Sojojin Baka as New Phenomenon in Radio Political Advertising in the 2015 General Elections in Kano State

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Abstract
In the recent past, political campaigns and advertising in the media (particularly on radio) in Kano state like in other sections of the country, is characterized by the use of open rallies, personal contact, radio jingles, and the use of flyers and handbills among others. In Kano state, the most populous and one of the most politically oriented states in the country, a new phenomenon of political campaign and advertising by politicians has emerged and is gaining currency. The use of Sojojin Baka translated literally as "mouth soldiers" in political advertising by politicians of different political shades and creed is gradually gaining momentum and is now a popular platform in political programmes in radio stations in the state. Using In-depth Interview and qualitative analysis, the study traced the history of the emergence of the Sojojin Baka phenomenon in Kano politics and in the 2015 General Elections in particular. The study was able to establish the roles of the Sojojin Baka in Kano politics which include holding elected officials accountable, enlightening the electorates and creating awareness among others. The major criticisms against the Sojojin Baka are character assassination, violation of code of ethics, use of derogatory language and others were also established. Relevant literature was reviewed and the Reinforcement media theory and Assimilation Hypothesis were used as theoretical framework. The study recommended the further exploration of the Sojojin Baka Political advertising using empirical researeh and the need for stakeholders to work out a framework for its operations.

Keywords: *Sojojin Baka,* Political Campaign, Advertising, New Phenomenon, Politics, Elections.

Introduction

In any democratic set up, patties and political candidates rely heavily on advertising to promote and sale their products (candidates and parties) to the electorates during elections. According to Nwosu (1992:66),''political advertising is a marketing function similar in intent and purpose for product marketing." For Gana (1992), political campaigns deal with soliciting for votes which is a kind of marketing communication. In other words, political advertising is concerned with packaging political candidates and parties so as to win the confidence and supports of the electorates. As enunciated by Olujide, Adyemi and Gbadeyan (2010), political advertising is paid for by political parties and candidates and is the use of media by political candidates or parties to increase their exposure to the public.

In politics, advert is employed through various media to induce political debate and ultimately, persuade voters. These adverts are packaged to induce the psyche of the targeted audience. Advertising, according to Wells, Monarty and Burnett (2006:5), is a "paid, persuasive communication that uses non-personal mass media as well as other forms of interactive communication to reach broad audiences, to connect an identified sponsor with a target audience."

The mass media is a veritable tool in electioneering campaigns. While concurring, Pate, cited in Mohammed (2000:1), stated that "the mass media in electioneering period undoubtedly assist a large number of people by providing them with information on the contestants, their personalities and their manifestos within the context of individual or political parties". In northern Nigeria particularly in Kano State, radio is the most widely used medium in view of low level literacy and its advantage of portability and maintenance (Maikaba, 2005).

The mareh 28, 2015 Nigerian general elections witnessed an increase in the number of electioneering campaigns and advertisement in various forms and formats. According to data collected from advertising agencies and regulatory bodies, an estimated 4.9 billion Naira was spent on political adverts in both print and electronic media by the two major parties: People Democratic Party (POP) and All Progressive Change (APC), which is higher than what obtained in previous elections (Vanguard newspaper, Mareh 23, 2015, p.9). This suggests that political actors explore political advertising in several ways to woo voters to either vote or refrain from voting for a particular political party or its candidate (Ijeh 2012).

Brief History of Political Advertising

The history of political advertising and campaigns can be traced back to ancient Greece. The most common form of advertising then was by word of mouth. Areheologists found inscription of commercial messages and political campaigns in the ruins of Pompeii and in Babylonian clay tablets that date back to as far as 300BC (Ujo: 2012).

Early history of political advertising is linked to American politics. However, it was the arrival of television on the scene that changed everything particularly the way politicians reached out to their audiences. Prior to that, politicians reached out to potential voters by getting out to meet them one on one, holding town hall debates and shaking hands. The first candidate to break this pattern was the 1860 Democratic candidate Stephen A. Douglas and the first candidate who campaigned and won was Woodrow Wilson in 1912. In 1948, presidential candidate Harry Truman accomplished shaking approximately 500,000 hands and covering 31,000 miles of ground across the nation (Hahn, 1998). The advent of new media (in particular social media) is gradually changing the media landscape and making it

more intimate, interactive and personalized forms of communication much more important to advertisers and politicians (Wells et al; 2006).

Diclerico and Hammock; (2007:63) opined that in 2008, Barrack Obama's fund-raising operations obliterated every political fund raising and spending in history. Corroborating them, Bardes et al (2010), noted that Obama raised more than 650 million dollars from about 3 million donors in large part over the internet. This does not mean however, that the old or traditional media are no longer useful in political campaigns and advertising in democratic societies. In most developing countries particularly in Africa where literacy is low, the traditional media is effectively being used by parties and candidates during electioneering campaigns.

Political Advertising in Nigeria

In the past, political advertising in Nigeria used to take the form of open rallies, debates, personal contact and the use of flyers among others. With the advent of modem communication gadgets and the use of information technology the strategies and methods of modem advertising is gradually changing and taking a new shape.

According to Ya'u (2003), the mass media in Nigeria has experienced phenomenal growth since the first newspaper *"Iwe Irohin"* made its ciebut in 1859. The practice of advert started then when Henry Townsend, the missionary from the Christian missionary service used pamphlets to invite people to church.

The earliest newspapers in Nigeria according to Ujo (2012) were founded for political reasons. Newspapers like the *Daily Mail* founded by Herbert Macaulay in 1931, *the Nigeria Tribune* founded in 1949 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, were used to propagate nationalist struggle and promote the political interests of their owners. In the north, there was *Jaridar Nigeria Ta Arewa* (Northern Provinces Newspaper) published during the colonial government to report news about colonial administration and *Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo* was established in 1939.

The first president of Nigeria, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, was elected by parliament in 1963. However, in 1979 general election, political advertising was done mostly through the use of songs, poetry and slogans. Campaign Manager of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Umaru Dikko, helped the presidential candidate Alhaji Shehu Shagari, to win the election as noted by Olujide, et al (2011).

Political campaigns in the United States (U.S.) entered the "digital age in 1993' *(Vanguard,* April 01, 2015), since then there was an upsurge in the use of mass media by politicians and political parties globally. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential candidate, Chief Moshood Abiola, campaigned on the slogan 'Hope 93' using jingles to advertise on both radio and television. Olusegun Obasanjo (PDP), Gen. Muhammed Buhari (APC), Dr. Goodluck Jonathan (PDP), all have used the media in their campaigns.

In Kano, according to Nasidi (2014), political sphere of the state always stands different from other states. He espoused that with the coming of Freedom Radio that began transmission on lst Dec 2003, the state has witnessed a gradual rise of a new political phenomenon called "Sojojin Baka".

Radio Stations in Kano State

According to recent count, there are fourteen (14) radio stations in Kano State, which is the highest in this part of the country. The stations, ownership and their frequencies are depicted in the table below:

Table 1: Radio stations, ownership and frequencies in Kano State

S/NO	Name of station	Frequency	Nature of Ownership
1.	Manoma (farmers) Radio AM, Kano	549 MW	Public
2.	Radio Kano, AM	729 MW	Public
3.	Radio Kano, FM	89.3 FM	Public
4.	Da la FM	88.5 FM	Private
5.	Express Radio FM	90.3 FM	Private
6.	Wazobia FM	95.1 FM	Private
7.	Cool FM	96.9 FM	Private
8.	Rah a ma FM	97.3 FM	Private
9.	BUK (Bayero University, Kano) FM	98.9 FM	Public
10.	Freedom Radio	99.5 FM	Private
11.	ARTV FM	101.1 FM	Public
12.	Pyramid FM	103.5 FM	Public
13.	Ray Power FM (AIT)	106.5 FM	Private
14	Arewa Radio	93.1	Pri vate

Public stations=5, Private slations=9

Table 2: Political Programmes on Radio Stations in Kano State

S/NO	Name of station	Frequency	Name of Political programme in Hausa
1.	Freedom Radio	99.5 FM	*Kowane Gaula*
2.	Radio Kano, AM	729 MW	*Iya Ruwa, Fidda kai*
3.	Express Radio FM	90.3 FM	*Ido ba mudu ba*
4.	Dala FM	88.5 FM	*Hangen Dala*
5.	Rahama FM	97.3 FM	*Harshen ka, Alkalin ka*
6.	Wazobia FM	95.1 FM	*Ga fili, ga doki*
7.	Pyramid FM	103.5 FM	*Siyasar Kano, Sai Kano*
8.	Ray Power FM	106.5	*Magana zarar bunu*

Table 1 above depicts the number of radio stations currently in operation in Kano State including their frequencies and mode of ownership. Table 2 shows the number of stations offering political programmes, the names of the political programmes and their frequencies.

Who are the *Sojojin Baka?*

The word *Sojojin Baka* is a coinage of two words “Sojojin” and “baka” derived from Hausa language and are literally meaning “mouth soldiers” in view of the role the bearers of the name perform in media and politics in Kano state and some sections of the north. The word “sojoji” is the plural of the word “soja” meaning “soldier” and “baka” is from “baki” which means “mouth” in Hausa. Therefore, *sojojin baka* is a name given to some set of people who appear on radio political programmes in Kano state or sections of the north to promote, defend, castigate, and criticize individuals, groups or political parties, governments, public officials and politicians in favour of their interests.

How do the *Sojojin Baka* operate?
On a daily basis (including weekends), radio stations offering political programmes in Kano state (see Table 2 above) "provide platforms for the *Sojojin Baka* to come after paying certain specified fees to present a political talk on burning local and national issues and in the process support, defend, accuse, criticize and castigate a politician or polticians, political parties or political office holders in favour of their interests. The main supporting argument by radio stations in Kano to provide platform for such heated debates and arguments mostly by individuals lasting for 30 to 60 seconds is the provision under section 39 of the Nigerian constitution of 1999 which allows for freedom of speech and expression.

The main strategies employed by the *Sojojin Baka* in reaching out to their audience are the use of given names (not really their original names) even though they are known and can be traced and identified. They also use "defend" and "attack" strategy, through language devices like figures of speech, proverbs and other insinuations. Sometimes the *Sojojin Baka* are sponsored for a full length discussion programme lasting for an hour or half particularly when elections are around the corner or some burning issues are on the national agenda.

Statement of the Problem
The media arguably, serves as the mouth piece of the populace (Fog, 2004), especially in a democratic setting. It is in line with this thought that the universal declaration of human rights; or article 9 in the Nigerian constitution of 1999 states that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expressions; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and idea through any media regardless of frontiers."

During the 2015 general elections in Nigeria like in previous ones since 1999, politicians devised and adopted several campaign and advertising strategies. However, new methods and strategies have emerged of recent. The emergence of ***Sojojin Baka*** or literally "Political Mouth Soldiers" in Kano politics since 1999 and which has gain prominence in the 2015 general elections is worth studying and documenting. According to Dan Birni (2014) in Nasidi (2014) the focus of Sojojin Baka is to fight for people's rights, create awareness among the populace and represent the voice of the voiceless. While commenting on the role of Sojojin Baka in democratic dispensation, Gama and Zulyadaini in Nasidi (2014) assert that *Sojojin Baka* serve as the protector of democracy, have shaped Kano politics and they created political awareness among Kano people on state and national political issues. It is against this background that the study intends to find out and assess the role of *Sojojin Baka* in political advertising in the 2015 electioneering campaigns in Kano State.

Objectives of the Study
The objectives of the study are:
- To trace the history of ***Sojojin Baka*** in radio political advertising in Kano State.
- To assess the role *of Sojojin* ***Baka*** in radio political advertising in Kano State.
- To find out the major contributions and criticisms against ***Sojojin Baka*** in Kano radio political advertising.
- To examinethe linguistic styles used by ***Sojojin Baka*** in Kano radiopolitical advertising.

Researeh Questions
- How did ***Sojojin Baka*** emerge in Kano radiopolitical advertising?
- What are the specific roles of ***Sojojin Bakain*** Kano radio political advertising?

- What are the major contributions and criticisms against ***Sojojin Bakazs*** presented in Kano radio political advertising?
- What are the linguistic terminologies employed by ***Sojojin Baka*** in Kano radio political advertising?

Literature Review

According to Zilyadaini in Nasidi (2014), the driving force of *Sojojin Baka phenomenon* is contained in section 22 and section 39 of 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which provides that "the press, radio, TV and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental obligation contained in this chapter.md uphold the responsibilities and acceptability of the government to the people.

Many studies have been conducted on political advertising and the utilization of the media by political parties and candidates during electioneering campaigns. Leo, Ephraim and Ezekiel (2013), conducted a survey researeh on television as a medium of political advertising during elections in Anambra State, Nigeria. The study found that exposure to political campaign via television could influence respondents' preference for advertised candidates. The result of the study showed that television is an important tool for carry ing out political campaigns.

Furthermore, the researehers examined television as a powerful medium that can quickly influence people. It showed that television advertisements stimulate quicker recall of candidates advertised through the medium. The study suggested that political parties should give due attention to the use of television for dissemination of political activities as it is more effective than the use of other campaign methods and media.

Asemah and Edegoh (2012), in a study titled: "New Media and Political Advertising in Nigeria: Prospects and Challenges" noted that, political advertising has become a veritable tool in the hands of political parties and their candidates during electioneering campaigns to woo electorates. Using the period of the 2011 general elections, the researehers employed survey method which they found that political parties and candidates made use of the social media and political advertising to reach out to vast audiences, adding that the challenge of using the social media is that, the ability to constantly deliver message via the medium is difficult. Based on the findings, the study concluded that the extent to which political parties in Nigeria use the social media is minimal and therefore, recommends that political parties in Nigeria should give due attention to the new media for the dissemination of political activities. Though, their study is limited in scope to the use of the new media, the conventional mass media has more accessibility due to its characteristics and strength.

Aduradola and Chris (2013) examined the language and slogans in 2011 electioneering campaign in Nigeria. The study adopted a purposive sampling technique to assess two variables (language and slogans). A total of 51 samples were drawn from newspaper advertisements and hand bill displayed in strategic places. The study indicated that the expression used by People Democratic Party (POP) attracted people. They found out that the use of slogans by PDF contributed immensely to the election of Goodluck Jonathan in the 2011 Presidential elections.

The use of photographs was also studied in political campaign "Hate" languages were used by political panics against their opponents to diminish their support. The researehers made some recommendation for political parties; the choice of words in political campaign should

be simple and persuasive. They should avoid negative and derogatory expressions that can promote conflict during political campaigns.

Ijeh (2012) in his study entitled "Voters Perception of Cultural Elements in political adveitising in the 2Q11 general elections", noted that the understanding of pressing societal issues and demonstrating the possession of appropriate responses resulting from political campaigns are key issues considered by the electorates. The study revealed that most political advertising incorporated cultural elements such as native languages, cultural attires and activities, music as well as endorsement of candidates by traditional rulers which are key elements for success in political adveitising. He noted that voters perceived the use of these cultural elements in good light. This, according to him, influenced their voting decisions.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on reinforcement media theory. The theory was propounded by Joseph Klapper in 1960. The theory sees the media as a tool that reinforces existing ideas, notions and beliefs, rather than a change apparatus.

Okunna (1999) in Solomon et al (2008) postulates that mass media rarely have a powerful effect on media audience because people can use a variety of defensive mechanisms or strategies to shield themselves from media messages which are contradictory to their attitudes and behaviors. These mechanisms according to Baran and Davis (2012) are such that they render media messages as contributing agent, and not the sole cause, in the process of reinforcing existing conditions. This theory therefore, is applicable to this study because political adveitising programmes reinforce already existing attitudes, ideas, thoughts and opinions of their targeted audience.

Another theory relevant to this study is the theory of political adveitising called Assimilation Hypothesis derived from social judgment theory. According to lycngar and Prior (1999) the main thrust of this theory is that exposure to political adveitising campaign encourages people to "assimilate" or equate their feelings about related attitude targets. The essence of this concept according to them is that negative reactions to political advertising will color attitudes towards other forms of adverts.

Methodology

The study is qualitative and therefore one of its limitations is that there would be no attempt at generalizations. The study used in-depth interview-where individuals with the knowledge of the subject matter were contacted and interviewed. The In-depth interview also involved recording and documenting collected data in a systematic, scientific way. The population of the study were the entire personalities *(Sojojin Baka)* appearing in radio political programmes in Kano State.

According to Wimmer and Dominic (2003) In-depth interview usually involves inviting a respondent to a field service location or a researeh office and sometimes is conducted at a person's place of work or home. The justification for the selection of this researeh instrument is that the subjects were not many and difficult to access and there was little or no information on the subject of study.

The interviews with the various categories of respondents lasted between thirty (30) minutes to one hour depending on the issue being discussed. The study also listened to some of the

programmes of the *sojojin baka* on radio with a view to identifying some of the expressions/slogans they frequently used.

Presentation of Findings

Researeh Question I: How did ***Sojojin Baka*** emerge in Kano radio political advertising?
To address this question, interviews were conducted with the *Sojojin Baka* members, producers of political programmes and some politicians, party officials and officials of *Gcatta Club* the umbrella association of *Sojojin Baka.* Their responses to the evolution and emergence of *Sojojin Baka* in Kano media and politics are summarized thus:

> Historically, Kano is considered the political melting pot of northern Nigeria's politics. This is in view of the status of the state as a leading opposition to the mainstream northern oligarehy and aristocracy since the first republic. Kano and its leading politicians like the late Malam Aminu Kano have spearheaded opposition against the ruling paity at the centre. This may explain why politicians in the state have spearheaded programmes in the media to inform and educate the electorates. In an interview with one of the respondents which was verified there were no political programmes on radio in any part of the noith before 1978. It was in 1978 before the lifting of the ban on politics by the Gen. (Rtd.) Olusegun Obasanjo administration that Halilu Ahmed Getso a renowned political broadcaster of FRCN Kaduna introduced a political programme titled *"me cece siyasa?"* meaning; what is the meaning of politics? The programme paraded prominent politicians including the late Hajiya Gambo Sawaba who discussed and lectured the listener on the subject of politics. The programme was shortlived because the attention of the FRCN Kaduna and the producer was brought to the fact that the ban on politics and political discussions in the media was still in force. Therefore, immediately, the ban was lifted in 1978 Halilu Getso introduced another political stuff titled *"Dandalin siyasa"* (meaning political platform) this later metamorphosed to *"Alkawari kaya ne"* (literally meaning political promises are a burden). *Alkawari kaya ne* became a leading political programme in the north and it was from the programme that other sister stations started their political programmes and is considered the first platform for *sojojin haka* in northern media and political advertising. The same year 1978-79 saw the emergence of a television station in Kano state called CTV 67. The then governor of Kano state under the opposing Peoples Redemption Party (PRP), Alhaji Muhammadu Abubakar Rimi was denied access by federally controlled media which resulted in his creation of CTV 67. Immediately after set up CTV 67 introduced a political programme called *lale kail* (literally meaning "card playing").

The *Lale Kati* political programme provided a platform for politicians particularly those of the ruling Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) to present their party's programme and manifesto

and is equally a platform for relaying campaign rallies of the, governor and the party. Hence, to some people the *Lale Kati* was the genesis of most political programmes in the media in Kano including the emergence of *Sojojin Baka* as a political campaign and advertising group.

The emergences of Freedom Radio 99.5 in 2003 as the first private radio in the state provided impetus to spearhead the commencement of a political programme entitled *Kowane gauta.The* programme is providing a platform for politicians and sponsored cronies to "freely" air their views and advertise candidates, parties, and programmes and manifestoes.

Muhammad Suleiman Gama, the initiator of the *Kowane gauta* political programme cited in Nasidi (2014), stated that the title of the *programmeKowane gauta* was derived from a Hausa proverb which says *kowane gauta ja ne sai dai idan bai shiga rana b?C* which literally means "every garden egg is red unless it has not been exposed to the sun." This, indirectly is referring to our modem day politicians claiming to be decent and honest worthy only to be found later to be like the rest.

While recounting how it got its name, Dan Birni in Nasidi (2014) observed that *Sojojin Baka* wereinitially called *'yan gwagwarmaya* (political activists), subsequent which Zulyadini Mustapha Karaye a renowned presenter of a political programme calledSiyaarr *Kano* on Pyramid FM 103.5 renamed them *Sojojin Baka* (mouth soldiers) in 2012. He also noted that in order to enhance their welfare and protect the interest of its members they established an association called "Gauta Club".

Researeh Question II: What are the specific roles of ***Sojojin Baka*** *in* radio political advertising in Kano state?
To understand the specific roles of *Sojojin Baka* in Kano radio political advertising one most understand at the outset that majority of the members are machineries hired and engaged by politicians to promote their political programmes and interests and diminish their political opponents. Thus, most of the *Sojojin Baka* political programmes are not genuinely based on the opinion of the presenters. They deliberately present and discuss issues sometimes to distort reality and confuse the listener to the advantage of their sponsor(s).

The *Sojojin Baka* according to the respondents have played both positive and negative roles in the media and political advertising in Kano State during the 2015 general elections. Their positive roles include providing information which ordinarily the audience might not know. They also educate the audience on several issues of politics and they create awareness. They entertain using various linguistic and language styles including proverbs, figures of speech to bring forth their arguments on candidates and political
parties.
The specific positive roles of the *Sojojin Baka* based on the findings are:

a. Holding politicians and elected public officials accountable.
b. Fighting for the rights of the poor and downtrodden
c. Creating awareness on local, national and international politics and current affairs.
d. Enlightening the electorates on the electoral process
e. Providing entertainment by the use of proverbs, figures of speech and other linguistic devices.
f. Serve as a source of revenue to the media organizations and also promoting democracy through advertising.

The negative roles of *Sojojin Baka* are addressed by the next researeh question.

Researeh Question III: What are the major accusations and criticisms against ***Sojojin Baka*** as presented in Kano radio political advertising?

The major criticisms against *subjoin Baka* as advanced by politicians, religious clerics, party officials and listeners of the political programmes interviewed bordered on violations of ethical code of conduct of journalism, religion and even of commonsense. However, we consider the accusations provided by respondents of this study as itemized below:

a. Defamation and assassination of character of prominent persons and politicians.
b. Turning the constitutional provision of freedom of expression into an avenue for making brisk business, trade and exploitation,
c. Engaging in violation of codes of ethical conduct and that of journalism
d. Misleading electorates on the right candidate and political party during elections.
e. Distortion of reality by engaging in propaganda and dissemination of lies.

Researeh question IV: What are the linguistics devices employed by ***Sojojin Baka*** in Kano radio political advertising?

Based on the interviews conducted with the respondents and their programmes ys presented in the various media, it was noted that the *Sojojin Baka* engage in the use of various language and linguistic styles and devices to reach out to audiences and also impress their sponsors for future patronage. Some of the linguistic devices used and their meaning are tabulated below:

Table 3: Some selected linguistics terminologies used by *Sojojin Baka* in radio political programmes in Kano state

S/No.	Linguistic terminology (in Hausa)	Meaning (Gloss)
1.	*Mai Hanmm Jarirai*	Stingy person
2.	*Dan bakara*	Once bitten twice shy
3.	*Mai hannun 'yan dambe*	A cheerful politician
4.	*Ci ka tsare*	A stingy and run away politician
5.	Dillindillin	*Like father like son*
6.	*Gani ya koriji (proverb)*	Sight is better than hearing
7.	*Kifi a ritwa sarki ne (proverb)*	A fish is king in a river
8.	*Ba a hada gudu da susar ditwawit (proverb)*	You cannot do two things the same time
9.	*Tsari*	*Money for political activity*
10.	*Barin kashi a ciki baya maganin yimwa (proverb)*	A pooh in the stomach cannot prevent hunger

Table 3 above depicting some linguistic proverbs, figures of speech and other language styles used by the *Sojojin Baka* in political programming on radio in the 2015 general elections.

Discussion of Findings

Findings have indicated that the *Sojojin Baka* as a group is a new phenomenon and is only found in political programmes of radio stations in Kano State even though the programmes have recently spilled over to neighbouring states of Jigawa and Kaduna. The emergence of the *Sojojin Baka* was as a result of the constitutional provisions allowing for freedom of speech and expression. The emergence of *Freedom Radio* 99.5in 2003 as the first indigenous private radio station in Kano state heralded the introduction of several programmes in a bid for the station to generate income and stay afloat. One of the newly introduced programmes is *kowaite gaitta,* a political programme that is providing the platform for member of the general public and polilicians in particular to express their views and opinions on burning

political issues and others of national concern. It is from the *kowane gauta* political programme that the *sojojin baka phenomenon* started. Since then, it has become the tradition of the programme and similar political programmes on radio in Kano state.

The second researeh question dwelt on the roles of the *sojojin baka* in the media and political sphere of Kano State. It was found from the respondents view that even though the activities of *Sojojin Baka* are being criticized, they contribute positively in the advancement of democracy and society. Their contribution borders on holding politicians to account for their actions, enlightening the electorate, fighting for the right of the downtrodden, creating awareness on local, national and international issues, enlightening the electorate on the electoral process and providing entertainment through the use of linguistic devices. It was also found that the *Sojojin Baka* are good entertainers. Through the use of proverbs, satire, metaphors and other figures of speech they entertain the listener add colour to their presentations. Some of the respondents interviewed disclosed that one great quality of the *Sojojin Baka* is their ability to make their audience laugh and forget their sorrow.

Researeh question III looked into the major accusations against the *sojojin baka.* Most of the accusations were on some of the violations against the ethical code of conduct in the areas of defamation, corruption and use of *sojojin baka* platform to make illicit money, misleading the public and electorates during elections and distortion of reality by engaging in propaganda and propagation of lies. Considering these accusations, there is the need for the media organizations offering political programmes and the relevant regulatory agencies to rise to their responsibilities and check the excesses of the *sojojin baka.*

It was also found that the *sojojin baka* used to employ some language and linguistic styles such as proverbs and figures of speech to accomplish their motives. This is also a source of entertainment to the listener and is equally educative and instructive. Thus, despite all the criticisms, the *sojojin baka* have succeeded in changing the political landscape of Kano and have added a new dimension to advertising for politicians and party politics.

In relating the findings of the study to the reviewed literature, it is discernable that *Sojojin Baka* is another form of political advertising and it is achieving similar objectives like the other forms of political advertising in Nigeria. The difference is only in the method and approach. The findings of the study have equally buttressed the position of the reinforcement media theory. The views and opinions of the *Sojojin Baka* political presenters only tend to reinforce the views, opinions and beliefs of the listener, they hardly alters or change such beliefs.

Conclusion

Political advertising in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria is of different dimensions but the emergence of *Sojojin Baka'ds,* a political advertising group in Kano media has created a new approach to the entire exercise. However, politicians who sponsor and patronize the *Sojojin Baka* should understand the implications of their actions in view of the dangers that their brand of political advertising portend to the wider society. Therefore, it can be concluded that the new form of advertising by politicians is effective only if the *Sojojin Baka* are ready to abide by the relevant ethical code of conduct including the code of ethics of journalism practice.

Recommendations

In view of the findings the following recommendations are proffered:

a. *Sojojin Baka* as a new form of political advertising by politicians in Kano state and some sections of the north should be further explored and utilized in view of its benefits to the electorates, ordinary citizens and the entire democratic process.
b. Media organizations, politicians, advertisers and the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) should come together to provide a suitable framework for the operations of *Sojojin Baka.*
c. Stakeholders including government should provide an avenue for proper education and training of *Sojojin Baka* as political advertising tool.
d. Politicians should desist from patronizing and promoting *Sojojin Baka* as a business venture as such practice is eroding the fundamental principles of freedom of expression as entrenched in our constitution.
e. *Sojojin Baka* advertising form should be subjected to a more robust and rigorous scientific study to ascertain the effectiveness of their advertising, consequences and acceptability among the electorates.

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