers, and feather signs (<http://www.lasaa.com>).

According to Lynn (2019), the exposure for political aspirants during an election period is pretty important. The nature of the election does not matter, whether it is a minor, constituency election or a national election, electorates deserve to sufficiently know who the contestants are. Beyond that, they deserve to recognize contestants and political party's campaign messages around town often enough to enable the contestants remain fresh in electorates' minds until day of election. This is where out-of-home publicity like billboards and placard come to play because persuading potential electorates that the contestants are the right aspirants is the core of a political message (Lynn, 2019). The essence is to get victorious, and contestants cannot, therefore, do without exposure. This explains why publicity, debates, speeches, catchy tag lines in campaign videos,

even a theme song all provide contestants with openings to make a lasting impression on potential electorates. This type of medium also has greater advantages to others when put side by side. According to Lynn (2019), publicity options are wide, especially with diverging social media accounts and online videos. Nonetheless, voters can ignore numerous publicity bases can quickly because mailers get threw into the trash without being read. Several commercials have been clicked away from or fast forwarded through. Online Ads are as well quickly closed. The communication goes out, however, electorates do not remain around for long to listen or read. The out-of-home publicity is a big way to break through the muddle. Outdoor publicity helps to establish a superior situation that will expose electorates to prospective aspirants, and helps establish an enduring impact of the communication. By ranking and classification, Lynns, (2019) posits that outdoor publicity is second in ranking, closely following digital, as one of the quickest flourishing types of publicity globally. Because an average individual spends 18 hours each week on the road, billboards remain some of the communications they are most of the time exposed to. This is also true in Nigerian context. According to Gutmann (2018) cited in All Answers Ltd (2019), the markets internet publicity expenses are expected to exceed TV, but, in Nigeria TV publicity shall remain strong in imminent. Coming second as the most popular advertising medium in the country is out-of-home which has been projected to raise in no distant years while internet ranks third based on publicity expenditure.

This opportunity was fully utilized by Ologe/APC to convey their messages to the heart of the voters. The positioning of the billboard was so strategic that people had no choice than to repeatedly involved themselves in discussion surrounding the slogan from time to time. The interpersonal communication gained attention so much that the Governor had to step up actions to clamp them down. This move led to a bloody crisis between the followers of the two main parties in the State which was further escalated into destruction of the billboards containing inscription of Ologe slogan. According to Abdulrazak (2019), the next day, more than forty giant bill boards

belonging to APC gubernatorial aspirant with “O TO GE” slogan situated in strategic locations within the State capital were destroyed by people suspected to be political thugs (Vanguard News, 2019). The destruction of the billboards marketed the sentiment of proponent of the slogan, shown the efficacy of their strategic positioning and further provided a clue to possible victory of the APC gubernatorial aspirants.



Figure: 1.1 Outdoor Advertising displayed at strategic location in Baboko Area, Ilorin



Figure: 1.2 Outdoor Advertising displayed at strategic location in Offa, Kwara State



Figure: 1.3 A Led Display Outdoor Advertising at strategic location in Ilorin Main Town

2.6.5 Social Media and Political Campaigns

The social media or new media describe new kinds of media that encourage interactive engagement. The expansion of media is classified into two main groups namely the broadcast age and the interactive age. For the broadcast group or classification, media are considered to be almost entirely unified where one unit such as a radio or television station, Newspaper Company, or a movie production studio is meant to engage in the distribution of information to many people. Reactions to media channels were often indirect, delayed, and largely impersonal. In this classification, the mediated communication between individuals characteristically occurred on a much reduced level, largely through personal letters, telephone calls, or intermittently on a slightly higher scale through means such as photocopied family newsletters (Rufai, 2019).

With the upsurge in mobile technologies given the digital gadgets, communication on a large scale has become more easy than ever for many users across the globe and as such, a new media age came to limelight where interactivity has been placed in the middle of new media operation. Under this arrangement, a single user has an enormous chance to communicate effectively and seamlessly with many people around the world and instant reaction is guaranteed. Where individuals who are

the generators of ideas and consumers used to have scanty and somewhat low-key voices but could share their views with unlimited users anywhere around the world. According to Manning (2014), the low cost and availability of new technology immensely permitted more opportunities for media usage than how it was and consequently instead of only selected news outlets, many people or users have been afforded the ability to gather information from unlimited sources and to engage in dialogue with others through certain platforms about the information being disseminated.

Given its enormous prospects, the new media otherwise known as social or interactive media have become global communication platforms for political parties and their aspirants during electioneering. Platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Whatsapp, Twitter and a host of others enable political aspirants to directly hold conversations/discussions with voters, mobilize followers and largely make an impact on the public agenda. According to Boulianne (2016), these significant transformations in political communication has, expressively, presented political aspirants with a wide array of strategic options. Should aspirants address the matters most important to a potential electorates and citizens? Should they customize their communications or publicity to the specific conducts and audiences on the platforms of new media? Several studies on social media advertising have been conducted in the most recent years.

Prior (2007) submits that there is a well-known research practice linking the use of diverse media to results and procedures like political understanding, engagement, partaking and voting. In the area of political campaigning on Internet, Druckman, et al (2010) present relevant conclusion. They postulate that because supporters of political aspirants are the mostly regular visitors of aspirants' sites, the formats of the website or page/accounts of social media platforms are planned for the potential electorates. In an appraisal of sites and television campaigns, the writers show that aspirants are similar and have tendency of adopting both media for destructive messages, which therefore implies that the channel and diverse user groups are insignificant in campaign

scheme. In the areas of public attitude, Althaus and Tewksbury (2002) conclude that whether information is used offline or online, it has capacity to affect discernments of matter. The choice of information at the personal level is “filtered” by different media, even same source. The question now is, is O TO GE drives more of social media than the conventional media and whether it has enhanced electorate political participation or not.

2.6.5.1 Role of Social Media in Election Campaigning and Political Participation

The invention of social media had changed the political participation of citizens globally. As put by Prat and Stromberg (2013), the emergence of new media has transformed the media substantially. Communication can be spread at high speed, less expensive and at an expansive scope and consequently, there is unrestricted access to the creation and consumption of reportage which, therefore, enhances citizens’ political participation. The upsurge of new media year in, year out has radically changed the way information is crafted, distributed and consumed. Its power of immediacy and the limitless opportunity to respond to issues of great concern have served as a source of motivation for political participation.

Eugene (2015) cited in Hasiya and Aliyu (2015), posits the acceptance of getting political messages and publicity from new media platforms is increasingly great. A study in 2014 indicated that more than 62% of internet users resort to social media to seek for political news/report and publicity. This social happening allows for messages with political contents, true or not, to spread rapidly and effortlessly among contemporary networks. In addition, social media platforms now inspire political engagement by fusing like-minded people, reminding electorates (users) to vote in elections, and consequently do an analysis of users’ political affiliation data to find cultural likenesses and variances. Hasiya and Aliyu (2015) submit that as new media benefit more recognition and expansion, its impact on electorates’ political and cultural perceptions cannot be undervalued as they (social media) have massive impact on good governance in Nigeria and also

essentially make an impact on the way users interact, communicate and decide on social, cultural, and political issues in today's world.

Lending credence to this, Auwalu (2015), posits that the social media with all their defects possess the enormous power of imminence. They also have the unchallenging power of users' participation. For instance, in an election with citizens who are engaged, they (citizens) are simultaneously offering the reports surrounding the conduct of the elections. It is, therefore, considered as an empowerment of people through their votes, and through their ability to make distribution of such information at their disposal. The role of the new media in this wise is central given that the world has become progressively linked through the influence of the Internet. Political movements are beginning to consider these social media as a major unifying and engaging instrument because it is integrally a mutual communication scheme. Instead of obtaining brand communications, one receives recommendations from peers in the manner of re-shares and suggested posts, which de-markets the message of the brand (Eugene, 2015)

Because of its two-way communication advantage, it has become tools for amplifying the opinions of many Nigerians, taking normal voice and making them exceptional by conveying it to different places like homes, offices, schools and other places most of whom would have perhaps never touched under different conditions. In what began as a playground for predominantly young jobless people, it has, today, become the campaign avenue for political gladiators to seek supporters because of its importance to promotion of political participation in Nigeria history. What then is political participation? Falade (2014) cited in Rufai (2019) opines that there is less than a complete agreement among the scholars about the meaning of the concept 'Political Participation'. He opines that political engagement is the involvement of the people in the politics. The citizens form the core of any society and it is vital they are part of the political procedure. According to Akamare (2003) cited in Hasiya and Aliyu (2015), political participation is an aspect

of political behaviour that concentrates on the technique in which people engage or participate in politics. It is considered deliberate pursuit that one can engage in openly or tactfully. Many methods through which the people or citizens can find themselves engaged in the political affairs involve selecting or electing political leaders, formulating policies, community activities and other civic participation.

Political participation takes two independent but interrelated forms. Nekola (2014) cited in Alao (2016) points out that the first approach deals with the realistic extant level of popular engagement in the procedures of governance. The central points at this junction have to do with the levels of participation such as local, regional, national etc. and means such as voting, campaigning, contacting, protesting etc. In this wise, the influence of several manners of political participation and the motivation to either decline engagement or certainly become remain active participant are studied. A comparison is also equally drawn between individual and national patterns of political attitude. The cross-national comparison of political engagement styles focusses heavily on voting because of the readiness of globally comparable data on voter audience and the significance of national and state elections for the given political structure. Based on available evidence by such international assessments, voter audience shall be swayed largely by a number of recognized factors such as voter registration, electoral process, level of political opposition and the available party system) all of which form an institutional environment of the given country's political system.

The notion of political involvement, whether sophisticated or primitive, is to get power, acquire it and to sway decision making process. By political participation, scholars have described it as an avenue to make one's contribution to the political system and the overall progress of the country. It is one of the fundament obligations in a democracy. This explains why Adelekan (2010) cited in Alao (2016) emphasizes that preferably, democracy implies personal engagement in the choices

that have to or have direct impact on one's life. In a democratic structure, there is the necessity for the citizenry to be optimally engaged in the democratic process of choice of leaders, and functional announcement or publicity of the public policies and attitudes. Whatever entitlement to democratic government or State must fundamentally embrace a high degree of choice, sincerity, and enjoyment of civic and political freedoms and political engagement that involves all classes of people in the society. The degree to which people engage in the political system differ from person to person. Falade (2014) cited in Rufai (2019) recognizes six kinds of political participants. These are: The inactive: They are described as the class of people who does not involve themselves in any political activity. Voting specialists: They are described as a class of individuals that is eagerly involved only in voting process. Apart from voting, they are less concerned with other political activities. Parochial participants: They are described as group of political participants who get themselves involved in in politics infrequently. They are fundamentally concerned with voting or in any other political activity only when it affects their personal interest. The communalist: These are described as class of individuals who gets involved in voting frequently; they are also being pleased to be involved in community affairs but they are not engaged in political campaigns. The campaigners: They are described as the active class who gets themselves involved in political campaigns but remains inactive in other community matters. Complete activists: This class of individuals is an embodiment of all characteristics of all the previous five classes. They are highly engaged in all political activities, they are active participants in voting, political campaigns, community activities and make contact with public officials.

The nexus is that all these Six (6) categories of individuals have their mandate renewed with the invention of social media. The arrival of internet (technology) has uncovered mass of the global populace to diverse interactive platforms on which different forms of message is exchanged which meaningfully have influence on the behaviour of human, choice and appraisal (Centre for European Studies, CES, 2012). The new media are, therefore, new communication web and

technology that uses a kind of information employing interactive and user-produced content where personal rapport is consequently established and sustained.

2.7 The Media as an Agenda Setter

There is no doubt that many people still entertain fear that partial media will shape public's opinions in the period of an election. Nonetheless, the media still remain highly influential in swaying the issues that electorates could be considered pretty significant and less impactful in affecting those opinions (Chandrappa, 2014). Given that the media are reasonably the best means to get campaign messages extensively disseminated, they impact what matters which the public must respect when appraising aspirants and the yardsticks that are required to evaluate them. According to Robinson (2014), while the media have the capacity to change electorates' views, information, attitudes, and even behavior, the perspectives are not volatile to drastic change and the media are more encouraged to reinforce its power than they do in shaping viewpoints. There is no doubt that media have a solid impact on the matters of the peoples' opinions as crucial since repetitive reporting of salient matters have primacies for the audiences and can influence the assessment of aspirants.

By repeating certain matters to the public on what to focus on, the media assist to indirectly decree what matters electorates should be bothered with during an election and the parameters to be used in judging them (politicians). Several new messages meted out to electorates received in the process of transmitting a political campaign either via news media or social networks. The media can massively impact the public by reducing the report of certain aspirants even if it is paid publicity (Chandrappa, 2014). The discretion at the disposal of the media allows them to cover only the aspirants they (media) feel are registered aspirants and have a feasible chance of getting victory at the poll. By this, the media act as a sieve, by narrowing down aspirants and scrutinizing

out unpopular aspirants with a view to affording more reporting time and space to the popular ones. This is why Robinson (2014) concludes that the process of scrutinizing political candidates on the basis of their popularity has its pessimistic influence if electorates are not electing aspirants that will ably represent their interest on policy of the public. Based on this, electorates have little chances of electing purely along party lines, and more likely to split their tickets and decamp from their party's choice, in case the aspirants' position on matters or their ideology is comparatively unappealing. It must be stated, however, based on further findings that the media may not directly decide how electorates think, but it can impact on what they (electorates) could be thinking about. By and large, it is simply a conclusion that the media set the agenda for the public because the people and the society by extension will hardly think about matters or problems that are not brought to their attention.

Therefore, successful election cannot be talked about without clear reference to good campaign which is influentially conveyed by the media. According to Chandrappa (2014), the media can importantly influence elections through the creation of attention. Though, in the recent years, electorates have somewhat turned-off from all the harmful campaigning and name calling as campaign specialists what have become sensitive that electorates are still skeptical of politicians and will respond to doubtful signs. It is contested that the harmful drive basically reacts to pessimism, even as it increases it. By its power, media also impact the public's opinion on the possibility of an aspirant. Should reports have it that a certain aspirant is leading in an election, the public is potentially likely to accept the assessment, which can impressively impact how electorates will cast their votes at the end of the day. Most of the times, people are hesitant to time wastage on aspirants they judge and consequently think do not have an opportunity to emerge victorious. This explains why the media play an important role in swaying people's voting opinion and influence their voting judgement.

2.8 How Electorates Get Their Information in Election Period

In an election period, voters tune in to different media to get political messages, based on the types of news or messages they want and how participating they have become in politics. Though, many electorates argued that they obtain most of their political messages from television (depending on the part of world voters are), Chandrappa (2014), submits that printed media remains the most frequent media that people cite as the source of specific news content.

Lending voice to this assertion, Glaser (1965) discovers that newspapers are the most frequently read mass media by people particularly those who are educated, more informed and already bought into political discourse. It is further asserted that newspaper articles have the capacity to get many readers more informed than viewers of television reporting. This position has, however, been invalidated and cannot stand the test of time as radio has been proved most potent to communication development. According to Anifowose (2013) cited in Alao (2016), radio engages the practice by which communication and understanding are transmitted from one individual to a large and heterogeneous people in a diverse location. According to Abdollahyan and Machika (2017), radio is multi-faceted because it serves to convey information, enhances the proficiency of calling upon and organizing groups and firms, expands forum for social engagements, offers effective capacity building of the community, increases awareness and understanding of community matters, unites peoples' voice and mobilizes community together with a view to tackling issues of common interest. Based on these perspectives, Familusi (2014) posits and concludes that radio remains the most important tool and instrument for development of communication. According to Omensea (1997) as cited in Tejumaiye (2000), radio is rated as the most popular device for distribution of information, irrespective of the continent it is domiciled or located. And given its capacity to break illiteracy barrier, messages from radio are done to reflect audience's own language. In spite of the modernity of technology as it relates to provisions of

multimedia and computers as well as internet, radio still plays its leading role in disseminating information in Kwara State and Nigeria at large.

In spite of the enormous capacity of radio to reach out to people from different location concurrently and influence their decisions, scholars have asserted that electorates most of the times have always resolved on who to cast their votes for. Lending voice to this fact, Robinson (2014) agrees that individuals that pay rapt attention to the media during political electioneering are generally and previously engaged in politics. As such, attention to the media for reports or news is mostly seen among electorates who are already engaged in political activities. According to Glaser (1996), television potentially leaves a long-lasting influence than other mass media. Radio maintains the most accessible medium of communication globally and most voters have huge dependence on it for information. This way, radio is an authentic device for development of community (Abiola, 2010). According to Alao (2016), radio as a medium comes with its unique characteristics that make it still very relevant despite the globalisation, media convergence or intimidations by the new media.

While much has gone through reformation since the conduct of these surveys, it remains unarguable that the public still concerns itself with timeliness, which debatably stands as one of the fundamental factors why citizens retract from print in the period of elections. Chandrappa (2014) argues that the web started to take the place of television, in same way television has occupied the place of print media. People visit webs simply because it is reachable and instant. According to him, the internet has huge benefits over television because viewers have the options of selecting what they want, from whom they want it and more importantly when they want it. In an era where people or viewers have become conscious of time, viewers are not ready to wait for a whole broadcast to get the message they are looking for and they certainly have luxury of time to wait through any commercial breaks. Hence, the internet is a great outlet for people, whether as

an individual or small groups to reach the masses. Beyond this, Page (1996) has it that the internet is less expensive to afford, easy and available to any class of human being. It breaks the saying that "Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one". In summary, political aspirants and their various parties have infused social media into their political strategies when informing, contacting, and mobilizing voters for elections. Aspirants' websites or social media accounts have come from the days of brochure and afford users with the chance for a customized occurrence that potentially organizes from simply accessing biographical information to networking with followers from across board. electioneering is also developed to micro targeting techniques comprising the adoption of focused text messages to reach out to certain constituencies, such as local associations, religious bodies, ethnic members, among others (Hendricks & Schill, 2014).

According to a survey of 3,760 US adults by Jeffrey, Michael and Amy (2016), Pew Research Centre during the 2016 Presidential campaigns, about nine-in-ten US citizens learnt about election in a given week, however, they remained divided over the most helpful type of source. Upon enquiry whether they accessed news and information about the election from 11 diverse types of sources, and then enquired which they considered most helpful, electorates in America were split. None of the type of source asked about in the questionnaire was considered most helpful by more than a quarter of adults in America. Leading the list is cable news by 24% of those who learned about the election in previous week. This is 10% points greater than any other type of source. The previous study indicates that the 24% is likely split ideologically in the specific network they viewed. Following cable, five source types are classified as most helpful by between 10% and 14% of the viewers that received reports about the election: Local TV and social networking sites, each at 14%, news websites and apps at 13%, news radio at 11% and national nightly network television news at 10%. Down the ladder, there are also five source types classified by no more than 3% of electorates in US who learnt about the election. This includes print media of both local and national

newspapers, named by 3% and 2% respectively. It does also include late night comedy shows (3%) and the internet, apps or emails of the aspirants or campaigns (1%) and of issue-based groups (2%). As a platform, television and the internet – and even radio to a lesser degree – strongly appeal to certain parts of the public, while print sits squarely down the ladder. As many electorates call late night comedy shows as most helpful as do a print newspaper, factors such as age, education and political party affiliation account for some of the differences. The Cable television's overall popularity is described among people within the age bracket 65 and above and also among Republicans, while social media are the clear favorite among the youngest age bracket of 18 to 29 years.

Given nations' peculiarities, the study output may be inconsistent with what is obtainable elsewhere or more specifically in Nigeria in this context. Even though, there are no clear cut literatures that have proved how voters got information on political campaigns in Nigeria, there are literatures that have indicated that the most widely accessible medium of communication in Nigeria is radio as pointed. All others are secondary. Whether the assertion remains valid or not, the outcome of this study will confirm.

2.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is anchored on the assumption of agenda setting and framing theories both of which are mass media effect theories (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In different political communication studies, scholars have taken time to assess media reporting of political advertisement issues within the framework of agenda setting and framing theories (Wang & Gantz, 2007). Studies exploring or investigating the agenda setting functions of the media have undergone a theatrical re-examination in recent times (Wayne, Guy & Cheolhan, 2004). Research is consequently no longer rested on the assumption that the media may be unsuccessful in telling the people what to think. However, it is impressively prosperous in telling people what to think about. Indeed, studies have

argued that in some instances, the news media can tell us what to think by providing public with an agenda of attributes i.e a list of features of vital newsmaker.

2.9.1 Agenda Setting Theory

The theory of agenda setting states that the press or mass media by describing the political matters and based on the amount of attention assigned to a specific issue potentially creates the agenda for public to discuss. The novel notion of the theory in 1922 was on the important role that the press or mass media played in swaying the situation of certain image on the minds of the public. According to Nor (2014), while depicting the impact of mass media, Lippmann cited an example of people presumably considered to be foes because their respective nations were waging war against each other. Rather than becoming foes, given their inaccessibility to news about the war through the mass media, they lived cordially in an isolated isle. Lippmann experiment shows how mass media set an agenda which can potentially impact the public views.

Based on the opinion of Cohen (1963), the mass media are importantly more than a purveyor of messages. He argues that the mass media are hardly effective in informing people what to think, but then says that the world looks different to diverse set of individuals based on what the mass media can offer.

In the later years, the theory of agenda setting became famous when McCombs and Shaw in 1972 noted the capacity the press exerts in influencing the electorates' voting behaviours during a 1968 American presidential election. The theorists discovered that the press or mass media had firm influence on public or electorates that habitually or repeatedly seek for information in the media (Nor, 2014). During this presidential campaign, the duo conducted an interview on one hundred recorded electorates that were yet to commit themselves to either aspirant (presumably these people would be more open to media messages). The result showed that the media appeared to

have wielded a significant influence on voters' judgement of what they considered the main matters of the presidential campaign (Baran & Davis, 2010).

A well-documented fact still indicates the immense power of the news media to set agenda for the nation and redirect attention of the public on a few key issues that concerned the public. While people obtain truthful information about the affairs of the public from the news media, listeners, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Newspaper for instance provides a host of cues about salience of topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, headlines, etc. television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the bulletin, dedicated time to the report, etc. these cues echoed day after effectively convey the significance of the matter being repeated. In this regard, the news media possess the capacity to set agenda for the public by drawing their attention to salient issues around upon which public opinion is formed (McCombs, 2011).

Mass media programmes especially radio serve as a vital source of messages for most Kwarans about happenings that occurred around the State in the build up to the gubernatorial election in 2019. Considering time and space in the media, news heads usually would need to select from many available news stories or rushes even as they send the rest to the bin. The heart of news selection is the process of setting agenda for the public because matter that fails to pass through the gatekeeping process of the news also fails consequently to offer salience cues in regards to the comparative significance or prominence of the issues. Accordingly, the theory accepts that a direct positive relationship exists between the mass media reporting and the salience of the topic in the minds of the public. This implies that the media organise the importance of an issue through the process of conferring status on it. While remarking, Anaeto et al. (2008) opine that the agenda setting theory suggests that the facts that the public knows about the issues that concerned them

tend to be those which the mass media present to them. It is, therefore, understood that the more a politicians or aspirants and their respective political parties are exposed through political campaign, the better, or worse, their opportunities are in the mind of the public. This is because their pictures have the potentials to either create a positive or negative impact on them (people).

Following the O TO GE movement in the later period of 2018 in Kwara State, the State entered into an era of political change that made the State political events more salient than ever before. During this period, knowledge about events from around the State and Nigeria by extension became necessary. Coupled with presentation of new openings, the political game in the State created its own threats. The fomentation of political unrest and crisis, the maiming and calculated attacks on political opponents, clampdown on radio station and publicity by the then government such as O TO GE slogan and billboards, the mass media and the public need for a more robust viewpoint in reporting of local news. Hitherto, there was proliferation of radio houses in the State, part of which changed the narrative of the State's political game. This wave of development opened the windows of opportunities for citizens (residents) to air their views on what their needs were in term of good governance.

The opposition continued to explore the private radio stations to air their grievances against the then PDP government in the State placing emphasis on their insensitivity to citizens' yearnings and aspiration. There was, perhaps, lack of balance in information flow and spaces (airtimes) allocated to campaigns and new stories because of ownerships' interest and philosophy. This lack of balance in reporting and allocation of campaign spaces provided strong support for the opposition to cement their stance in the heart of the prospective voters and it was likely to impact the opposition views on the saliency of their political events.

The original agenda setting theory proposes a moderate media influence on social cognition – how individuals learned about vital issues of the day. Extensive media reporting supplied media consumers with salience cues regarding the relative importance of these issues (Wayne, Guy & Cheolhan, 2004). Few individuals have direct experience with news events and for many, the sole source of information about happenings in the society is the press. Media reporting of news, therefore, plays a vital agenda-setting function. Agenda setting has been the focus of hundreds of systemic studies, the vast majority of which have found support for the idea that the public learns the relative importance of issues from amount of reporting given to the issues in the news media. This is what agenda setting theory postulates.

2.9.2 Framing Theory

Researches have, however, examined the influence of media reporting at a more exhaustive degree which gave birth to many second level agenda setting theories. These second level agenda setting researches, which combined conventional agenda setting with framing study, indicate that the characteristics connected to newsmakers, therefore, the agenda of attributes contained in the press places the agenda of attributes for the public. The variable that is dependent in first level agenda setting is object salience. According to Ghanem (1997), the object salience characteristically has to do with matters of concern. Therefore, reporting through the media about an object escalates the significance of that object among members of the public. The public, thus, acquires the significance of matters based on the amount of reportage that the issues are meant to receive. Following the study of McCombs and Shaw, numerous researches have endeavoured to examine this media effect on the public. Many of those studies have discovered and accepted the assumption that reports from the mass media have high potency in influencing the perceived importance of matters.

Nonetheless, the second level agenda setting means a subtler type of media effect with the emphasis shifting from reporting the object to reporting the object attributes. Whereas reporting of the objects continually impacts on the perceived importance of that object – as first level agenda setting postulates – the second level agenda setting means that the attributes linked to the object in the news media are connected mentally to the object by the public. Hence, while first agenda setting implies media reporting influences what the public thinks about, the second level agenda setting implies that the media reporting influences how the public thinks.

A study conducted by Rhee (2006) examines how news frame in electioneering reporting affects individuals' understanding of campaign. The outcome of the study indicates that both strategy-framed and issue-framed print news stories are effectual and helpful in swaying understanding.

Shah, Domke and Wackman (1996) examine the relationship among media frames, personal understanding of matters, and electorates' decision-making. The study outcome shows that the media frame and issue understanding considerably impact on the class of decision-making strategy that electorates make use of.

Takeshita and Mikami (1995) examine the first and second level agenda concurrently. They discovered important proof for the transmission of both issue salience and attribute salience from the media to public. Given this assertion, the media can immensely impact the people through controlling the reportage of certain aspirants regardless of whether such publicity is paid for (Chandrappa, 2014). The media exert the choice to define the aspirants they feel are legitimate and potentially having better opportunities of becoming victorious in an election because they serve to act as a filter, by streamlining the aspirants and scrutinizing out lesser-known aspirants and affording more reporting to famous ones. Though, the ultimate decision lies with the public on who the public feels is a viable aspirant as electorates have possibility of electing aspirants purely party lines, and more likely to split their votes and decamp from their party's pick, in case the

aspirant's position on the issues or the aspirant's ideology is comparatively unappealing. Under this circumstance, the media lack the capacity in spite of repeated reportage about selected candidates to directly influence how electorates will think, but it can, with repeated reporting, impact what they should think about. Indirectly, the media set the agenda, frame voters mind as people find it difficult to think about matters or events that have not been brought to their attention by the media.

All these studies and many others, nonetheless, have restricted their explanations to newsmen as object in media reporting. This study focuses on politician's slogan (O' To Ge) as object under examination. Thus, the fundamental assumptions are:

1. The more overall media reporting in terms of news, jingles, interviews, etc a politician and their political party receive in connection to a popular slogan, the more individuals (voters) will think that the aspirant is the best candidate for them.
2. The more negative media reporting etc a politician and their political party receive in terms of news, jingles from opposition, interviews, etc, the more individuals (voters) will think negatively about that politician. The more positive media reporting a politician receives; the more individuals will think positively about the politician.

2.10 REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES

Scholars have explored and still exploring in depth the scope and impact of media drives on voters in an electioneering period globally. Their studies have underpinned the significance media drives played on the voting attitude. Conclusions at various ends have generally indicated that media drives have far reaching influence on voters but with varying degree based on varying approaches and techniques. In a study conducted in 2010 by Alexander on the outcome of the 2008 US presidential election that saw Barack Obama as the 44th US president entitled *The Performance of Politics: Obama's Victory and the Democratic Struggle for Power* in 2010, Alexander

concludes that the more financial possessions political aspirants have, the more media coverage they are likely to receive. According to him, financial resources provide aspirants with windows of opportunities to promote their platforms by capitalizing on a widespread collection of media such as newspapers, television advertisements, blogs, social networks, among others. There is no doubt that the media hold substantial sway on an aspirant's support among voters. If aspirants are continuously being discussed positively in mass media, electorates are more likely to assess and accord them their support. Hence, the media's "spin" on an aspirant, essentially moved by the aspirant's financial resources, contributes to the result of an election. Meticulous assessment of information distributed by the mass media enable researchers to have great understanding of the media portrayal of political aspirants. Alexander (2010), for example, concludes that Obama's favorable image came from the belief that the public held that Obama exemplified a broadly held model of a post-racial, meritocratic, and just America. He projected the image of a "hero" with the perceived potential to subvert existing political, economic, and social upheaval in the country. These favorable image from the media greatly assisted to ensure a constituency that believed he would exert the needed positive change to America. According to Alexander (2010), the victory of Barack Obama in 2008 Presidential election in the United State of America was connected to the optimum harnessing of new media platform in ways that have never been explored. Obama's new media communication policy accounted for the poll victory only as a part of a complex organizing mechanism, which the whole drives represented. This means was constituted to promote president Obama through constructing communities, supporting and promoting bottom-up events.

Chandrappa (2014) in a study titled *The Influence of the Media in Politics – Campaigns and Elections* submits that by process and action of free media and paid media, the mass media potentially influence electorates through informing the public on the issues that are fundamental to them at any material time. Whereas there is a popular notion that the media have been objective

to either the right or the left, it must not be an issue to the people since they (media) are hugely ineffective in swaying the public views. The mass media impact the government through the attention and report issues that the political scheme might not afford any priority. It is unarguable to say that the media have a very strong influence in politics and electioneering campaign by specifying issues that are significant to the electorates, the aspirants that will get the most reportage and the parameters that will be adopted to evaluate aspirants. Equally, the media are affected by government that sees the media as a political tool for endorsing the political views of the authority that be. While it is unlimited given external factors that can also pattern their stance on matters, the media, public and government have a cyclic bond that impacts on one another.

According to a study titled *The 2016 Presidential Campaign – a News Event that is Hard to Miss* by Jeffrey, Michael, Elisah and Amy (2016), it is concluded that media option for election information is age-related. This implies that politicians and political party must have clear understanding of the demographic variations of the electorates while choosing the most apt media for their drives. The work discloses that about four-in-ten (43%) of voters within the age of 65 or above who learnt about the election voice that cable TV news is most useful, 26% has higher than any other type of sources and higher than any other age cohort. Indeed, the study shows that only 12 percent of voters within the age bracket of 18 to 29 year that learned about the election confirm that cable news is the most useful. Rather, about a third representing (35%) of age bracket 18 to 29 year name a social networking site as their most helpful source type for learning about the presidential election. This is almost double that of closest to it – news websites and apps (18%), another digital stream of information. Social media dip sharply for older age groups, with 15% of 30 to 49-year-olds, 5% of 50 to 64-year-olds, and just 1% of those 65 years and older saying the same. This shows that new media are the most prominent ways that Millennials get political news, electioneering information/messages more so than any other generation.

In another study by Louine (2016) entitled *Media Representation of Barack Obama: A Pre-and Post-Election Comparison* while attempting to explain how voters evaluate aspirants concludes that, in general, the mass media greatly impact on the outcome of an election. Louine reiterated Jeffrey Alexander position that electioneering messages have become dramatic such that politicians are now behaving like firm actors. The study is of the view that in achieving success, candidates must engage the media to project positive images about themselves. The content analysis study of New York Times editorials covered a period of one year following Obama's election's success. The results that are compared to Alexander's wrap-ups regarding Obama's pre-election media depiction. It is acknowledged that the candidacy of President Obama was discovered to be framed incoherently. The outcome are proofs of more diverse and harmfully toned media depictions of Obama. The study investigated the conditions that have driven such portrayals and clarified the resulting shift in Obama's representation.

In the finding of Ojekwe (2016), the study shows, however, that political Advertising and media campaign did have a minimal consequence on electorates' voting attitude but admits to still play a significant role in the electoral procedure. In a study with the title *Political Advert Campaign and Voting Attitude: A Study of Akinwumi Ambode's Election Ad Campaign in Lagos State*, Ojekwe sought to comprehend the role political advertising plays in electorates' voting attitude so as to find out whether political advertising actually impacts the voters' pick of aspirants. The study examined the political Advertising of the All Progressive Congress (APC) gubernatorial aspirant in Lagos State, Akinwunmi Amobde using a survey of registered electorates in the State to determine the effectiveness of political advertising on the voters. The outcome shows that political advertising has a marginal weight on electorates' voting attitude. The study findings clearly indicate that with a combination of many factors such as party popularity, party's performance, ethnic affiliation, religion affinity, regional coloration swayed the voting decision of voters. The

study recommends that political aspirants and parties should look beyond just concentrating on other election campaign tactics and for further studies to be carried out with a view to understanding other contributory factors that potentially impact on voters' behaviour during an election. It is understandable from the study that mere media drives are insufficient to give aspirants victory during an election.

In a similar study carried out by Saheed (2018) that was interested on examining the *Influence of Outdoor Publicity on Politicians' Electoral Success using the 2014 and 2018 Osun State Gubernatorial Elections* as a case study, it was revealed that the presence of several outdoor media platforms like billboard, placards, banners, commanded a large number of followership for politicians and have greater influence in the voters' choice of aspirants and voting pattern. It was unclear whether the degree of influence these outdoor advertisements had in reinforcing the voters' belief in the candidacy of the winners. It was also unclear if the voters did vote for the aspirants along party line.

In a study titled *The Influence of Social Media on the Voting Attitude of the Youths in South-East Nigeria*, Akinlade (2016) found that social media messages do not seem to sway youths voting preferences as many of them already made up their minds on who to vote for based on primordial sentiments like religion, geo-political background, ethnic affiliation and the likes. Youths in Nigeria regard social media as a reliable medium and as such they frequently access it and spend some times on it daily (Akinlade, 2016). This assertion, however, does not tally with the experiment of 61 million persons conducted by Bond, Fariss, Jones, Kramer, Marlow, Settle and Fowler (2012), as cited by Akinlade (2016) on social media influence and political mobilization. It was established that social media messages do influence potential electorates. They estimated that tens of thousands of votes eventually cast (during U.S Congressional election 2010) were generated by a single Facebook message. (Akinlade, 2016).

In a research on the *2014 General Elections in Romania*, Muntean (2015) finds out that involving youths in political activities on social sites can amount to better levels of traditional forms of political participation. As youths are regarded to be unconcerned with politics, this approach has the potentials to change their views and earn their input accordingly. Therefore, political aspirants might invest in their social media presence in future electioneering drive so as to appeal to the young electorates (Muntean, 2015). According to Paul Haridakis, the impact of social sites could be weighty. Not like newspaper articles, radio or television broadcast, the messages obtainable on social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, etc are filtered through a user's circle of friends and relatives. There are chances that they may trust those people more than they would do for an advertising, PR messages or any form of political campaign on the conventional media.

Ayankoya, Calitz and Cullen (2015) in their study, *A Framework for the Use of Social Media for Political Marketing: An Exploratory Study*, it shows that politicians and their respective political parties may hugely profit from social networking sites, by raking gains of the network abilities with their friends, the general people in the network of their members and other prospective stakeholders. As the rise of the social media has captured researchers' attention more than the conventional media, a few studies investigate its effects on political participation. Even as we accentuate the inescapable use of social media in the media campaign globally, there have been arguments regarding the demographic appeal of it.

The study conducted by Shoshana, Etse and Erin (2008) entitled *Role of Online Social Networking in the 2008 Democratic Presidential Primary Campaign* while examining whether social networking sites enhanced political engagement, expanded the campaign's reach to traditionally ignored audience groups, and increased the interactivity between the campaigns and voters proves that the two groups of respondents disagreed about the extent to which these sites stimulated political involvement, and their ability to reach audience traditionally known as difficult to reach

even as both groups (old and young) agreed that the social networking sites enhanced dialogue and aspirants' accessibility. The study did not analyze election results and never attempted to link voter gathering with use of social networking sites. It fails to also look at the differences in the way aspirants employ internet-motivated campaign tools to drive home their media messages even as knowledge gap effects as a consequence of SNS access and use were not examined. Beyond this, the overall effect it tends to have over the traditional media did not surface in entirety.

From the above, it is obvious that, whether conventional or traditional, media campaigns have significant effects on electorates' voting attitude and choices. It is agreed unanimously that the media are key in shaping public opinion during electioneering and have the capacity to assist voters in decision making which, therefore, implies setting agenda for them. In the light of the dependence of electorates on the media's representation of aspirants, it is understood that messages are constructed to substitute individuals' opinions and eventually reinforce their behaviour toward a politician. Hence, aspirants resort to media in order to positively construct themselves and negatively frame their opponents for political gains. Notwithstanding this inference, there are proving evidences based on the outcome of some studies that the influence of media campaigns by winners of elections only reinforced peoples' decision on choice of aspirants noting that peoples' decisions have always been formulated along political party, religious, ethnic, cultural alignments, among others. As the rise of O TO GE captured many peoples' attention state-wide with no existing studies to examining its influence on political participation and election victory, this study specifically intends to assess the influence of the O TO GE media campaign on the victory of All Progressives Congress (APC) in the 2019 gubernatorial election and its implication for 2023 gubernatorial election in Kwara State.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In achieving the overall objective of this study, this chapter discussed the research methodology for explaining why and how as well as describing the phenomena under study. Therefore, the research methodology was applied in the following ways:

- i. Research Design;
- ii. Research Method (Survey and In-depth Interview);
- iii. Population;
- iv. Sample and Sampling Techniques (Survey and In-depth Interview);
- v. Research Data Collection Method/Technique;
- vi. Validity and Reliability;
- vii. Data Analysis.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted both quantitative and qualitative research design which is otherwise known as mixed method. The study operated within the paradigms of both quantitative and qualitative methods, and in specific terms, embedded style. The mixed method was choosing because of the researcher's firm belief that neither of the research methods can singlehandedly offer a sufficient understanding of a research problem.

3.3 Research Method (Survey and In-depth Interview)

Given the fact that this study assessed the relationship between O TO GE media campaign and victory of All Progressives Congress (APC) in 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State, it,

consequently, positioned this study as a media effect thesis. The study assessed how O TO GE media campaign influenced voters' voting decisions and the techniques adopted to achieve the feat. As such, the choice of survey method (quantitative method) and in-depth interview (qualitative method) was adopted. The term survey implies a procedure that is adopted when handling a large population, particularly on matters or phenomenon that involves systematic collection of data from the population of a study through the use of questionnaire, interview and observation. Survey allows data to be collected by interviewing a sample of people selected to represent the entire population being studied. Each member of a sampled population is asked the same series of questions in the questionnaire. Considering the population of this study which is put at 2,365,353 based on 2006 national population census figure. By using questionnaire, the study has been able to gather a large amount of information from the respondents within a short period of time with relatively low cost and few research assistants.

As earlier noted, the study adopted a mixed method research design. Therefore, in-depth interview research method was considered as the second method for the study in order to achieve the overall defined objective. The in-depth interview method is a qualitative technique that has to do with conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents with a view to exploring their perspectives on a particular idea, issue, programme, or situation (Boyce and Neale, 2006). The in-depth interview method looked appropriate as a technique for probing into major factors responsible for APC victory in 2019 gubernatorial election, several communication strategies adopted, possible factors that could make or mar the sustainability of O TO GE for 2023 and what should be done differently to repeat the victory. This technique, therefore, enabled the researcher to ask open-ended questions that elicited further depth of information from the selected participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2004). This approach permits the purposely selected participants (interviewees) to broadly answer many questions that the examiner cautiously and systematically asked them.

3.4 Population

Based on the 2006 national population census figure, the total population of Kwara State is put at 2,365,353. Since it is difficult, if not extremely impossible, to survey the entire population considering the timeframe of this study, available resources and the research personnel involved, a sample became inevitable (Patton, 1990).

3.5 Sample and Sampling Technique (Survey and In-depth Interview)

A sample is described as a minor set of information that an examiner selects or picks from a whole population using a pre-defined procedure for selection. Because is sample is known to be a subset of a whole population, it must not be too big. According to Dierckx (2013), a sample that is big can unnecessarily waste precious resources like time and finance. On the other hands, a sample that is too small might disallow the researchers the gain of reliable insights into the study. This margin of error in this may be too high as representative of the entire population. Hence, the main rule in sample size judgement is to record the correct balance (McCrum-Gardner, 2010) and many parameters have been made available to researchers at separate cadre of studies.

In using any of these parameters to arrive at the required sample size permissible in a survey work, four basic elements of the study (as considered here) shall be clearly defined namely the population of the study; the confidence level; margin of error or confidence interval and the estimated response rate (Dierckx, 2013). In this study, 400 respondents were surveyed as the sample out of the total population of 2,365,353 residents in Kwara State. This sample size has an approximate 5 percent margin of error. The researcher arrived at this sample size using Krejcie and Morgan Table at 95 percent confidence level and 5percent margin of error (Research Advisors, 2006) as reflected in the table of sample size below:

MORGAN'S TABLE FOR SAMPLE SIZE

Population Size	Confidence = 95% Margin of Error				Confidence = 99% Margin of Error			
	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
20	19	20	20	20	19	20	20	20
30	28	29	29	30	29	29	30	30
50	44	47	48	50	47	48	49	50
75	63	69	72	74	67	71	73	75
100	80	89	94	99	87	93	96	99
150	108	126	137	148	122	135	142	149
200	132	160	177	196	154	174	186	198
250	152	190	215	244	182	211	229	246
300	169	217	251	291	207	246	270	295
400	196	265	318	384	250	309	348	391
500	217	306	377	475	285	365	421	485
600	234	340	432	565	315	416	490	579
700	248	370	481	653	341	462	554	672
800	260	396	526	739	363	503	615	763
1000	278	440	606	906	399	575	727	943
1200	291	474	674	1067	427	636	827	1119
1500	306	515	759	1297	460	712	959	1376
2000	322	563	869	1655	498	808	1141	1785
2500	333	597	952	1984	524	879	1288	2173
3500	346	641	1068	2565	558	977	1510	2890
5000	357	678	1176	3288	586	1066	1734	3842
7500	365	710	1275	4211	610	1147	1960	5165
10000	370	727	1332	4899	622	1193	2098	6239
25000	378	760	1448	6939	646	1285	2399	9972
50000	381	772	1491	8056	655	1318	2520	12455
75000	382	776	1506	8514	658	1330	2563	13583
100000	383	778	1513	8762	659	1336	2585	14227
250000	384	782	1527	9248	662	1347	2626	15555
500000	384	783	1532	9423	663	1350	2640	16055
1000000	384	783	1534	9512	663	1352	2647	16317
2500000	384	784	1536	9567	663	1353	2651	16478
10000000	384	784	1536	9594	663	1354	2653	16560
100000000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16584
300000000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16586

© The Research Advisors (2006). All rights reserved.

Figure 1.4: Krejcie and Morgan Table of Sample Size

In choosing the people and to guarantee a considerable level of representation, the study primarily used a probability technique - stratified sampling which was aided with the quota sampling technique. Hence, the survey merges both probability (stratified) and non-probability (quota) sampling techniques. The combination of both stratified and quota sampling techniques rested on the fact that the possibility of generating a list of all the 2,365,353 residents in the State within which the sample of 400 could be drawn using a simple random or systematic sampling technique was practically not realistic. Besides, the timeframe involved was short which was caused by panic arising from novel pandemic, COVID-19. This greatly accounted for the use of stratified method as a probability sampling technique and non-probability sampling technique to achieve a considerable degree of representativeness. Apart from that, stratified sampling technique became appropriate given the fact that the State is already partitioned into three senatorial districts. In

stratified random sampling technique, the strata are formed based on members' shared attributes or characteristics such as place of residents, place of work, gender classification, age, social status etc. This has already been defined given that the State has three senatorial zones – Kwara Central, Kwara South and Kwara North. The population for the study was further defined using two populated local governments from each of the senatorial districts that best or fairly represent the major characteristics and ethnic features of each senatorial zone. This is because the most populated local governments would appear more urban than the others and would consequently play host to the major characteristics and ethnic features of each zone in the State. Therefore, for Kwara Central – Ilorin West and Ilorin South; for Kwara South – Ifelodun and Irepodun while Kwara North – Baruten, and Edu local governments.

S/N	Kwara Central Senatorial District or Zone	Population Figure
1.	Asa Local Government	124,668
2.	Ilorin East Local Government	207,462
3.	Ilorin South Local Government	209,251
4.	Ilorin West Local Government	365,221
	Total Population	906,602

S/N	Kwara South Senatorial District or Zone	Population Figure
1.	Ekiti Local Government	54,399
2.	Ifelodun Local Government	204,975
3.	Irepodun Local Government	147,594
4.	Isin Local Government	59,481
5.	Offa Local Government	88,975
6.	Oke-Ero Local Government	56,970
7.	Oyun Local Government	94,454
	Total Population	706,848

S/N	Kwara North Senatorial District or Zone	Population Figure
1.	Baruten Local Government	206,679
2.	Edu Local Government	201,642
3.	Kaiama Local Government	124,015
4.	Moro Local Government	108,715
5.	Pategi Local Government	110,852
	Total Population	751,903

Source: National Population Commission of Nigeria (web), National Bureau of Statistics

Figure 1.5: Kwara State Population Breakdown Figure by Senatorial District

With this, the choice of respondents in each of the three senatorial districts was proportionately defined based on the percentage of residents/citizens in each senatorial district (Ross, 1988). Hence, the researcher adopted a quota sampling technique. The fundamental rationale for quota sampling was to set a specific number of finalized interviews with specific sub-groups of the population of interest. Idyllically, “the target size of the sub-groups is based on known information about the target population, such as census data” (Battaglia, 2008). Since the quota sampling is a non-probability sampling technique, there are no stereotype rules for formally creating samples but four guiding steps are suggested and they are: 1. Dividing the sample population into sub-groups where the researcher splits the total population into communally exhaustive sub-groups; 2. Figuring out the weightage of sub-groups as the researcher estimates the fraction in which the sub-groups exist in the entire population; 3. Selecting an appropriate sample size and 4. Conducting the survey according to the quotas defined. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012), quota sampling is largely valuable once the time for conducting a survey is constrained, if the research budget is very fixed, or survey accuracy is not accorded any priority.

The available statistics showed that residents in the Kwara North is 31.78% of the Kwara State population, Kwara South is 29.88% of the population while 38.32% of the State's population are residents from the Kwara Central. As such, the 400 sample size was proportionately distributed by calculating the percentage of the residents in each senatorial district against 400. Hence, the following number of respondents was chosen from each senatorial district thus: Kwara North: 127 respondents, Kwara South: 120 respondents and 153 respondents from Kwara Central. However, because of reasons relating to COVID-19 and uncooperative attitude of residents in Kwara North, parts of the questionnaires were eventually rationalized and distributed in Kwara Central and South.

Convenience sampling method was adopted to administer the questionnaires in places such as mosques and churches, football viewing centres, local government secretariats, markets (public and neighborhood), Government Residential Areas (GRA), Cottage Hospitals, private firms and other non-governmental organizations. This is because most of the individuals in these places are deemed to be voters who would have been involved in electioneering matters in one way or the other. The researcher used a personal appeal approach to conduct the distribution of the questionnaires in all these places. This approach facilitated the cooperation and responsiveness of survey respondents, particularly in Kwara Central and South even in the face of panic caused by COVID-19. However, the study suffered a little setback in Kwara North, perhaps, for one or two reasons: 1. Respondents became pissed off at the slightest mentioning of O TO GE and 2. The hype of panic created from misinformation and mishandling of COVID-19 pandemic.

For In-depth interview, a number of studies and books have indicated guidance between five and 50 interviewees as adequate sample (Creswell, 2003). Based on this parameter, this study has employed a purposive sampling technique to select ten (10) interviewees for the interview sessions of this study. A purposive sampling technique is a non-probability sampling that is habitually used

in social science research for making decisions relating to the respondents to be included in the sample by the researcher given a number of yardsticks. Using structured-questions format, all the interviews were conducted on phones with each of the interviewees at different intervals, each of which lasted for an average of 20 minutes. Because they were phone interviews, all interviews were automatically recorded with the permission of the interviewees. Because of the exigency of time, the researcher had to contract out the transcribing of the interviews into text, which the researcher posted to all interviewees via whatsapp for confirmation. By so doing, the interviewees were provided with the chance to check the text against any factual errors and confirmed the accuracy of the transcription before being analysed.

3.6 Research Data Collection Method/Technique

This study made use of an adapted questionnaires that are self-administered as study instrument to experiment the views and feelings of targeted respondents. In designing the study instrument (questionnaire), the researcher considered the research objectives and question. Consequently, this determined the nature and type of survey questions that were advanced to the study population. The questionnaire was divided into Six sections. Section A focused on the demographic variables of the respondents while Sections B-F featured questions around the research variables measured and the research questions confirmed.

The interview guide consisted on seven relevant questions that bothered on the research objectives and questions. The questions were crafted to probe further on certain matters that the respondents might have been denied to highlight while filling the survey questionnaire.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

The researcher designed the study questionnaire with simple, familiar and explicit words as well as clear instructions. Questions were grouped by themes to preclude back and forth switch from

topics in the questionnaire design (Touarrayau & Rasinski, 1988) for the purpose of determining the study reliability and validity.

The researcher conducted a pilot study as an action to guarantee the reliability of the study. The pilot study appraisal sampled the views of a few electorates in the population that did not eventually form part of the sample that was surveyed. Precisely, the researcher conducted the pilot study exercise among 30 respondents based on the recommendation of the supervisor (an expert), which is 7.5 percent of 400 sample size. As such, respondents of the pilot study were asked to fill the questionnaire as they would actually do in any data collection procedure that involves them. Pilot study is particularly vital in this case since data were collected through self-administered questionnaires. The reliability of the research instruments was tested in both pilot and the real studies using Cronbach's Alpha in SPSS as shown below:

Table 3.1 Result of the Reliability Test of the Pilot Study Instruments

Variables	No. of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Awareness level of 'O'TOGE' in 2019 gubernatorial election of the respondents	6	0.622
Political participation in the 2019 gubernatorial election by respondents	6	0.719
Media Campaign Influence on Politician's or Party's Image	7	0.821
Perception of the agenda setting influence of the media	7	0.860
Performance given to Otoge media campaign and its implication for 2023 gubernatorial election in the State.	5	0.714

Table 3.1 shows the cronbach's breakdown of the items on the assessment of 'O'TOGE' media campaign in 2019 gubernatorial election and its perceived implication for 2023 gubernatorial election in Kwara State with the acceptable values which were found highly reliable.

In the actual survey, 393 copies of questionnaire were returned out of 400 that were dispatched which represented 98 percent of the sample size. This was a very high return rate, which was sufficient in generating adequate data that represented the entire population of voters in Kwara State. The study achieved a high return rate (98 percent) because of the personal appeal method adopted in the procedure of administering the questionnaires, though, it suffered some hitches in Kwara North which, in the opinion of the researcher, is inconsequential.

3.8 Data Analysis

A statistical analysis was used to analyse the data gathered through questionnaire. The study made use of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to carry out an analysis of the data that were collected. A descriptive statistical using tabulation in simple percentage and frequency was consequently used to describe the relationship between O TO GE Media Campaign (Independent variable) and Victory of APC in the 2019 Gubernatorial Election (Dependent Variable). In other words, SPSS was used to test the research questions related to the survey.

For the In-depth interview, the researcher adopted the six step model of Bryman (2012) to thematically analysed the in-depth interview data in general. This model comprises: (1) a careful reading of the transcript (2) the coding or indexing by labelling relevant pieces such as words, phrases, sentences, actions, concepts (thematic analysis) (3) deciding the most vital codes, and create categories (4) labelling categories and decide the most relevant ones and how they connect to one another (5) decide whether hierarchy could be established in the categories in order of importance or not and (6) presentation, interpretation and discussion of results. The researcher

performed this six-step model on the interview data while answering the five (5) research questions of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The usefulness and relevance of data presentation and analysis in this study cannot be less emphasized. The chapter presented and analyzed the data obtained through survey and to indicate the findings resulting from the data collected. The data were tabulated and the relationship/association among items in the table was tested so as to prove their validity and vice versa. Statistical methods including tables and graphs were used to present the data. A total of four hundred (400) copies of a questionnaire were distributed to respondents of the study while three hundred and ninety-three (393) questionnaires were responded to correctly representing 98.3% as the response rate while seven (7) non-response questionnaires representing 1.7% as the non-response rate were recorded. It should be noted that questions related to the testing of the research questions were as well analyzed.

4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis (Questionnaire)

Table 1.	DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENTS		
Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
GENDER	Male	217	55.2
	Female	176	44.8
	Total	393	100.0
SENATORIAL DISTRICT	Kwara Central	209	53.2
	Kwara South	135	34.4
	Kwara North	49	12.5
	Total	393	100.0
EDUCATIONAL STATUS	Primary School Certificate	9	2.3
	SSCE	70	17.8
	National Diploma	96	24.4
	HND/BSc	145	36.9
	M.Sc	65	16.5
	PhD	8	2.0
	Total	393	100.0
AGE DISTRIBUTION	17-34 years	236	60.1
	35-49 years	129	32.8
	50-64 years	24	6.1
	65 years and above	4	1.0
	Total	393	100.0
RELIGION	Islam	237	60.3
	Christianity	151	38.4
	Others	5	1.3
	Total	393	100.0
POLITICAL PARTY	APC	270	68.7
	PDP	58	14.8
	Others	65	16.5
	Total	393	100.0

Table 1. shows that two hundred and seventeen (217) respondents representing 55.2% of the sample size were male while one hundred and seventy-six (176) respondents representing 44.8% of the sample size were female. Thus, majority of respondents were male. More so, it was revealed in the table that two hundred and nine (209) respondents representing 53.2% of the sample size were from Kwara central senatorial district while one hundred and thirty-five (135) respondents

representing 34.4% of the sample size were from Kwara south senatorial district and forty-nine (49) respondents representing 12.5% of the sample size were from Kwara north senatorial district. Therefore, majority of respondents were from Kwara central senatorial district. Furthermore, that nine (9) respondents representing 2.3% of the sample size had primary school certificate, seventy (70) respondents representing 17.8% of the sample size had SSCE certificate, ninety-six (96) respondents representing 24.4% of the sample size had national diploma certificate, while one hundred and forty-five (145) respondents representing 36.9% of the sample size had HND/BSc certificate, sixty-five (65) respondents representing 16.5% of the sample size had M.Sc. certificate, and eight (8) respondents representing 2.0% of the sample size had PhD certificate. Therefore, majority of respondents were HND/BSc holder. In the same vein, two hundred and thirty-six (236) respondents representing 60.1% of the sample size were of the age group 17-34 years, while one hundred and twenty-nine (129) respondents representing 32.8% of the sample size were of the age group 35-49 years. Also, twenty-four (24) respondents representing 6.1% of the sample size were of the group 50-64 years and four (4) respondents representing 1.0% of the sample size were of the age group 65 years and above. Thus, majority of respondents were within the age group 17-34 years. Also, two hundred and thirty-seven (237) respondents representing 60.3% of the sample size were Muslims while one hundred and fifty-one (151) respondents representing 38.4% of the sample size were Christians and five (5) respondents representing 1.3% of the sample size were practicing other religion. Thus, majority of respondents were Muslims. However, two hundred and seventy (270) respondents representing 68.7% of the sample size belong to APC party while fifty-eight (58) respondents representing 14.8% of the sample size belong to PDP party and sixty-five (65) respondents representing 16.5% of the sample size belong to other parties. Therefore, majority of respondents belongs to APC party.

Table 2	AWARENESS LEVEL OF THE RESPONDENTS		
Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Awareness of Otoge Media Campaign	Yes	372	94.7
	No	21	5.3
	Total	393	100.0
Moment of Awareness	Six months before election	239	60.8
	Three months before election	83	21.1
	One month before election	46	11.7
	On the eve of election	4	1.0
	On election day	2	.5
	I did not notice	19	4.8
	Total	393	100.0

Table 2 reveals that three hundred and seventy-two (372) respondents representing 94.7% of the sample size responded yes while twenty-one (21) respondents representing 5.3% of the sample size responded no that they were aware of Otoge Media Campaign in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State respectively. Thus, majority of respondents answered yes that they were aware of Otoge Media Campaign in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. Also, two hundred thirty-nine (239) respondents representing 60.8% of the sample size were aware six months before election while eighty-three (83) respondents representing 21.1% of the sample size were aware three months before election. More so, forty-six (46) respondents representing 11.7% of the sample size were aware one month before election, four (4) respondents representing 1.0% of the sample size were aware of the Otoge media campaign on the eve of election, two (2) respondents representing 0.5% of the sample size were aware of the Otoge media campaign on election day and nineteen (19) respondents representing 4.8% of the sample size did not notice of the Otoge media campaign. Therefore, majority of respondents were aware of the Otoge media campaign six months before election.

Table 2.1	AWARENESS LEVEL OF THE RESPONDENTS		
Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Medium of Awareness	Radio	122	31.0
	TV	50	12.7
	Newspaper/Magazine	23	5.9
	Bil Board/pamphlet	9	2.3
	Social Media	43	10.9
	Group Discussion	16	4.1
	Family, Friends and Relatives	22	5.6
	All of the above	108	27.5
	Total	393	100.0
	Yes	264	67.2
Believability of Information	No	63	16.0
	Indifferent	66	16.8
	Total	393	100.0
	Yes	227	57.8
Knowledge of Otoge History	No	166	42.2
	Total	393	100.0

Table 2.1 shows that one hundred and twenty-two (122) respondents representing 31.0% of the sample were aware of Otoge media campaign through radio medium while fifty (50) respondents representing 12.7% of the sample were aware of Otoge media campaign through TV, twenty-three (23) respondents representing 5.9% of the sample were aware of Otoge media campaign through Newspaper/Magazine, nine (9) respondents representing 2.3% of the sample were aware of Otoge media campaign through Billboard/pamphlet, forty-three (43) respondents representing 10.9% of the sample were aware of Otoge media campaign through social media, sixteen (16) respondents representing 4.1% of the sample were aware of Otoge media campaign through group discussion, twenty-two (22) respondents representing 5.6% of the sample size aware of Otoge media campaign through Family, Friends and Relatives respectively and one hundred and eight (108) respondents representing 27.5% of the sample were aware of Otoge media campaign through all media. Therefore, most of respondents were aware of Otoge media campaign through radio medium. More so, two hundred and sixty-four (264) respondents representing 67.2% of the sample size responded

yes while sixty-three (63) respondents representing 16.0% of the sample size responded no and sixty-six (66) respondents representing 16.8% of the sample size were indifferent that they believed in information coming from media as it relates to Otoge crusade and political agenda. Thus, large population of respondents answered yes that they believed in information coming from media as it relates to Otoge crusade and political agenda. In the same vein, two hundred and twenty-seven (227) respondents representing 57.8% of the sample size responded yes while one hundred and sixty-six (166) respondents representing 42.2% of the sample size responded no that they knew that Otoge had once been used as political slogan in the State by LAK Jimoh in the 2011 Gubernatorial Election respectively. Thus, most of respondents answered yes that they knew that Otoge had once been used as political slogan in the State by LAK Jimoh in the 2011 Gubernatorial Election.

Table 2.2		AWARENESS LEVEL OF THE RESPONDENTS	
Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Reason for No Impact	There was no need for change	50	12.7
	The proponent of the slogan was not popular	136	34.6
	Opposition not given access to the media	28	7.1
	Poor political sensitization	44	11.2
	Influence of Federal Might	42	10.7
	Total	300	76.3
	System	93	23.7
		393	100.0

Table 2.2 Finally, fifty (50) respondents representing 12.7% of the sample size said that there was no need for change while one hundred and thirty-six (136) respondents representing 34.6% of the sample size responded that the proponent of the slogan was not popular. twenty-eight (28) respondents representing 7.1% of the sample size were of the opinion that opposition not giving access to the media, forty-four (44) respondents representing 11.2% of the sample size were of the opinion that there was poor political sensitization and forty-two (42) respondents representing 10.7% of the sample size said that influence of Federal Might was the reason why it was failed to

yield the result respectively with 93 (23.7%) non response. Therefore, majority of respondents were of the opinion that the proponent of the slogan was not popular.

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2019
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION**

Table 3

Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Ownership of Voter's Card	Yes	357	90.8
	No	36	9.2
	Total	393	100.0
Voting	Yes	318	80.9
	No	75	19.1
	Total	393	100.0
Candidate Voted for	APC Candidate	290	73.8
	PDP Candidate	36	9.2
	Other Candidates	10	2.5
	Total	336	85.5
	System	57	14.5
Refusal to Vote for Candidate		393	100.0
	Because of previous electoral inadequacy and distrust	16	4.1
	Lack of true political ideology by candidates	23	5.9
	No voter's card	21	5.3
	Use of thugs by politicians	4	1.0
	All of the above	17	4.3
	Total	81	20.6
	System	312	79.4
Reason for Voting for Candidate of Choice		393	100.0
	Need to resist further oppression and call for positive change and good governance in Kwara State	313	79.6
	Need for continuity and support for Saraki dynasty	23	5.9
	Indifference	57	14.5
	Total	393	100.0
Factor that Influenced Voting Behaviour/Decision	Otoge Campaign Promises	192	48.9
	PDP achievements in the state	30	7.6
	Integrity of the party	34	8.7
	Belief in candidates	71	18.1
	None of the above	66	16.8
	Total	393	100.0

Table 3. shows that three hundred and fifty-seven (357) respondents representing 90.8% of the sample answered yes while thirty-six (36) respondents representing 9.2% of the sample size responded no that they had voter's card. Thus, majority of respondents had voter's card. Also, three hundred and eighteen (318) respondents representing 80.9% of the sample size said yes while seventy-five (75) respondents representing 19.1% of the sample size responded no that they vote during the 2019 gubernatorial election. However, majority of respondents voted during the 2019 gubernatorial election. More so, two hundred and ninety (290) respondents representing 73.8% of the sample size voted for APC candidate while thirty-six (36) respondents representing 9.2% of the sample size voted for PDP candidate and ten (10) respondents representing 2.5% of the sample size voted for other candidates with 57 (14.5%) non response. Thus, most respondents voted for APC candidate. Furthermore, sixteen (16) respondents representing 4.1% of the sample size didn't vote because of previous electoral inadequacy and distrust while twenty-three (23) respondents representing 5.9% of the sample size didn't vote due to lack of true political ideology by candidates, twenty-one (21) respondents representing 5.3% of the sample size didn't have voters card. More so, four (4) respondents representing 1.0% of the sample size didn't vote because of thugs used by politicians and seventeen (17) respondents representing 4.3% of the sample size didn't vote because of all the aforementioned reasons with 312 (79.4%) non response. Therefore, majority of respondents didn't vote due to lack of true political ideology by candidates. Also, three hundred and thirteen (313) respondents representing 79.6% of the sample size voted for the party/candidate of their choice because they need to resist further oppression and call for positive change and good governance in Kwara State while twenty-three (23) respondents representing 5.9% of the sample size voted for the party/candidate of their choice because they need continuity and support for Saraki dynasty and fifty-seven (57) respondents representing 14.5% of the sample size were indifferent. Thus, majority of respondents voted for the party/candidate of their choice because they need to resist further oppression and call for positive change and good governance in

Kwara State. In the same vein, one hundred and ninety-two (192) respondents representing 48.9% of the sample size thought that Otoge campaign promises influenced their voting behaviour/decision while thirty (30) respondents representing 7.6% of the sample size thought that PDP achievements in the state influenced their voting behaviour/decision. Also, thirty-four (34) respondents representing 8.7% thought that integrity of the party influenced their voting behaviour/decision, seventy-one (71) respondents representing 18.1% thought that belief in candidates influenced their voting behaviour/decision and sixty-six (66) respondents representing 16.8% had no option from the listed reasons. Therefore, majority of respondents were influenced to vote due to the Otoge campaign promises.

Table 4. MEDIA CAMPAIGN INFLUENCE ON POLITICIAN'S OR PARTY'S IMAGE			
Variable	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Media influenced my choice of political candidate	Strongly Disagree	27	6.9
	Disagree	72	18.3
	Neutral	32	8.1
	Agree	97	24.7
	Strongly Agree	165	42.0
	Total	393	100.0
Media influenced my choice of political party	Strongly Disagree	15	3.8
	Disagree	82	20.9
	Neutral	34	8.7
	Agree	114	29.0
	Strongly Agree	148	37.7
	Total	393	100.0
Media were avenues for politicians to boost their image to the public	Strongly Disagree	2	.5
	Disagree	7	1.8
	Neutral	32	8.1
	Agree	185	47.1
	Strongly Agree	167	42.5
	Total	393	100.0

Table 4. shows that 27(6.9%), 72(18.3%), 32(8.1%), 97(24.7%), and 165(42.0%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that media influenced their choice of

political candidate respectively. Therefore, majority of respondents strongly agreed that media influenced their choice of political candidate. More so, 15(3.8%), 82(20.9%), 34(8.7%), 114(29.0%), and 148(37.7%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that media influenced their choice of political party respectively. Thus, most of respondents strongly agreed that media influenced their choice of political party. Also, 2(0.5%), 7(1.8%), 32(8.1%) 185(47.1%) and 167(42.5%) were neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that media were avenues for politicians to boost their image to the public respectively. Therefore, majority of respondents agreed that media were avenues for politicians to boost their image to the public.

MEDIA CAMPAIGN INFLUENCE ON POLITICIAN'S OR PARTY'S IMAGE			
Table 4.1			
Variable	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
I believe political candidates who were not active on media to be unserious about their ambition	Strongly Disagree	33	8.4
	Disagree	43	10.9
	Neutral	29	7.4
	Agree	178	45.3
	Strongly Agree	110	28.0
	Total	393	100.0
I voted for politician who appeared more in media than one who was not	Strongly Disagree	29	7.4
	Disagree	38	9.7
	Neutral	36	9.2
	Agree	164	41.7
	Strongly Agree	126	32.1
	Total	393	100.0

Table 4.1 indicates that 33(8.4%), 43(10.9%), 29(7.4%), 178(45.3%), and 110(28.0%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that they believed political candidates who were not active on media to be unserious about their ambition respectively. However, most of respondents agreed that they believed political candidates who were not active on media to be unserious about their ambition. In the same vein, 29(7.4%), 38(9.7%), 36(9.2%), 164(41.7%), and 126(32.1%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly

agreed that they voted for politician who appeared more in media than one who was not respectively. Thus, large sample of respondents agreed that they voted for politician who appeared more in media than one who was not.

Table 4.2			
MEDIA CAMPAIGN INFLUENCE ON POLITICIAN'S OR PARTY'S IMAGE			
Variable	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Media people set the agenda for the public based on messages from party's candidate	Strongly Disagree	4	1.0
	Disagree	13	3.3
	Neutral	36	9.2
	Agree	171	43.5
	Strongly Agree	169	43.0
	Total	393	100.0
I believe proliferation of media houses particularly radio houses in the State was a springboard for acceleration of politician's and party's image	Strongly Disagree	5	1.3
	Disagree	17	4.3
	Neutral	50	12.7
	Agree	144	36.6
	Strongly Agree	177	45.0
	Total	393	100.0

Table 4.2 shows that 4(1.0%), 13(3.3%), 36(9.2%), 171(43.5%) and 169(43.0%) were disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that media people set the agenda for the public based on messages from party's candidate respectively. Thus, majority of respondents agreed that media people set the agenda for the public based on messages from party's candidate. Finally, 5(1.3%), 17(4.3%), 50(12.7%), 144(36.6%) and 177(45.0%) were strongly disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that they believe proliferation of media houses particularly radio houses in the State was a springboard for acceleration of politician's and party's image respectively. Therefore, most of respondents strongly agreed that they believe proliferation of media houses particularly radio houses in the State was a springboard for acceleration of politician's and party's image.

PERCEPTION OF AGENDA SETTING INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA			
Table 5			
Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Media set agenda for the public and create awareness for them on political and relevant issues	Strongly Disagree	10	2.5
	Neutral	17	4.3
	Agree	146	37.2
	Strongly Agree	220	56.0
	Total	393	100.0
People tend to believe what they hear and see repeatedly from the media	Strongly Disagree	3	.8
	Disagree	13	3.3
	Neutral	4	1.0
	Agree	194	49.4
	Strongly Agree	179	45.5
	Total	393	100.0

Table 5 shows that 10(2.5%), 17(4.3%), 146(37.2%) and 220(56.0%) were strongly disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that media set agenda for the public and create awareness for them on political and relevant issues respectively. Thus, majority of respondents strongly agreed that media set agenda for the public and create awareness for them on political and relevant issues. Furthermore, 3(0.8%), 13(3.3%) 4(1.4%), 194(49.4%) and 179(45.5%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that people tend to believe what they hear and see repeatedly from the media respectively. Therefore, most of respondents agreed that people tend to believe what they hear and see repeatedly from the media.

**PERCEPTION OF AGENDA SETTING INFLUENCE OF
THE MEDIA**

Table 5.1

Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Conventional media tend to be more powerful than social media in agenda setting for the public	Strongly Disagree	11	2.8
	Disagree	48	12.2
	Neutral	35	8.9
	Agree	173	44.0
	Strongly Agree	126	32.1
	Total	393	100.0
Social media tend to be more powerful than conventional media in agenda setting for the public	Strongly Disagree	29	7.4
	Disagree	122	31.0
	Neutral	49	12.5
	Agree	108	27.5
	Strongly Agree	85	21.6
	Total	393	100.0
Social media only reinforce or complement conventional media in setting agenda for the public	Strongly Disagree	11	2.8
	Disagree	9	2.3
	Neutral	22	5.6
	Agree	223	56.7
	Strongly Agree	128	32.6
	Total	393	100.0

Table 5.1 shows that 11(28.0%), 48(12.2%), 35(8.9%), 173(44.0%) and 126(32.1%) were disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that conventional media tend to be more powerful than social media in agenda setting for the public respectively. Thus, majority of respondents agreed that conventional media tend to be more powerful than social media in agenda setting for the public. Also, 29(7.4%), 122(31.0%), 49(12.5%), 108(27.5%), and 85(21.6%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that social media tend to be more

powerful than conventional media in agenda setting for the public respectively. Therefore, most of respondents disagreed that Social media tend to be more powerful than conventional media in agenda setting for the public. In the same vein, 11(2.8%), 9(2.3%), 22(5.6%), 223(56.7%), and 128(32.6%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that social media only reinforce or complement conventional media in setting agenda for the public respectively. Therefore, most of respondents agreed that social media only reinforce or complement conventional media in setting agenda for the public

PERCEPTION OF AGENDA SETTING INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA			
Table 5.2			
Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Media decide for people what they should think	Strongly Disagree	30	7.6
	Disagree	43	10.9
	Neutral	23	5.9
	Agree	148	37.7
	Strongly Agree	149	38.0
	Total	393	100.0
Media shape peoples' belief and thinking of the outside world	Strongly Disagree	2	.5
	Disagree	18	4.6
	Neutral	35	8.9
	Agree	168	42.7
	Strongly Agree	170	43.3
	Total	393	100.0

Table 5.2 reveals that 30(7.6%), 43(10.9%), 23(5.9%), 148(37.7%), and 149(38.0%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that media decide for people what they should think respectively. Therefore, majority of respondents strongly agreed that media decide for people what they should think. Finally, 2(0.5%), 18(4.6%) 35(8.9%), 168(42.7%) and 170(43.3%) were neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that media shape peoples' belief and thinking of the outside world respectively. Therefore, majority of respondents strongly agreed that media shape peoples' belief and thinking of the outside world.

**PERCEIVED IMPLICATIONS FOR 2023
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN KWARA
STATE**

Table 6			
Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Governor AA has done well in the last twelve months	Strongly Disagree	20	5.1
	Disagree	23	5.9
	Neutral	51	13.0
	Agree	156	39.7
	Strongly Agree	143	36.4
	Total	393	100.0
The Otoge media campaign promises are still relevant and are being manifested in the administration of Gov. AA	Strongly Disagree	20	5.1
	Disagree	16	4.1
	Neutral	64	16.3
	Agree	142	36.1
	Strongly Agree	151	38.4
	Total	393	100.0

Table 6 shows that 20(5.1%), 23(5.9%), 51(13.0%), 156(39.7%), and 143(36.4%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that Governor AA has done well in the last twelve months respectively. Thus, majority of respondents agreed that Governor AA has done well in the last twelve months. Furthermore, 20(5.1%), 16(4.1%), 64(16.3%), 142(36.1%), and 151(38.4%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that Otoge media campaign promises are still relevant and are being manifested in the administration of Gov. AA respectively. Thus, large number of respondents strongly agreed that Otoge media campaign promises are still relevant and are being manifested in the administration of Gov. AA.

**PERCEIVED IMPLICATIONS FOR 2023
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN KWARA
STATE**

Table 6.1

Variables	Groups	Frequency	Percentage (%)
AA's refusal to accept directives from party loyalists in terms of political appointments into public offices and other business-as-usual deals endear him to the masses	Strongly Disagree	23	5.9
	Disagree	32	8.1
	Neutral	66	16.8
	Agree	141	35.9
	Strongly Agree	131	33.3
	Total	393	100.0
	Strongly Disagree	16	4.1
AA's abandonment of party loyalists in terms of apportionment of political posts will potentially mitigate Otoge popularity and APC chances of winning in 2023 gubernatorial election	Disagree	148	37.7
	Neutral	80	20.4
	Agree	98	24.9
	Strongly Agree	51	13.0
	Total	393	100.0
	Strongly Disagree	16	4.1
	Disagree	22	5.6
Should Gov. AA continue like this, he has chances of winning again in 2023	Neutral	67	17.0
	Agree	143	36.4
	Strongly Agree	145	36.9
	Total	393	100.0

Table 6.1 reveals that 23(5.9%), 32(8.1%), 66(16.8%), 141(35.9%), and 131(33.3%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that AA's refusal to accept directives from party loyalists in terms of political appointments into public offices and other business-as-usual deals endear him to the masses respectively. Therefore, most of respondents agreed that AA's refusal to accept directives from party loyalists in terms of political appointments into public offices and other business-as-usual deals endear him to the masses. In the same vein,

16(4.2%), 148(37.7%), 80(20.4%), 98(24.9%), and 51(13.0%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed that AA's abandonment of party loyalists in terms of apportionment of political posts will potentially mitigate Otoge popularity and APC chances of winning in 2023 gubernatorial election respectively. Therefore, majority of respondents disagreed that AA's abandonment of party loyalists in terms of apportionment of political posts will potentially mitigate Otoge popularity and APC chances of winning in 2023 gubernatorial election. Finally, 16(4.1%), 22(5.6%), 67(17.0%), 143(36.4%), and 145(36.9%) were strongly disagreed, disagreed, neutral, agreed, and strongly agreed respectively that Gov. AA should continue like this, he has chances of winning again in 2023. Therefore, large sample of respondents strongly agreed that Gov. AA should continue like this, he has chances of winning again in 2023.

4.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation (In-Depth Interview)

This section presents the data analysis and interpretation of findings from the in-depth interviews conducted with ten (10) respondents largely drawn from political conscious individuals in Kwara State of Nigeria. See their profile below at a glance:

Table 4.3.1: Interviewees' Profile

Code ID	Age	Occupation	Gender	Senatorial District	Local Government
Participant 1	62	Engineering/Lecturing	M	South	Ifelodun
Participant 2	48	Lecturing	F	Central	Ilorin West
Participant 3	41	Public Servant/Social Advocate	M	North	Baruten
Participant 4	35	Journalism	M	South	Irepodun
Participant 5	50	State Civil Servant	M	Central	Ilorin South
Participant 6	37	Law/Social Advocate	M	South	Irepodun
Participant 7	35	Journalism/Social Advocate	F	Central	Ilorin West
Participant 8	43	State Civil Servant	M	North	Edu
Participant 9	39	Politics	F	North	Baruten
Participant 10	34	Politics	M	Central	Ilorin West

The interviews with these participants were done in order to answer the research questions that are directly related to this portion of the study, thereby enabling the researcher to revalidate the findings from the survey (questionnaire). The research questions are: (i) What were the most effective media outlets and techniques used by APC in facilitating its victory in the 2019 Gubernatorial Election in Kwara State? (ii) What are other factors that might be responsible for the victory of All Progressives Congress (APC) in 2019 election aside O TO GE? (iii) What were the types of communication strategy adopted by APC and how did it influence the voters' decision in 2019 Gubernatorial Elections? (iv) What is the possible direction of the voters and how can the

O TO GE sustain the momentum for the next Gubernatorial Election in 2023? This section is, therefore, presented according to the following themes and their sub-themes:

i. Assessment of most effective Media

- Effective use of Media;
- Social Media Impact;
- Impact of Radio

ii. Assessment of other Factors that are responsible for the Victory of APC

- Poor leadership of Previous Administration (PDP);
- Political Dominance.

iii. Assessment of Communication Strategies adopted by the APC and Advocates of ‘O’

TO GE and how it Influenced Voters’ Decision

- Sponsored Radio Programmes;
- House to House Campaigns;
- Impact of Musicians.

iv. Perceived Re-election Bid – APC Chances

- Lack of Unity in APC;
- Good Governance.

v. Possible Conditions for APC Victory in 2023

- Accountability and Transparency;
- Infrastructural Development.

With reference to chapter three of this research, the ten (10) participants (interviewees) were drawn from three (3) senatorial district of the State as indicated in their profiles. The researcher selected purposely these participants/interviewees with wealth of experience regarding the politics and governance of the State. All the ten (10) interviewees are politically conscious individuals who

have had opportunity to be governed by many political leaders since the return of democracy in 1999. Specifically, all of these individuals have vast experience and knowledge about the politics of Kwara State. Among them are practicing journalists who were involved in the reporting of O TO GE drives in the State. Three of the respondents are advocate of justice and equity in the society. More vitally, they are all registered voters and voted during the 2019 gubernatorial election in the State.

4.3.1 Assessment of the most effective Media

4.3.1a Effective Use of Media

The 2019 O TO GE media campaigns came as “liberation” movement for Kwara State. The campaigns of the party using O TO GE slogan relied heavily on media to do this. The entire ten (10) participants agreed in absolute term that the success of the party in 2019 gubernatorial election was a product of effective use of radio. However, participants 3, 8 and 9 differed on this opinion a bit. They argued that though, radio station could be said to be the most effective media outlet, the entire Kwara North does not have any radio station be it private or government. They opined that social media, especially Facebook and WhatsApp are the most effective media. They further added that on few occasions, they had to rely on radio signals from neighbouring country to get information regarding happenings in Kwara State and Nigeria at large.

4.3.1b Social Media Impact

Participants 3, 8 and 9 held the belief that the social media actually provided them with the enlightenment and exposed them to the power that they exerted as voters. The social media provided them with the platform to unify themselves and wage an electoral war against a perceived common enemy that has marginalized them for decades. “People’s minds were captivated through the social media. Social media have gone a long way to put APC ahead the ruling party in the state.

So, social media have played a vital role in the scene we have today. This position is in tandem with the outcome of the survey and other previous studies which confirmed radio as the most effective media outlet.

4.3.1c Impact of Radio

Participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10 maintained a united position in concluding that radio was the most effective media outlet deployed by the party in 2019. They posited that there have been several radio programmes by many advocates of good governance and opposition party loyalties in private radio stations and federal radio station in the State. These programmes (which are parts of the techniques) provided the citizens with enough sensitizations on what it means to achieve good governance and how the then government had shortchanged the citizens in term of provisions of good governance. The sensitization ranges from poor leadership, lack of transparency and accountability in the handling of State matters.

According to Participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10, “radio cuts across vast people both in the rural and urban areas which gives the illiterate as well as the literates the opportunity to listen to O TO GE programmes. They anchored the programmes simply in different local languages that the people understand over a long period of time. The repetition of these programmes framed peoples’ mind and immensely assisted them in not only giving them what to think but also how to think about what to think.

Participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10 agreed that the springing up of private radio stations largely across Kwara Central and South accounted for the popularity and widest acceptability of the O TO GE slang. Unlike period when the State government illegally censored oppositions’ views on Kwara State Broadcasting Corporation based on ownership philosophy, the avenue to express dissatisfaction by citizens and political gladiators became unlimited by avalanche of private radio

firms. The hitherto monopoly enjoyed by state-owned media was broken with the advent and proliferation of private radio houses, hence the unhindered access to media houses by all eligible political gladiators in the State including opposition political parties was guaranteed. According to participant 1, “the assertion that proliferation of media outfits especially private radio stations provided a balance to the media outlets is true and undisputable. The likes of Sobi FM, Okin FM, Albarkika FM, UNILORIN FM, Royal FM, O FM and even Radio Nigeria Idofian FM (whose ownership is Federal Government) allowed individuals to express their views without any form of restrictions. This provided a basis for opposition party members to willfully criticize the government in the areas directly related to the infrastructural deficit, poor attitude to civil servants’ welfarism and general maladministration of the State in the last 30years.

Participant 2 stressed that “from among these radio stations, Sobi FM stands out in that the purpose for setting up the station has an undertone of political agenda and was extremely used to achieve that feat. The ownership influence and its philosophy are directly connected to the emancipation of Kwara people particularly Ilorin people from the shackles of long time dominance of Saraki dynasty”. This position is supported by other participants 1, 3, 5-10. Participant 4 expressed a slightly different views on this. While he quite agreed that people collectively championed a cause to end Saraki overbearing influence on Kwara politics, the movement to reject the dynasty’s dominance began with the creation of Okin FM which was what the likes of Hon. Saheed Popoola relied on to win the conscience of Offa people and its environs”.

Notwithstanding, participants 1-10 agreed that the springing up of private radio stations in the State accounted for the development of variegated channels through which people are being updated about government activities in term of where Kwara was, where it is and where it ought to be.

4.3.2 Assessment of other Factors that are responsible for the victory of APC

4.3.2a Poor Leadership of Previous Administration (PDP)

The victory of APC gubernatorial election did not come by chance. It was, indeed, an apt calculation by the political gladiators in the State and beyond. Apart from the O TO GE chant that rented the air and occupied media airwaves for a period not below 6 months to the gubernatorial election, there were other plethora of factors responsible for the success recorded in 2019. According to one of the participant 5 “bad governance, poor attitude of the past government and its insensitivity to peoples’ yearnings and desires all combined are few of the factors that paved way for O TO GE movement to thrive”. “Besides this, failure to implement minimum wage, non-promotion of civil servants, infrastructural decadence were among many factors that enabled APC victory”. Moreover, there was the factor of political party switch by the former Senate President, Senator Bukola Saraki, from the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) to Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP). Participants 1-10 agreed that the switch by the former Senate President was the greatest mistake any politician of note could make in this age political consciousness. Such decision given the timing to the election and the factor of Federal might including poor administration of the State by his stooges. Participant 6 noted that the young Saraki failed to learn from mistakes of the Senior Saraki in 2011 when he switched party for his preferred candidate at a moment similar to this.

Participant 9 argued that in addition to other factors, the senate president’s failure to honour the Kwara North agenda was another strong factor for the acceptance of Otoge in the zone. He confirmed that the defection from political party, teaming up of opposition parties, lack of transparency and accountability, marginalization of Kwara North in the distribution of political appointees, social and infrastructural developments and general resources of the State are other factors that worked for APC and Otoge. These were the focal points in the several mass media that

nullified and neutralized the PDP campaigns. According to participant 8, “the Kwara North saw the O TO GE factor fitting perfectly into their agenda and had to combine efforts with the Central and South to emancipate their people”. The desperation for change were borne out of the past government lack of transparency and accountability and the constant promise-and-fail tactic which we (participants) felt should have an end”.

4.3.2b Political Dominance

Participant 4 asserted that apart from factors of bad leadership from past government, the matter of long time dominance was a bad omen capitalized upon by the people of the State. The people needed change and were desperate for shift from the old paradigm. This viewpoint was supported by participants 1-3 and 5-10. According to participant 3, “If you have been following Kwara politics since 1976 when the senior Saraki was a senator at the upper chamber, Kwara politics had been about “infrastructure of stomach” with nothing to show for it. Among its contemporaries that were created in 1967, Kwara ranked low among them in terms of human capital development, State infrastructure and amenities, citizen welfarism, civil servants’ welfarism, among others, all of these are sufficient factors to send the “scavengers” packing”.

4.3.3 Assessment of Communication strategies adopted by the Party and Advocates of O TO GE and How It Influenced Voters’ Decision

4.3.3a Sponsored Radio Programmes

There is no election success without communication strategy. It is usually proportional that a good aspirant would deploy apt strategic communication to achieve their electoral successes. Communication is key but strategic communication is the ultimate. All participants agreed that the radio programme is the best communication strategy adopted by the party in 2019 gubernatorial election. According to participant 1, “For a very long time, there was a radio programme on Radio Nigeria, Idofian FM, anchored by Akogun Iyiola Oyedepo and host of others. The radio

programme effectively but gradually set the template for the liberation of the people from the past PDP government in the State. The radio programme sensitized people sufficiently on the needs to engage their political appointees and participate in the electioneering procedure. This is reflected in the total number of participants and voters recorded in the 2015 and 2019 in the state”. In 2015 gubernatorial election, the total valid votes cast for both APC (292,832) and PDP (115,220) was 408,052 while in 2019, the total vote cast for APC (331,546) and PDP (114,754) stood at 446,300”. Participants 2, 4 and 6 agreed that the weekly radio programme of the famous Islamic Scholars, Alhaji Olohun Oyin Al-Hamid and Dr Aliagan was crucial to the culminated success of APC in 2019 gubernatorial election. The participants added that on many instances, the two famous scholars had been alleged of inciting the people against the government for their audacity in sensitizing the people of what was obtainable in other climes as far as good governance is concerned.

4.3.3b House to House Campaigns

Participants 1-10 unanimously agreed that House-to-House communications, town hall meeting, group discussions, online forum/digital communications, celebrity advertisement, particularly musicians and artists, conferences, workshops and seminars are major communication strategies adopted by APC. Participant 1 offered that “there is no argument on the success of the party communication strategies as the simultaneous application of all the above produced an unprecedented success especially when the all-time political warlord of Kwara State was on the other side. Supporting the views, participants 4-8 opined that if one of these communication strategies was deployed at different intervals, the effectiveness might not have been this huge as reflected in the election victory. It is astonishing to believe that a 3rd citizen of the country could not win in his local government let alone winning his constituency. According to participant 9, the house-to-house campaign of APC which was largely rooted in O TO GE slogan having already

become a household name was the best among all. It might not be unconnected with other interactive communication strategies like social media, but by and large, it provided the wonder as everyone was not having iota of doubt on the possible outcome of the election in favour of APC”.

4.3.3c Impact of Musicians

Participants 2, 5, 7 and 10 expressed that the initial propagation launched by a popular musician with the stage name Labaeka disparaging the Saraki dynasty as migrants from Mali cast serious aspersion on their identity as Kwarans, and from that moment, things had started taking a different shape. Besides, the appropriate use of Yoruba artists was another intelligent communication strategy. Participant 6 specifically mentioned that popular artists like Ronke Oshodi Oke, Yinka Quadri, Adebayo Salami among numerous ones were drafted to stage a campaign against “slavery” in the State. This notion was paddled to the nooks and crannies of the state so much that everyone was seeing themselves as actors in the race for emancipation”. The social version of the footage went viral so much that the Kwarans in diaspora were motivated to canvass for liberation of the State.

4.3.4 Perceived Re-election bid – APC Chances

4.3.4a Lack of Unity in APC

The atmosphere appears unclear at the moment for the possible re-election of Governor Abdulrahman Abdulrazak. All the participants unanimously agree that the governor has not done much to merit a second term ticket. According to a participant 10, a stalwart of the political party from Kwara Central, the social media are being awash at the moment that the governor has deviated from the popular expectations by the party members and citizens at large. Ranging from selection of political appointees to execution of State projects, he has not demonstrated to possessing the real understanding of the needs and wants of the people of the State. His neglect of party men and women is a great mistake and costly one so to say. Participant 7 explained that many

of the party loyalists are being calm and silent at the moment and will react to him when he launches his second term bid.

Participant 6 maintained a position similar to this – on his neglect of political party loyalists. According to him, “if he (Gov. AA) does not listen to the party leadership in the appointment of political appointees, he could have come up with appointments which all of us would be happy with. Not the appointment of people that cannot turn things around like fresh University graduates and Corp members. He should have appointed technocrats and experienced people as did in Lagos and Ondo States”. While responding to his reservations on not too young to rule policy, the Barrister submits that “if he (Gov. AA) wants to appoint youths into his administration, it is not those without experience like corps members who are without track records; who have never occupied any public office before now. The governor has chances of winning only if he mends his ways within the next three years with the party men and women, and particularly with those who matter”.

4.3.4b Good Governance

Participant 3, public civil servant who is also an advocate of justice, equity and fairness from the Kwara North confirmed that the second term bid of the Governor is dependent on 4 key factors namely (1) his respect for rule of law (2) good governance, (3) accountability and transparency, and (4) actualization of Kwara agenda. He added that the Governor won the heart of the Kwara North on the basis of his support for actualization of Kwara North agenda which was rooted largely on equity and fairness in term of uniform political appointments and even distribution of State resources. If at the end of his four years in office this cannot be pointed to as parts of his achievements, Kwara north may cease to re-elect him. He explained that one of the key reasons why the past government failed and was voted out had to do with their refusal to pass the Freedom of Information Bill which ordinarily would have made the government accountable and highly

transparent. This bill if passed would enable journalist and newsmakers to make in-depth about his administration which will strengthen peoples' loyalty. However, from all indications, according to him, the government seems to be towing the same path as we (electorates) don't know what goes to Local Government Council as of today in Kwara. We do not know how much is being generated by the Revenue Service of the State and how these funds are being disbursed. We deserved to know as citizens because this is what O TO GE media campaign actually stood for.

Supporting this viewpoint, participant 1 maintained a position similar to the above. He submitted that with the attitude of the governor towards party members and loyalists, the chances that there would be second wave of O TO GE are high and looming. He elucidated his position citing what happened to former Lagos State governor, Mr. Akinwumi Ambode as a classical example. "He may be well-intentioned but the approach is too extreme. He should find a middle ground. His case is just like a man who attempts to bite the fingers that fed him. Things are not practically done in that manner. Participant 6-9 shared same view. According to them, there is a limit to what he can do because the political party made him and the party is constituted by people who by virtue of their loyalty to the party might not want to raise controversy at the moment but will certainly wait for him at the point of seeking re-election. The only way out of this mess is for him not to seek re-election which ordinarily is alien to our practice in Nigeria. Even at that, he might have caused serious reputational damage to the party that fielded him or created serious obstacles for his choice aspirants except that the choice aspirants at that moment is of people's choice.

Participant 5 observed that the governor's attitude at the moment is questionable. It is against biblical precepts to renege promises. As aspirants of political party, you must have entered into a consensus with certain class of people before accepting your candidature. And given the circumstance that heralded his emergence as the party flagbearer, it is bizarre to see him behaving in this manner. Each of these party loyalists has their followers at every nook and cranny of the

State. It is the aggregate of their followers that formed the total vote bloc that was accrued to him. Many of the loyalists staked their lives in the procedure and deserved to be rewarded. What he should have done is to make it clear to them his agenda and drum to their earring the applicable penalty should anyone default in whatever form. The idea of selecting people that are completely or partly not in the struggle or without grassroots mobilization proficiency all in the name of not-too-young policy is completely out of the way.

4.3.5 What should be done differently by O TO GE to repeat its victory in 2023

4.3.5a Accountability, Transparency and Fairness

Barely one year into Gov. AA administration, people have been expressing concern over his performance. The striking thing in all of these concern is that he is not seen to have been “walking his talking”. Participants 1-10 posited that the governor has a chance to redeem the situation to qualify him effortlessly for his second term bid without unnecessarily having to strive to strike balance at two different ends – firstly within the party and secondly with opposition.

Participant 9 pointed out that the Governor should have high regards for his political promises as enshrined in O TO GE media campaign. The Freedom of Information bill is a key factor to accountability and transparency, good governance and Kwara North agenda. This will allow media access and create a scenario quite different from what Kwarans are used to. Participant 4 opined that the Distribution of Kwara resources and political appointments must be treated with fairness and equity. Kwarans deserved to know the monthly revenue generated by Kwara State Internal Revenue Service, Federal allocation and the judicious application of the funds to the provision of the fundamental needs of the citizens.

Participant 6 suggested that the Governor has to mend his ways with the party loyalists and members. He might seem to be admired at the moment but the sustainability of such admiration

rests largely with his respect for party loyalists. He should remember that those who make one can also mar. Furthermore, the cabinet should be reshuffled to accommodate technocrats and experienced youths. The Governor needs people with cognate experience in the administration of State resources. It is not sufficient to have youths but youths with requisite skills and competency.

Participant 7 opined that the Governor should intensify his efforts in the provision of good governance. According to him, he needs to look into the issue of promotions of the civil servants and other welfarism packages that can enhance civil service productivity. Timely payment of pension and gratuity and arrears of local government council staff. The SUBEB matters should also be addressed once and for all as all of these are bases for voting him into power. The issue of sunset recruitment by the government should be logically addressed to avoid being used as a factor against his re-election or party come 2023. The media conveyance of daily decision and implementation of government plan is mostly important. The government must be wary of the power of the media and must do everything possible to beat propagandists who are pleasantly purveyors of misinformation.

4.3.5b Infrastructural Development

Participant 6 opined that the overhauling of infrastructures of the State to ease ways of doing business for the Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs). The media are gradually being awash with matter of infrastructural deficits which are making businesses highly difficult to run. The issue of double tax system should also be avoided so as to allow SMEs to thrive. With SMEs' thriving, the industrial growth and human and capital development of the State can be reached. By the time this is done, the long awaited and the continuity agenda of the present administration would be amplified even by the perceived opposition in the media. "By and large, the Governor must spontaneously inform the citizens of its developmental achievements on timely basis. The

media team of the government must be kept lubricated every now and then. There should be no room for slightest communication gap especially on radio and social media. There is no doubt that people have become glued to social media. Information from these sources has immense positive impact on peoples' thought and opinion about the government in power. From time to time, radio programmes that will continuously connect people to the government should be sponsored. What people hear from the media continuously shape their decisions and the government must not leave any stone unturned in this area. Time is ticking. People's interest in the administration must be sustained to achieve 2023 agenda and beyond.

4.4 Discussions of Findings

This section presents the summary of findings of this study. It discusses findings from research questions 1-5 on assessment of O TO GE media campaigns on 2019 gubernatorial election and its implication for 2023 which are revalidated through the in-depth interview data.

The finding arising from this study has specifically revealed that OTO GE media campaign influenced the victory of All Progressives Congress (APC) in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. The finding of Alexander (2010) corroborates this when he posits that the Barack Obama "Change, We Can Believe In" slogan put the US 44th president to victory in his 2008 presidential campaign. The study has also found out that the deployment of media outlets by All Progressive Congress (APC) party facilitated its victory in 2019 gubernatorial election. The study of Victor, Ikechukwu, Gerald and Chinedum (2017) agrees with this finding when they submit that the use of mass media by politicians, and the manner in which the user-citizen interacts with the politicians and political parties on the several media platforms account for grass-root mobilizations and consequently play a key role in shaping the voting behaviour of electorates. The study further revealed that Radio, Facebook and Whatsapp more than all were deployed to reach out to people during O TO GE media campaign in 2019 gubernatorial election. It was discovered that though

there is no single radio station in the whole of Kwara North but the people of the senatorial district heavily depend on radio stations from neighboring country as well as social media (like Facebook and WhatsApp) to get information regarding O TO GE media campaign and other events in their domain - State and Nigeria at large.

The study further revealed that from among the three most effective media outlets, radio proves to be the best of all. Hence, radio as a medium still maintains its relevance in giving information, entertainment and enlightenment to people based on its extent of reporting and portability. This finding aligns with the submission of many studies, firstly with Familusi (2014) as cited in Alao (2016) who posits that radio is the most important tool for communication development. Secondly Omensea (1997) as cited in Tejumaiye (2000) who concludes that radio ranks as the most popular means of broadcasting information, irrespective of the continent and thirdly Abdollahyan and Machika (2017) when they assert that radio maintains its foremost role in planning political campaign communications because radio widely distributes political campaign messages which consequently prime voters to recall the framing or construction of such messages that have the salience with them while they are voting.

It was further discovered that most people became aware of O TO GE media campaigns (jingles, radio programmes, news, rallies) in the buildup to the 2019 gubernatorial election through the mass media six months before the election time based on the proliferation of radio houses in the Kwara Central and South. The proliferation of radio stations provided the politicians (especially the opposition) with unrestricted access to the media and consequently enabled them to convey their messages to their targets. Unlike years back when the State fundamental source of messages on radio was Kwara State Broadcasting Corporation, the emergence of Sobi FM, Royal FM, Alubarika FM, Okin FM, O Fm, Tiwa N Tiwa FM provided an extension for the avalanche of tools at the hands of O TO GE conveners. The study also discovered that many of these private radio

houses are established for political reason. Hence, the possibility of media biases. This finding is in tandem with the submission of Chandrappa (2014) when he posits that though the public needs information from the media, there is also a possibility for the media and politicians for negative campaign reporting and a perceived media bias. Because of media importance and its attendant biases, many politicians have established media firms either print, broadcast or both with the core objective to help their political careers.

The study has found out that the awareness level which was propelled by adequate media sensitization of citizens had consequent positive impact on the political participation of residents, and by implication on voting performance when compared with 2015 Gubernatorial election (in 2015 gubernatorial election, total valid vote cast for the two prominent parties was 408,052 while in 2019, the total vote cast for both parties was 446,300). This marks a difference of over 38,000 votes which shows a radical improvement in residents' political participation.

Finding from this study also revealed that media influence people's choice of political candidates. This finding tallies with the submission of Chandrappa (2014) when he posits that no political party or aspirants can boost to win an election without choosing the media. Effective media selection determines the message, language and its influence on the targeted electorates or voters. The finding also conforms with the view of Chandrappa (2014) when he also posits that the mass media hold significant sway on aspirants' support among voters. If aspirants are repetitively being discussed positively in media channels, electorates and the public broadly are more likely to evaluate and support them. Therefore, the acceptance of APC aspirant became almost undisputable as there were no other messages from any available quarters to debunk all allegations raised against the government of PDP. This increased O TO GE popularity via the mass media which consequently brought PDP government to an ebb. There was no doubt that, that APC aspirants appeared more in the media than PDP. Hence, people generally would vote for politicians who

appear more in the media than ones who are not, because the media are avenues for politicians to boost their image to the public.

In many parts of the world, the choice that people or voters make during an election is largely connected to party's ideology. This study revealed that it was not so with the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. The electorates voted for their choice aspirants on the basis of O TO GE campaign promises. This finding corresponds with the position of Ojekwe (2016) when she posits that the combination of many factors such as party popularity, party's performance, ethnic affiliation, religion affinity, regional coloration swayed the voting decision of electorates in Lagos State. The cumulative promises of O TO GE as a slogan in 2019 gubernatorial election did not amount to political party's ideology (i.e what APC stands for overall). This, therefore, means that voters in this part of the world still have not reached a point where they will cast their votes based on party's ideology. It suggests further that election is just by a reason of the aspirant's ability to paint negative pictures of the opposition in the media. Hence, the needs to resist further oppression and call for positive governance in the State influenced voters' choice of aspirants. Residents of Kwara State have not become conscious to a point that they would have to place their choice of aspirants on party ideology. This, perhaps, accounts for the reasons why leaders have not always been held responsible for their failures over the years. Each time voters experience bad or poor governance, they (voters) only become desperate for change without adequate recourse to what they want from the alternative they aim at.

The study further revealed that even as O TO GE served as the hallmark of the APC victory, there was plethora of other factors that strengthened the realization of the feat. The study revealed that factors such bad governance, insensitivity of the past government (PDP) to the yearnings and desire of people particularly the civil servants, staggered remuneration, poor State infrastructural facilities, Saraki's decampment from APC, mismanagement of State resources, uneven

distribution of State resources, lopsidedness in political appointments among others created the foundation for the opposition to launch O TO GE as a media campaign.

The study also revealed that APC adopted interpersonal communication as its communication strategy because interactive communication is the most effective means of communication based on its power of influence. This finding agrees with the view of Bello (2015) when he posits that interpersonal communication is still regarded as the most effective in influencing the thoughts, views and opinions of people in relation to information they receive from the media since people mostly subject media contents to interpersonal discussions. The finding also agrees with the position of Robinson and Davis (1990) when they assert that interpersonal communication may facilitate long-term memory and retrieval of information from those media contents.

The study also discovered that Governor Abdulrahman Abdulrazak has done well in his first Twelve (12) months in office. The study, however, discovered that the governor has not been favoured in the media in the recent time when compared with his pre-election media coverage given the negative information and incoherent framing of the governor in the media especially from his party men and women. This decline in image and reputation portends a serious danger for the governor and the party. This position aligns with Louine (2016) who after the content analysis study of New York Times editorials covering of one year of Obama's election's success posits that the candidacy of President Obama was discovered to be framed incoherently. The outcome are proofs of more different and harmfully toned media depictions of Obama. As a result of this, however, the study also revealed that the incoherent framing of the governor which translated into decline in image and reputation was traceable to lack of unity (fracture) within the APC, particularly on his dispute with party members and loyalists, and lack of transparency/accountability of the APC led administration in the State as the media have not been

comprehensively painting the governor as a political leader who is ‘walking his talk’ as contained in the O TO GE media campaigns.

In addition, the study further revealed that the fracture within the party given the party’s loyalists expression of dissatisfaction in the media, within the community and on major social media platform has great implication for the governor’s second term bid and by extension APC in 2023.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes this study and is therefore a reflection of the entire thesis. It contains a summary of this study, emphasizing its purpose and unique values it offers in terms of contributions to the body of knowledge in political communication research, especially in Kwara State and Nigeria at large. In light of the theoretical framework, the study revalidates the authority of agenda setting and framing theories within the framework of media effect theories. While this chapter makes some conclusions based on the findings of the study and within the context of Kwara State environment and Nigeria at large, it further identifies the limitations of the study and then ends with recommendations for further studies.

5.2 Summary of this Study

The focus of the study was to assess the impact of O TO GE media campaign on the victory of All Progressives Party (APC) in the 2019 gubernatorial election and its implication for 2023 election in Kwara State. A thorough assessment of the most effective media outlets and techniques used by APC in facilitating its victory was done by the study. The study also investigated other factors that were responsible for the victory of the party aside OTOGE factor; the communication strategies adopted and what is the possible direction of the voters as well as what O TO GE movement can do to sustain momentum for the next gubernatorial election in 2023.

The study adopted mixed method approach to generate data. The data were gathered from pools of survey and in-depth interview which complemented each other and consequently added to the values of the study. This study justified why survey was the appropriate method for assessing the O TO GE media campaign in 2019 gubernatorial elections and its implications for 2023. The study

further argued the need to use in-depth interview (qualitative method) to gather the experiences of the politically conscious people covering partisan politicians, civil servants, advocate of justice and equity, engineer, artisans as well as journalists. This was done to revalidate the responses elicited through the questionnaire (survey). More vitally, to determine possible factors that can make O TO GE factor to further count and sustain momentum for 2023 gubernatorial election. The in-depth interview method was further used to examine the other factors responsible for the victory of APC. The Krejcie and Morgan Table was used to arrive at a sample size of 400 from the three Senatorial zones of Kwara State while a maximum of 10 participants were purposively interviewed having reached a point of saturation. The data generated were analyzed and presented in table using frequency and percentage based on descriptive analysis. The data from the in-depth interview was thematically analysed using six step model Bryman (2012).

The study was anchored on theoretical framework of agenda setting and framing theories. These two theories are media effects' ones whose propositions are aimed at examining the influence that the media have on voters' electoral attitude and voting decisions. While the former presumes that the media influence the people on what to think, the other influence the people on how to think about what to think.

The findings from the study revealed that the media campaign of O TO GE was very impactful on the victory of All Progressive Congress (APC) in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. The study also revealed that private radio houses that sprang up between 2015-2019 played a key role in framing peoples' minds as repeated news by journalists in the media on subjects that bothered on citizens' welfare and infrastructure of the State pointed to the influence that the media have on the people thereby setting agenda for the public.

The study further revealed that the choice that the electorates make during an election is not largely connected to party's ideology which, therefore, implies that the electorates voted for their

candidates on the basis of O TO GE campaign promises. The study also discovered that Gov. AA has done well in the first twelve months of his assumption in office but the media depiction of the administration is unfavourable at the moment which portends a great implication for the governor and APC in 2023.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the key findings of this study, the following conclusions were drawn:

- i. The media campaign of O TO GE has a huge impact on the victory of All Progressives Congress (APC) in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. The O TO GE slogan was the hallmark of the party campaign in 2019 even as it leveraged significantly on other factors like bad governance, infrastructural deficit, lack of transparency and accountability, insensitivity to civil servants' welfarism, uneven distribution of State resources, lopsidedness in political appointments, among others. The seemingly absence of all these factors coupled with monopolization of State media houses made the media depiction/representation of the first proponent of the slogan, LAK Jimoh in 2011 unpopular.
- ii. The mass media have proved to be inherently part of democracy as it gives voice to the voiceless and serves to uphold the virtue that lends credence to peoples' call for change. This confirms the scholars' assertion that the mass media are the fourth estate of the realm given their (mass media) explicit capacity of advocacy and implicit ability to frame political issues for the benefit of the masses. This display of character was thoughtfully exhibited in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State.
- iii. Radio remains the most effective medium for reaching out to the electorates among media of communication. The radio has proved, in spite of the technological advancements that have occurred over time, to be the most accessible medium of communication in Kwara

State to reach out to large heterogeneous audience. It appeals to all classes of audience both literate and illiterates. This is very much unlike other media that appeal only to literate or highly literate subscribers even though they (other media) are also pivotal in projecting the political campaigns of politicians. However, the gap between the “*Haves and Haves not*” still remains abysmal and it forms a fundamental factor when planning media campaigns.

- iv. The proliferation of private radio stations dramatically increased the participatory capacity of citizens in the politics of the State as there were public enlightenments through the several mass media on the call for good governance. This plethora of enlightenments overpowered the sentiments that people of the State had for Saraki dynasty.
- v. The unfavourable media depiction of the governor and by extension APC might not be too disturbing for the administration to surmount at the moment. The party should resolve its internal crisis, unite all party loyalists and lubricate its media machineries on timely basis to redeem its plummeting image ahead of 2023 to preclude a second wave of O TO GE.

By and large, it becomes obvious that, whether conventional or traditional, media campaigns have significant effects on electorates’ voting attitude and choices. It is agreed unanimously by all scholars of mass communication that the media are key in shaping public opinion during electioneering and have the capacity to assist voters in decision making which, therefore, implies setting agenda for them. In the light of the reliance of voters on the media’s depiction of aspirants, it is understood, therefore, that messages are constructed to change individuals’ perceptions and ultimately reinforce their attitude toward a politician or political party and, in most cases, both.

Hence, the more overall media reporting in terms of news, jingles, interviews, etc a politician and their political party receive in connection to a popular slogan, the more individuals (voters) will think that the aspirant is the best candidate for them. Conversely, the more negative media

reporting a politician and their political party receive in terms of news, jingles, interviews, etc, the more individuals (voters) will think negatively about that politician.

5.4 Limitations of the study

It is vital to note that for every study conducted within the framework of certain objectives, a defined timeframe, geographical context and other considerable factors, there are bound to be limitations to which this study is not excluded. Hence, it is vital to note the following as the limitations of this study:

- i. One of the main limitations of this study is the novel disease called corona-virus otherwise known as COVID-19. The main research method for this study is survey which required the distribution of questionnaires to prospective respondents. Given the panic that was orchestrated by this pandemic, people found it difficult to accept questionnaire from the researcher and research assistants because of the fear initially instilled in them.
- ii. The in-depth interview was originally planned to be physically carried out. The non-availability and disinclinations of interviewees, perhaps for reason related to COVID-19, compelled the researcher to resort to telephone interview. Although the use of telephones for collecting quantitative survey data is common and well-represented in research literature, using telephones for qualitative interviews is usually regarded an inferior option to face-to-face interviews (Novick, 2008). Some of the most commonly expressed concerns about telephone interviews include the challenges to establishing rapport, the inability to respond to visual cues, and prospective loss of contextual data (i.e., the ability to observe the individual in a work or home environment) (Holt, 2010). In other words, telephone interviews hinder one the benefit of visually identifying the non-verbal response(s) of the interviewee and subsequently being able to clarify the intended question. In other words, the chance to probe comments with a view to obtaining more information about a question or topic and request for further explanation of an unclear response is denied (Singleton &

Straits, 2009). This option actually yielded a result but with little hiccups as the opportunity to observe the countenance, disposition of the interviewees which would have possibly enabled the researcher to probe further on some responses was denied as confirmed above. This, in the opinion of the researcher, is also considered as a limitation.

- iii. The study interviewed mainly voters and loyalists to politicians outside the corridor of power and did not interview politicians and party loyalists in government. Having found that there is a bit of intra-party conflict between politicians in power and those outside the power corridor, there was the need to engage political scientists to confirm some of the complaints against APC government in the State. The reason being that it was not in the scope of the study and therefore, it is considered as a study that can be explored independently of this study.
- iv. The entire voters in Kwara State were originally proposed to be the population of the study. The total population of the voters based on distribution figure of INEC as at February, 2019 before election stood at 1.4m, all efforts to get local government by local government of this figure proved abortive because the officials felt the release of the breakdown could pose a serious threat to free and fair elections. This is considered another limitation of the study.
- v. The study intended to identify the most effective media outlets used by the political party (APC). The unit of analysis for objective one of this study was the party and not the voters. This is considered another limitation of the study.

5.5 Recommendations for further studies:

- i. The study focused largely on events of the last six months to the gubernatorial election and the first one year of Governor AA activities in office. Other studies could explore the reporting of Governor AA remaining 3 years or the entire 4 years in office upon completion. This could be used practically to determine the feasibility of his second term

bid if he chooses to contest. Besides, that will show whether the observations noted in this study have been attended to. Such study will, therefore, examine the opinion and feeling of people particularly the civil servants, party loyalists and entire generality of Kwara State on the perceptions of the quality of leadership, based on media depiction, the governor has brought to bear and how that will affect the narrative of 2023 gubernatorial election.

- ii. This study adopted survey and interview to assess the media campaign of O TO GE on the 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. Another study may adopt content analysis to carry out a content analysis of media reporting of O TO GE media campaign in 2019 gubernatorial and its impact on voters' voting behaviour.
- iii. Another study should endeavour to use INEC registered voters as study population.

5.5.1 Recommendations based on findings for politicians:

- i. It should constantly engage with the electorates through media – conventional and new – for positive media depiction/representation. Given the enormous power of the media in influencing peoples' opinion, AA led administration must continuously be projecting, without resorting to propaganda, the achievements of his administration on timely basis;
- ii. The intra-party crisis should be resolved as quickly as possible to forestall negative media representation particularly from party loyalists to avoid the formation of O TO GE II in 2023;
- iii. The government should not deviate from its campaign promises. Doing so can be too costly for him and his political party in 2023 election, among others.

References

- Abagen, T. F. (2009). The mass media and the evolution of a viable social and political order in Nigerian. *Journal of Communication Research*, 1(1) 14-18
- Abdollahyan, H. & Machika, A. (2017). An analysis of the influence of radio political Campaign messages on voters; electoral behaviour in Kano, Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Science (IJSS)* 24(2): 59-72. Available from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/An-Analysis-of-the-Influence-of-Radio-Political-on-Abdollahyan-Machika/205be014b7fe0d923c72a8626e9f96c67da9e920> (Accessed 10th December 2019)
- Abdulrazak, B. (29/01/2019). *The birth of Otoge and the crumbling of Otunya*. Available from <https://bolajialao.wordpress.com/2019/01/29/the-birth-of-otoge-and-the-crumbling-of-otunya-dynasty-and-his-minons-nigeriadecedes-nigeria-ilorin/> (Accessed 29th January 2019)
- Abubakar, A. A. (2011). *Political participation and discourse in social media during the 2011 presidential electioneering*. Conference paper of ACCE, Covenant University, Ota, Nigeria.
- Adibe, Odoemelam & Chibuwe. (2011). *Social media, electioneering and sustenance of democracy in Africa: A SWOT analysis*. A paper presented at the African Media and Democracy Conference (AMDC), Accra, Ghana.
- Akinlade, A. A. (2016). *The influence of social media on the voting behaviour of the youth in south east Nigeria*. (Graduate Thesis, University of Nsukka, Nigeria), Nsukka, University of Nsukka Press.
- Alao, D. (1992). *News Reporting*, Lagos, Unique Publications.
- Alexander, J. C. (2010). *The performance of politics: Obama's victory and the democratic struggle for power*. London, Oxford University Press.
- All Answers Ltd. (20/11/2018). *Internet advertising: comparison of Nigeria and Hungary*. Available from <https://ukdiss.com/examples/internet-users-in-nigeria-and-hungary.php?vref=1> (Accessed 29th January 2019)

- Aliagan, I. Z. (2011). Newspaper Readership Pattern in Ilorin. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 2(5) 451-466. Available from <https://journal-archives8.webs.com/451-466.pdf> (Accessed 20th June 2019)
- Althaus, S. L., & Tewksbury, D. (2002). Agenda setting and the “new” News. *Communication Research*, 29(2). Available from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0893650202029002004>. (Accessed 29th January 2019)
- Anaeto, S.G., Onabanjo O.S, & Osifeso J.B. (2008). *Models and theories of communication*. Lagos, African Renaissance Books Incorporated.
- Anifowoshe, R. (2006). *Violence and politics in Nigeria*. Ibadan, NOIL Publishers.
- Ansolabehere, S., & Iyengar, S. (1994). Riding the wave and claiming ownership over issues: The joint effects of advertising and news coverage in campaigns. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 58(3), 335-357. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2749726>. (Accessed 4th November 2019)
- Antunes, R. (2010). Theoretical models of voting behaviour. *comunicãoe ciências empresariais*.
- Ariye, E. C. (2010). The impact of private broadcasting in Nigeria, *Pakistan Journal of Social Science: Medwell Journals*. 7(6): 415-423.
- Atieno, O. P. (2009). An analysis of the strengths and limitations of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms. *Problems of education in the 21st century*. Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya: 13, 13-18.
- Ayankoya, K., Calitz, A. & Cullen, M. D. M. (2015). A Framework for the Use of Social Media for Political Marketing: An Exploratory Study. *9th International Business Conference, Zambia*. Available from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication> (Accessed 9th August 2019)
- Ayodele, O.J (14/01/2019). *Otoge vs Set Lagos Free between Street Revolt and Twitter Revolt*. Available from <http://saharareporters.com/2019/01/14/otoge-vs-setlagosfree-between-street-revolt-and-twitter-revolt-obajeun-jonah-ayodele> (Accessed 29th January 2019)
- Baker, S. E., & Edwards, R. (2012). *How many qualitative interviews is enough?* Available from <http://www.eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/> (Accessed 20th February 2019)

- Baran, S. J. & Davis, D. K. (2012). *Mass communication theory: foundations, ferment and future*. Boston, MA. Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Battaglia, M. P. (2008). Non-probability sampling. In P. J. Lavrakas (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. California, SAGE Publications.
- Bello, S. M. (2015). *Newspaper coverage of health issues in Nigeria: The frequency of reporting malaria, HIV/AIDS and polio and the effect of seeking health information on the behaviour of newspaper readers*. (PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury).
- Blueprint.ng, (15/2/2019). *Making issue out of campaign slogan*. Available from <https://www.blueprint.ng/kwara-2019-making-issue-out-of-campaign-slogan/> (Accessed 29th February 2019)
- Boulianne, S. (2009). Does internet use affect engagement? A meta-analysis of research. *Political Communication*, 26(2). 26:2, 193-211. Available from DOI: 10.1080/10584600902854363. (Accessed 16th April 2019)
- Boulianne, S. (2016). *Campaigns and conflict on social media: A literature snapshot*. Online Information Review, 40(5). Available from <https://www.researchgate.net/deref/http%3A%2F%2Fdx.doi.org%2F10.1108%2FOIR-03-2016-0086>. (Accessed 19th January 2020)
- Boundless, (2015). *Political advertising in the United States*. Available from <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-politicalscience/chapter/the-media-and-political-campaigns/> (Accessed 30th January 2019)
- Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). *Conducting in-depth interviews: A guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input*. Watertown, Pathfinders.
- Brandcrunch, (01/03/2019). *Otoge Social Change Idea routed Saraki*. Available from <https://www.brandcrunch.com.ng/2019/03/01/oto-ge-social-change-idea-routed-saraki> (Accessed 4th May 2019)
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Canter, L. (2014). From traditional gatekeeper to professional verifier: how local newspaper journalists are adapting to change. *Journalism Education: The Journal of the Association*

- of *Journalism Education*, 3 (1), 102-119 Available from http://shura.shu.ac.uk/7991/1/Canter_From_traditional_gatekeeper_to_professional_verifier.pdf. (Accessed 29th December 2019)
- Centre for European Studies (CES) (2012). Suomen toivo think tank, *social media - the new power of political influence*. Version 1.0 ari-matti auvinen
- Chandrupa, K. (2014). The influence of the media in politics - campaigns and elections. *International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR)* 12: 216-227
- Check J., Schutt R. K. (2012). Survey research. In: J. Check, R. K. Schutt., editors. *Research methods in education*. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications.
- Citypeopleonline, (15/04/2019). *How the Otoge Movement swept Saraki out of Power*. Available from <http://www.citypeopleonline.com/how-the-otoge-movement-swept-saraki-out-of-power/> (Accessed 29th May 2019)
- Cohen, B. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Hillsdale, NJ, Erlbaum.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Washington DC, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. California, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Crouch, M., & McKenzie, H. (2006). The logic of small samples in interview based qualitative research. *Social Science Information*, 45(4), 483-499.
- Curran, J. (2005). *Media and cultural theory*. UK, Routledge
- DailyTrust, (3/1/2019). *APC Guber candidate rejects Kwara government position on campaign slogan*. Available from <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/apc-guber-candidate-rejects-kwara-govts-position-on-campaign-slogan.html> (Accessed 13th May 2019)
- Dele, A. (5/1/2019). *Saraki and presidential election in Kwara state*. Available from <https://www.independent.ng/saraki-and-presidential-election-in-kwara-state/> dele (Accessed 6th March 2019)

- Diamond, E. & Bates, S. (1992). *The Spot: the rise of political advertising on television*. USA, Cambridge MIT Press.
- Dierckx, D. (2013). *How to estimate your population and survey sample size?* Available from <https://www.checkmarket.com/how-to-estimate-your-populationand-survey-sample-size/> (Accessed 16th August 2019)
- Dominick, J. (2007). *The dynamics of mass communication in a digital age*. USA, McGraw Hill Publishers.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. USA, Harper & Row.
- Druckman, J. N., Kifer, M. J. & Parkin, M. (2010) Timeless strategy meets new medium: Going negative on congressional campaign websites, 2002-2006, *Political Communication*, 27(1), 88 — 103
- Dworkin, S. L. (2012). Sample size policy for qualitative studies using in-depth interviews. *Archives of sexual behavior*, 41(6), 1319-1320. Available from doi: 10.1007/s10508-012-0016-6. (Accessed 26th August 2019)
- Falade, D. A. (2014). Political participation in Nigerian democracy: A study of some selected local government areas in Ondo state, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science*.
- Familisu, E. B. (2014). An assessment of the use of radio and other means of information dissemination by the resident of Ado-Ekiti, Ekiti state, Nigeria. *Library Philosophy and Practice* (e-Journal). Paper 1088.
- Feyipitan (4/4/2015). *Agenda setting and political advertising staking integrity*. Available from www.vanguardng.com/2015. (Accessed 26th January 2019)
- Folarin, B. (2002). *Theories of mass communication: An introductory text*. Abeokuta, Link Publications.
- Ghanem, S. (1997). *Filling in the Tapestry: The second level agenda setting in communication and democracy: exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda setting theory*. Lawrence Erlbaum Association.
- Glaser, W. A. (1965). Television and voter turnout. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*: 29(1), 71-86.

- Glavas, D. (2017). *Political advertising and media campaign during pre-election period: A comparative study*. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe – Mission to Montenegro
- Gongnews, (6/3/2019). *Otoge Kwara politics and agenda for the future*. Available from <http://gongnews.net/oto-ge-kwara-politics-and-agenda-for-the-future/> (Accessed 26th June 2019)
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59-82.
- Guttmann, A. (2019). *Advertising revenue in Nigeria 2018-2020 by medium*. Statista GmbH. Available from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/614932/nigeria-advertising-spending-medium/> (Accessed 26th January 2020)
- Gyonlineng.com (3/4/2019). *End of the Saraki dynasty in Kwara state*. Available from <http://gyonlineng.com/end-of-the-saraki-dynasty-kwara-politics/> (Accessed 6th January 2020)
- Hasiya, I. A. & Aliyu, I. A. (2015). *The effect of social media on good governance in nigeria. researchgate*. Available from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication>. (Accessed 30th July 2019)
- Hendricks, J. A. & Schill, D. (2014). *Presidential campaigning and social media: An analysis of the 2012 campaign*. UK, Oxford University Press.
- Holbrook, T. M. (1996). *Do campaigns matter?* California, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Ijkanmi, R. (26/3/2019). *How I originated Otoge campaign slogan that dethroned Saraki*. Available from <https://www.pulse.ng/news/politics/how-i-originated-o-to-ge-campaign-slogan-that-dethroned-saraki-lak-jimoh/mg0e7b0>. (Accessed 26th April 2019)
- Iyengar, S. (1979). Television news and issue salience: A re-examination of the agenda-setting hypothesis. *American Politics Quarterly*, 7(4). Available from <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1532673X7900700401>. (Accessed 2nd September 2019)

- Jungherr, A. (2016a). Four functions of digital tools in election campaigns: The German case. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 21(3). Available from <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1940161216642597>. (Accessed 15th February 2019)
- Jungherr, A. (2016b). Twitter use in election campaigns: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 13(1) Available from <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2015.1132401>. (Accessed 15th February 2019)
- Kaid, L. & Holtz-Bacha, C. (2006). *Television advertising and democratic systems around the World: A Comparison of Videostyle Content and Effects*. California, Thousand Oaks. Sage Publication.
- Kaid, L. (1999). *Political advertising*. In D.D Nimmo and K.R. Sanders (eds.), *Handbook of political communications*. California, Sage Publications.
- Kaid, L. L., & Holtz-Bacha, C. (1995). *Political advertising in western democracies: Candidates and parties on television*. California, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Kendra, C. (2019). *What is a cross-sectional study*. Available from <https://www.verywellmind.com/what-is-a-cross-sectional-study-2794978> (Accessed 15th February 2019)
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). *The People's choice - How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New Jersey, Columbia Press.
- Levesque, R. (2007). *SPSS programming and data management: a guide for SPSS and SAS users*. Chicago Ill, SPSS Inc.
- Louine, J. L. (2016) Media Representation of Barack Obama: A Pre- and Post-Election Comparison. *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 15760. Available from <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd/15760>. (Accessed 15th March 2019)
- Lynn, H. (2019). *Broaden the reach of your political campaign with outdoor advertising*. Effortless Outdoor Media: EOM. Available from <https://www.effortlessoutdoormedia.com/broaden-the-reach-of-your-political-campaign-with-outdoor-advertising/> (Accessed 15th September 2019)

- Manning, J. (2014.) Social media, definition and classes of. In K. Harvey, *Encyclopedia of social media and politics*. California, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- McCombs, M. (2011). Shaping the agenda of local daily newspapers: A methodology merging the agenda setting and community structure perspectives. *Mass Communication and Society*. 14 (6): 905–919. Available from <https://doi.org/10.1080%2F15205436.2011.615447>. (Accessed 17th March 2019)
- McCrum-Gardner, E. (2010). Sample size and power calculations made simple. *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation*, 17(1), 10-14.
- Morse, J. M. (2000). Determining sample size. *Qualitative Health Research*, 10(1), 3-5.
- Newsdigest, (6/4/2019). *Kwara politics after Otoge Movement*. Available from <https://newsdigest.ng/opinion/2019/04/08/kwara-politics-after-otoge-movement/> (Accessed 19th February 2019)
- Nkana, N. S. (2015). Pictorial impact of television political advertising on voters in a multi-cultural environment. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*. 5(4): 220-232. Available from DOI: 10.18488/journal.1/2015.5.4/1.4.220.232. (Accessed 15th August 2019)
- Nor, R. M. Z. (2014). *Agenda setting theory*. International Islamic university, Malaysia. Available from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Nor_Mohd_Zain2. (Accessed 18th February 2019)
- Ojekwe, G. I. (2016) *Political advert campaigns and voting behaviour: a study of Akinwunmi Ambode's election ad campaigns in Lagos state*. Available from DOI:10.20940/JAE/2016/v15i2a1. (Accessed 18th February 2019)
- Ojodu, B. (10/2/2019). *An award winning political slogan*. Available from <https://www.chronicle.ng/2019/02/otoge-an-award-winning-political-slogan-by-babafemi-ojodu/> (Accessed 10th May 2019)
- Oliver, P. (2006). Purposive sampling. In V. Jupp, *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications.

- Olujide, J. O, Adeyemi S. L & Gbadeyan R. A (2010). Nigerian electorates' perception of political advertising and election campaign. *Journal of Social Science* 27: 179-185. Available from doi.org%2F10.1080%2F09718923.2011.11892918. (Accessed 11th March 2019)
- Page, B. I. (1996). The mass media as political actors. *PS: Political Science and Politics*: 29(1), 20-22.
- Patience, N. A. (2019). *Influence of television programmes on audience preference of stations in Nigeria*, (PhD Thesis, Benue State University, Markudi). Available from <http://bsuir.bsum.edu.ng:8080/jspui/bitstream/11409/430/1/Dr.%20Patience%20PhD%20Final%20Thesis%20Original%20%281%29.pdf> (Accessed 18th February 2020)
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Newbury Park, California, Sage Publications.
- Pechmann, C. (2001). A comparison of health communication models: Risk learning versus stereotype priming. *Media Psychology*, 3, 189-210.
- Prat, A. & Stromberg, D. (2013). *The political economy of mass media*. london school of economics, Stockholm University. Available from <http://www.columbia.edu/~ap3116/papers/mediasurvey11.pdf>
- Premiumtimesng, (31/7/2019). *Close up the Genesis: Arrowheads of Otoge Movement that Consumed Saraki in Kwara*. Available from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/317106-close-up-the-genesis-arrowheads-of-o-to-ge-movement-that-consumed-saraki-in-kwara.html> (Accessed 12th April 2019)
- Prior, M. (2007). *Post-broadcast democracy: How media choice increases inequality in political involvement and polarizes elections*. USA, Cambridge University Press.
- Punchng, (20/4/2019). *2019 Elections: A Post-mortem*. Available from <https://punchng.com/2019-elections-a-post-mortem/> (Accessed 26th April 2019)
- Rhee, J. W. (1997). Strategy and issue frames in election campaign coverage: A social cognitive account of framing. *Journal of Communication*. 47, 26-48.

- Right, M. (2019). *Fact about Otoge slogan*. Retrieved from <https://mrrightsng.blogspot.com/2019/03/5-facts-about-o-to-ge-slogan-and.html>
- Robinson, J. E. (1976). The Press and the Voter. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*: 427, 95-103.
- Robinson, J. P., & Davis, D. K. (1990). Television news and the informed public: An information processing approach. *Journal of Communication*, 40(3), 106-119.
- Ross, M. W. (1988). Prevalence of classes of risk behaviors for HIV infection in a randomly selected Australian population. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 25(4), 441-450. Available from doi: 10.1080/00224498809551475. (Accessed 27th March 2019)
- Rossi, L., & Orefice, M. (2016). *Comparing Facebook and Twitter during the 2013 General Election in Italy*. UK, Routledge.
- Rubin, I. S., & Rubin, H. J. (2004). *Qualitative interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. New Delhi, Sage Publications.
- Rufai, I. K. (2019). *The Impact of Social Media on University of Ilorin Undergraduates' Level of Political Participation in the 2019 Nigerian General Elections*. (B.Sc Thesis, University of Ilorin, Ilorin). Available from <https://www.researchgate.net/deref/http%3A%2F%2Fdx.doi.org%2F10.13140%2FRG.2.2.14400.07686>. (Accessed 27th March 2019)
- Saheed A. D. (2018). *The influence of outdoor advertising on the victory of Governor Gboyega Oyetola in the 2018 Governorship Election in Osun State*. (Graduate Thesis, Osun State Polytechnic, Iree).
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2012) *Research methods for business students*. London, Pearson Education Ltd.
- Scheufele, D.A. & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda-setting and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*: 57(1), 9-20. Available from <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x>. (Accessed 7th May 2019)
- Shah, D. V., Domke, D. & Wackman, D. B. (1996). To thine own self be true: Values, framing and voters decision-making strategies. *Sage Journal of Communication Research*, 23(5): 509-560.

- Shapiro, G. M. (2008). Sample. In P. J. Lavrakas (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. California, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Shoshana, H. Etse, S. & Erin, O. (2008). The Role of online social networking in the 2008 democratic presidential primary campaigns. Paper presented for Review to the Communication Technology Division, *the Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*, Chicago.
- Singleton, R. A., & Straits B. C. (2009). *Approaches to social research*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- South African Manual for Outdoor Advertising Control, (1998). *South African Manual for Outdoor Advertising Control*. Environmental Affairs and Tourism and Transport Department. Available from <https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/1998mannual.pdf> (Accessed 30th March 2019)
- Southwell, B. G., & Yzer, M. C. (2008). The role of interpersonal communication in mass media campaigns. In C. S. Bek (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook 31*. New York, Taylor and Francis.
- Takeshita, T. & Mikami, S. (1995). How did the mass media influence the voters' choice in the 1993 general election in Japan? A Study of Agenda Setting, *Keio Communication Review*. 17, 27-41.
- Tejumaiye, J. A. (2008). Political Advertising in Nigeria's Emerging Democracy. *Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 3: 67-97.
- Tourangeau, R., & Rasinski, K. A. (1988). Cognitive Processes Underlying Context Effects in Attitude Measurement. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103(3), 299-314. Available from doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.103.3.299. (Accessed 12th May 2019)
- Udeze, S. & Akpan, U. (2013). The Influence of Political Advertising on Nigerian Electorate. *Psychology, Journal of Communications*. Available from DOI:10.1080/0976691X.2013.11884807. (Accessed 27th March 2019)

- Utor, M. (2000). The Mass Media, Ethics and Professionalism in Nigeria. *Journal of Mass Communication and Society*, 1(2) 16-26.
- Vanguard News (10/2/2019). *Abdulrazaq's Otoqe movement on fire in Kwara*. Available from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/abdulrazaqs-o-to-ge-movement-on-fire-in-kwara/> (Accessed 9th March 2019)
- Vanguardngr, (6/2/2019). *Kwara 2019: Supporters of Saraki/Abdulrasaq clash*. Available from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/12/kwara-2019-supporters-of-saraki-abdulrasaq-clash/> (Accessed 27th March 2019)
- Victor, O., Ikechukwu, U., Gerald, N. & Chinedum, O. (2017). Effects of the social media in the marketing of political candidates in Nigeria. *British Journal of Marketing Studies. European Centre for Research Training and Development*. Available from <http://www.eajournals.org/wp-content/uploads/Effects-of-the-Social-Media-in-the-Marketing-of-Political-Candidates-in-Nigeria.pdf> (Accessed 7th May 2019)
- Wang, Z. & Gantz, W. (2007). Health content in local television news. *Journal of Health Communication*. 21(3): 213-221. Available from <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410230701307527>. (Accessed 27th April 2019)
- Wanta, W., Golan, G., & Lee, C. (2004). Agenda setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(2), 364-377. Available from doi:10.1177/107769900408100209. (Accessed 2nd May 2019)
- Wilks, S. S. (1962). *Mathematical statistics*. USA, John Wiley & Sons.
- Wimmer R. D. & Dominick, J. R. (2000). *Mass media research: An introduction*. Belmont, Wadsworth Publishers.
- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2011). *Mass media research: an introduction*. Boston, Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Wolf, J. (2008). Self-administered questionnaire. In P. Lavrakas (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of survey research methods*. California, Thousand Oaks, SAGE.
- Zar, J. H. (1984). *Biostatistical analysis*. New Jersey, Prentice Hall International.

Appendices



Department of Mass Communication

College of Information and Communication Technology

Kwara State University, Malete

Kwara State

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

I am Raufu, Musliyu, a Postgraduate student of Mass Communication Department, Kwara State University, Malete, conducting a study on AN ASSESSMENT OF ‘O’TOGE’ MEDIA CAMPAIGN IN 2019 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION AND ITS PERCEIVED IMPLICATIONS FOR 2023 ELECTION IN KWARA STATE.

I, therefore, implore you to kindly fill this questionnaire with utmost sincerity as they appear to you. All information provided here will be treated with utmost confidentiality for academic purpose.

Thank you.

Please tick (✓) any item as appropriate to you.

SECTION A

BIO DATA OF RESPONDENT

1. Gender: 1. Male () 2. Female ()
2. Senatorial District: 1. Kwara Central () 2. Kwara South () 3. Kwara North ()
3. Educational Status: 1. Primary School Certificate () 2. SSCE () 3. National Diploma () 4. HND/BSc () 5. M.Sc () 6. PhD ()
4. Age: Year ().....
5. Religion: 1. Islam () 2. Christianity () 3. Others (Please, specify).....
6. Political Party Affiliation: 1. APC () 2. PDP () 3. Others (Please, specify).....

SECTION B

This section is to understand the awareness level of the respondents

7. Were you aware of Otoge Media Campaign in the 2019 Gubernatorial election in Kwara State? 1. Yes () 2. No ()
8. At what moment did you become aware of the Otoge Media Campaign? 1. Six Months before Election () 2. Three Months before Election () 3. One Month before Election () 4. On the eve of Election () 5. On Election day () 6. I did not notice ()
9. Through which medium/channel did you become aware of Otoge Media Campaign? 1. Radio () 2. TV () 3. Newspaper/Magazine () 4. Bill Board/Pamphlet () 5. Social Media () 6. Group Discussion () 7. Family, Friends and Relatives () 8. All of the above ()
10. Did you believe in information coming from media as it relates to Otoge crusade and political agenda? 1. Yes () 2. No () 3. Indifferent ()
11. Did you know that Otoge had once been used as political slogan in the State by LAK Jimoh in the 2011 Gubernatorial Election? 1. Yes () 2. No ()
12. If Yes, why did it fail to yield result? 1. There was no need for change () 2. The proponent of the slogan was not popular () 3. Opposition not giving access to the media () 4. Poor political sensitization () 5. Influence of Federal Might ()

SECTION C

This section is to understand the media impact on political participation in the 2019 gubernatorial election

13. Do you have voter's card? 1. Yes () 2. No ()
14. Did you vote during the 2019 gubernatorial election? 1. Yes () 2. No ()
15. If Yes, which candidate did you vote for? 1. APC candidate () 2. PDP candidate () 3. Other candidates (Please, specify)
16. If No, why did you not vote? 1. Because of previous electoral inadequacy and distrust () 2. Lack of true political ideology by candidates () 3. No voter's card () 4. Use of thugs by politicians () 5. All of the above ()
17. Why did you vote for the party/candidate you voted for? 1. Need to resist further oppression and call for positive change and good governance in Kwara State () 2. Need for continuity and support for Saraki dynasty () 3. Indifference ()
18. What do you think influenced your voting behaviour/decision? 1. Ologe Campaign Promises () 2. PDP Achievements in the State () 3. Integrity of the Party () 4. Belief in Candidates () 5. None of the above ()

SECTION D

19. This section is to understand the Media Campaign Influence on Politician's or Party's Image

Instruction

Please indicate your level of disagreement or agreement with the following statements by ticking (√) in the appropriate column opposite your choice from the options provided.

1. Strongly Disagree (SD); 2. Disagree (D); 3. Neutral (N); 4. Agree(A); 5. Strongly Agree (SA)

	STATEMENTS	SD	D	N	A	SA
i.	Media influenced my choice of political candidate	SD	D	N	A	SA
ii.	Media influenced my choice of political party	SD	D	N	A	SA
iii.	Media were avenues for politicians to boost their image to the public	SD	D	N	A	SA

iv.	I believe political candidates who were not active on media to be unserious about their ambition	SD	D	N	A	SA
v.	I voted for politician who appeared more in media than one who was not	SD	D	N	A	SA
vi.	Media people set the agenda for the public based on messages from party's candidate	SD	D	N	A	SA
vii.	I believe proliferation of media houses particularly radio houses in the State was a springboard for acceleration of politician's and party's image	SD	D	N	A	SA

SECTION E

20. This section is to look at perceived agenda setting influence of the media

Instruction

Please indicate your level of disagreement or agreement with the following statements by ticking (✓) in the appropriate column opposite your choice from the options provided.

1. Strongly Disagree (SD); 2. Disagree (D); 3. Neutral (N); 4. Agree(A); 5. Strongly Agree (SA)

	STATEMENTS	SD	D	N	A	SA
i.	Media set agenda for the public and create awareness for them on political and relevant issues	SD	D	N	A	SA
ii.	People tend to believe what they hear and see repeatedly from the media	SD	D	N	A	SA
iii.	Conventional media tend to be more powerful than social media in agenda setting for the public	SD	D	N	A	SA
iv.	Social media tend to be more powerful than conventional media in agenda setting for the public	SD	D	N	A	SA
v.	Social media only reinforce or complement conventional media in setting agenda for the public	SD	D	N	A	SA
vi.	Media decide for people what they should think	SD	D	N	A	SA
vii.	Media shape peoples' belief and thinking of the outside world	SD	D	N	A	SA

SECTION F

21. This section is to assess dispositions to Gov. Abdulrahman Abdulrazak performance given Otoge media campaign and its implication for 2023 gubernatorial election in the State

Instruction

Please indicate your level of disagreement or agreement with the following statements by ticking (✓) in the appropriate column opposite your choice from the options provided.

1. Strongly Disagree (SD); 2. Disagree (D); 3. Neutral (N); 4. Agree(A); 5. Strongly Agree (SA)

	STATEMENTS	SD	D	N	A	SA
i.	Governor AA has done well in the last twelve months	SD	D	N	A	SA

ii.	The Otoge media campaign promises are still relevant and are being manifested in the administration of Gov. AA	SD	D	N	A	SA
iii.	AA's refusal to accept directives from party loyalists in terms of political appointments into public offices and other business-as-usual deals endear him to the masses	SD	D	N	A	SA
iv.	AA's abandonment of party loyalists in terms of apportionment of political posts will potentially mitigate Otoge popularity and APC chances of winning in 2023 gubernatorial election	SD	D	N	A	SA
v.	Should Gov. AA continue like this, he has chances of winning again in 2023	SD	D	N	A	SA

Interview Guide

1. Otoge slogan was the hallmark of APC campaign in 2019 gubernatorial election in Kwara State. What do you think were the most effective media outlets and techniques used by the party to drive its campaign to victory?
2. Apart from Otoge, what were other factors responsible for the victory of the party in the 2019 gubernatorial election?
3. The party adopted various communication strategies before and during the gubernatorial election, what were these communication strategies and how did it influence the electorates' voting decisions?
4. Proliferation of media houses, especially private radio stations, could be said to have a balance to media outlets/platforms accessible to political actors in the build up to 2019 gubernatorial election. Do you share the belief that this situation provided Otoge and APC the avenue to accelerate its media campaign unabated?
5. It was almost believed that APC won the gubernatorial election on a platter of gold given Otoge factor. Do you see Otoge factor repeating this feat in 2023 gubernatorial election in the State?
6. If yes, what do you think are the possible factors that can make Otoge factor to count and sustain the momentum for 2023?
7. If No, what are the possible factors that can militate against the continuation of the party (APC) in 2023 and what should be done differently to repeat its victory in 2023?

ProQuest Number: 28543018

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality and completeness of this reproduction is dependent on the quality and completeness of the copy made available to ProQuest.



Distributed by ProQuest LLC (2021).

Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author unless otherwise noted.

This work may be used in accordance with the terms of the Creative Commons license or other rights statement, as indicated in the copyright statement or in the metadata associated with this work. Unless otherwise specified in the copyright statement or the metadata, all rights are reserved by the copyright holder.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17,
United States Code and other applicable copyright laws.

Microform Edition where available © ProQuest LLC. No reproduction or digitization of the Microform Edition is authorized without permission of ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346 USA