

ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF RADIO DURING THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KWARA STATE, NIGERIA

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Abstract

Through its utilization for mobilization, sensitization and education of electorates, the radio continues to be seen as media platform critical to the success of electoral processes, especially in emerging democracies. Premised on this position, this study investigated the centrality of the radio in Nigeria's electoral process using the 2019 general elections in Kwara State, Nigeria as point of reference. In doing this, the study identified radio stations that were mostly utilized for electioneering campaign in the electoral circle and the degree of utilization. The study adopted the survey method and utilized Google form to solicit responses from electorates drawn from the 3 senatorial zones in the state. The study found out that private radio stations ranked highest on the list of radio stations (Sobi fm) that were effectively utilized by parties and candidates to mobilize electorates in Kwara State during the 2019 general elections. Social media networks were also mentioned aside radio as tool of engagement. Radio programmes such one-on-one and panel interviews, radio jingles as well as phone in programmes featured prominently as radio tools politicians deployed during 2019 general election the state. The study affirms the continuous relevance of radio stations as tool for education, sensitization and mobilization of electorates. The researchers recommended that Kwara State government should as a matter of urgency set up radio station in any part of the communities bordering Kwara State with Benin republic to stop continuous dependence on foreign radio stations for political and economic sovereignty. We further advice that research should be carried out to identify the most appropriate radio programme useful for political engagement to prevent waste exposure. With the rise in social media networks deployment for electioneering, the study recommended that only well trained media personnel are engaged as social media handlers to curtail the spread of hate speech and fake news that are the hallmarks of social media networks campaign during election.

Keywords: Elections, Mass Media, Radio, Kwara State, Nigeria

Introduction

Election and electioneering campaign involves array of important stakeholders who engage actors in the political process with the primary objective of ensuring the election of their preferred candidates into political offices. Electioneering campaign and individual's

participation in the process often times, go beyond the confines of party politics. According to Falade (2014), the political growth of any political system is a function of the awareness and positive engagement of the voters in both the civic and political spaces.

There are many ways an electorate can participate in the political process in fulfilment of individual civic responsibilities. Prominent among these means are through; political rally, partaking in activities of politically inclined groups, contesting as candidate in elections, engaging in informed public criticism of government policies, programmes and actions, contributing opinions, views and commentaries in the media outlets and more importantly voting in elections. Individual's effectiveness in the performance of many of the activities highlighted above largely hinged on sensitization, public education, enlightenment and information dissemination through mass media and other civic channels.

To this end, the role of the radio as a major media platform for effective dissemination of political education, information and public enlightenment becomes central to the ideal of enhancing people's participation in political process in general and electoral process in particular. Onabajo (2005) opined that radio possess the qualities of a direct personal touch, because it uses the spoken words to convey its message.

It is in the context of the roles of the media and the radio in particular as the ear and mouthpiece of the people that informed, Ugbodagah and Arrizugho's (2018), position that a democratic society without mass media (radio included) can be referred to as a dumb and blind man that neither hears nor see what goes on in the society. To this end, the advancement and consolidation of the democratic process in Nigeria is inconceivable outside of the central role of the radio within the polity.

Adekoya, Akintayo and Adegoke, (2015); Fourie, (2013); Tucker, (2013); Panagopoulos and Green, (2008); Overby, (2006) and Lee and Cappella, (2001) have examined the central role of radio in political process especially at the national level across time and climes. However, not much attention have been devoted to its role in specific sub-national elections especially in transitional democracies like Nigeria. Informed by this position, this study examines the role of the radio in education, sensitization and political mobilization of the people of Kwara State,

Nigeria in the course of the 2019 general election.

In specific term, the study examines the roles of radio in the electioneering and campaign process in the run up to the 2019 general elections in Kwara State. It assesses which radio stations were highly patronized by Kwara voters, political parties and candidates in the course of the 2019 general elections in the state. It also, examines the extent of the utilization of other media platforms for electioneering process by voters in the Kwara State in the course of the 2019 Nigeria's general elections And finally, the study investigate the types of radio programmes Kwarans were exposed to during 2019 general elections in Kwara State.

Literature Review

Radio and Electioneering Process in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Radio remains the dominant mass media medium in Africa. It continues to boast of the widest geographical reach and the largest audiences when compared with television, newspapers and new information and communication technology platforms especially the social media (Myers, 2008).

With the liberalization of ownership and operation, radio has witnessed some form of rebirth as new private and community inspired stations continued to come on stream across communities on the continent. Rather than constraint radio audiences and reach, mobile telephony and digital technology has worked in manner that it has enhanced and expanded the reach and audiences capture of radio. Digital technology and mobile telephony has also aided the role of radio as platform for popular participation in the democratic and development processes (Myers, 2008).

Radio has highly impacted on electioneering campaigns and electoral process in Nigeria. The radio, through the timely dissemination of electoral information and broadcasting of educative contents and programmes about the election process, has enriched popular participation in the democratic process and aided the sustenance of Nigeria's democracy. For example, through its operation, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) with about 32 FM stations and six regional

operational centres that hook up daily with the headquarters for network news, contents and programmes directed at keeping Nigerians informed and updated on political, economic, social and cultural trends and other issues has aided popular political participation and advanced democratic process in the country.

Radio has also been serving the important role of mobilization. Since Nigeria return back to civil rule, radio has been performing creditably well as platform for political mobilization of citizens thus raising the level of popular participation in the political process and the electoral process in particular. Radio continues to serve as a viable platform for mobilization of citizen and most especially the voters by electoral commission, parties and candidates.

Voters are reminded through INEC sponsored programmes, jingles and other contents that voting in an election is a civic duty which requires collective participation. It is also instructive to add that the two dominant parties in the case of Nigeria, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC) both employed radio jingles, infotainments and even commercials to mobilize voters to cast their ballots for their candidates in the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections. Serazio (2018) reported the increasing role infotainment strategies and consultants on the America's political campaign and the electoral process. Some of these strategies are comedy, visual stunts, personal appearance and social media stunts among others,

Media, Political Participation and Electoral Process in Kwara State

Scholarly works exist on the nature, trends and dynamics of politics in Kwara State especially with reference to the dominance and control that a political dynasty/family exerts on politics and political process in the state for decades (Animasaun, 2016; Osakede and Ijimakinwa, 2015; Ojo and Lawal, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2007). Aside studies that explore the dynamics of power politics and the influence of the Saraki dynasty in Kwara politics, studies have addressed other issues as it relates to politics in Kwara State. For instance, Omede and Ojibara (2017) examined the nature of youth political participation in Nigeria paying particular attention to Kwara State especially with reference to the 2011 and 2015 general elections.

Adopting the quantitative approach, the study explored the variables of voting behaviour, party membership/attachment and protests since 2015. Using the Gender and Development (GAD) approach Lere, Saka and Yusuf (2017) explored how patriarchy and religion has impacted on women political participation in Kwara State. The study finds that patriarchy permeates religion through the flawed interpretation of Islamic holy book "Quran" and other texts in manners that aid the advancement of the entrenchment of male dominance in social life inclusive of political participation. Saka (2010) examines the deployment of youth as instrument of political violence in Kwara State.

The study explores the mobilization of youth groups/gangs to unleashed violence and mayhem especially in the context of the face-off between the late Muhammad Alabi Lawal, then Governor of Kwara State and his political godfather. In the context of the political struggle between the two political camps spanning from 2002 to 2003, the two political gladiators mobilized youth groups/gangs who then plunged Kwara State into orgy of violence on behalf of their patrons.

Specifically, as it relates to radio and political participation, Ejue, Etika and Nandi (2018) explored how radio has and continue to serves as tool for political mobilization and sensitization of the public and the implication of vote buying and selling in the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Nigeria. The study also x-rays the role of radio as tool for sensitizing the public on the implication of vote buying and selling in Nigerian elections.

Ayimoro (2019) explores the instrumental use of the radio as tool for voters' education and determinant of voting pattern of indigenous elderly women in Akoko, Ondo State, Nigeria. The study findings revealed that voters' education in the study area impacted minimally on the respondents resulting in their skewed knowledge and voting pattern.

The study recommended that voter education contents should be broadcast in indigenous language of the locality so as to enhance reception and thus aid political education and advance people participation in the political process in general and electoral process in particular. To this end, the intent of this study is to fill the gap in literature as it relates to the roles of

the radio in voters' education, mobilization, sensitization, propagation of ideas and visions of parties and their candidates and information dissemination in the course of the 2019 general elections especially at the sub-national level using Kwara State as point of reference.

Research Design

This study employed the survey research method to gather data. The choice of the research method was hinged on the nature of this study, which is a political communication research. Severin and Tankard (2001) describe survey as the study of a portion or sample of a specific population. Survey is the research approach which involves drawing up a set of questions on various subjects or on various aspects of a subject to which selected members of a population are required to react (Kabir, 2016; Taherdoost, 2016).

Survey research was adopted given some of the approach inherent strengths. The most important of these as it relates to the current research was that, surveys are an excellent vehicle for measuring a wide variety of unobservable data, such as people's preferences, traits, attitudes, beliefs, behaviours, or factual information. More importantly, survey research is also ideally suited for remotely collecting data about a population that is too large to observe directly.

To this end, the data for this study was collected using online questionnaire. Specifically, 'Google Form' was used to solicit response from the study respondents due to two reasons. The first was the fact that the study was conducted during Covid-19 lockdown, when physical interaction was forbidden with strangers by national laws.

Secondly, Cleave, (2020) was of the opinion that internet questionnaire is an efficient tool and cost saving for a large population, Internet questionnaire guaranteed respondent's anonymity, responses are likely to be honest and obtained quickly and analysis is easier and faster with the use of online questionnaire, thus online questionnaire administration through the platform of Google form became a choice too tempting to overlook. The questionnaire was distributed to residents in Kwara State through different social media platforms but notably through the numerous 'WhatsApp platforms' (individuals and groups) for a period of three month, Facebook and through personal online/social media contacts of the researchers and their networks of friends and associates.

Theoretical Review

The uses and gratifications theory explains the uses and functions of media for individuals, group and society. The thrust of the theory focuses on why people choose particular media to fulfill certain needs (Adeyeye et al., 2013). According to Anaeto et al. (2008), it is concerned with what people do with the mass media, instead of what the mass media do to the people. The people are not just passive receivers of the messages, but active influencers of the message effect. Therefore, uses and gratifications theory takes a more humanistic approach to looking at media use.

In this particular instance, political parties, politicians and voters all depend on media for various reasons. The Politicians and political parties were on one hand using radio programmes such as political interviews, phone-in-programmes and advertisements to inform Kwarans about maladministration of the incumbent government, led by former Governor Abdulfatai as well as their manifestoes, on the other hand, the government was equally using government owned radio stations and few private ones to counter the narratives of the opposition. Residents of Kwara pay attention to radio and other media to get abreast of happenings in political world. The users (Politician, residents and government) are goal-oriented in their media use, the theory is relevant to this work because it uncovers how politicians and political parties used radio programmes and jingles to share political information with the Kwarans.

Population and Sample

The population of the study comprises the entire residents of Kwara State, who are of voting age. Their population mainly made up of households with voter's cards. According to Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC website, the total number of permanent voter's cards (PVC) collected during 2019 general elections in Kwara State was 1,149,969. The sample size was calculated with the use of sample calculator website. According www.calculator.net the size was 385 respondents. However, due to apathy in research, low internet penetration, and poor internet connection in Kwara State, as well as avoiding the study to be outdated, the researchers stopped the data gathering after three months of data gathering of obtaining 106 responses. The data were analysed with Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 26) because the research is descriptive in nature.

Data Presentation

Table 1: Roles that radio stations played in educating the people of Kwara State during the 2019 General Elections

Description	Frequency	Percentages
Education	4	4.2
Mobilization	11	11.5
Information	13	13.5
All the above	68	70.8

Table 1 reveals that 70.8% of respondents claimed that radio stations were used to educate, mobilize and pass information to people during the 2019 general elections in the State. The data also revealed that 13.5% of the respondents expressed the position that radio was used to pass information about the political process, while 11.5% noted that radio was used as instrument to mobilized Kwarans during the 2019 general elections.

Source: Field Survey, 2021

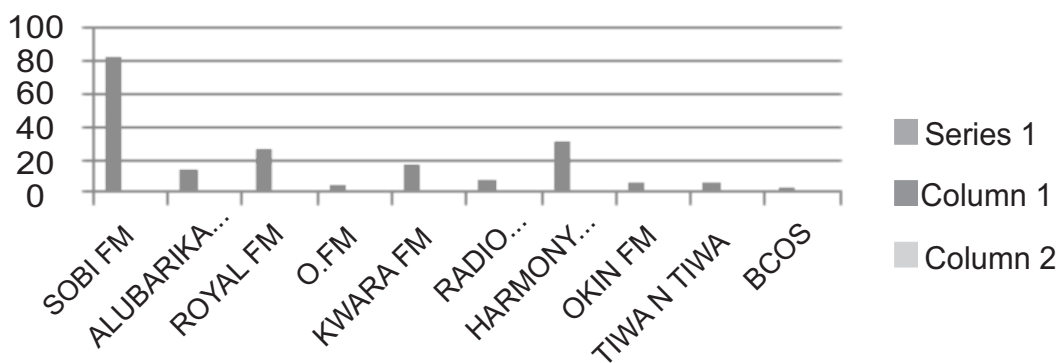
Table 2: Radio stations utilized by politicians in enlightening the people during the 2019 general elections

Description	Frequency	Percentages
Sobi FM	75	84.3
Alubarika FM	16	8
Royal FM	32	36
O. FM	10	11
Kwara FM (99.1 Midland FM)	23	25.8
Radio Kwara (AM)	11	12.4
Harmony FM	38	42.7
Okin FM	9	10.1
Tiwa n Tiwa FM	9	10.1
Radio Station in Paraku (in Benin Republic)	2	2.2
BCOS	4	4.5
Others	2	2%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 2 reveals that 84.3% of the respondents claimed that Sobi FM top the list of radio stations used to enlighten the populace during the 2019 general elections, 42.7% of the sampled population expressed the position that Harmony FM was as vehicle for enlightenment while 36% averred that Royal FM was used to reach them during the 2019 general elections. In the same vein, 25.8% of the respondents mentioned Kwara FM as the radio station that exposed them to information about the 2019 general elections in Kwara State. Interestingly, a radio station in Paraku, Republic of Benin was used to reach out to residents of Kwara North (Kaima, Edu, Patigi and other communities bordering Nigeria and Benin.

Most preferred Radio station by Kwarans during 2019 general elections



Source: Field Survey, 2021

Ranking of most preferred Radio stations used during the 2019 general elections in Kwara State shows that Sobi FM ranked on top of the list of radio stations used in enlightening the people of Kwara State during the 2019 general elections according to study respondents with 82.3%. This was followed by Harmony FM and Kwara FM that got 31.3% and 16.7% respectively according to respondents as it relates to enlightening the population on electoral issue. Alubarika FM, Radio Kwara AM, and Okin FM got the score of 14.6%, 7.3% and 6.3% respectively. A radio station in Paraku, Benin Republic was equally used to reach as platform to communities (From our interactions with respondents and Some Otoge activists as attested to by previous studies by researchers on similar matter), the radio station in Benin Republic was mentioned by the in Patigi, Gwanara, Ilesa Baruba, Baruten and others communities in Kwara North senatorial district, where broadcast transmission of radio stations from and around Ilorin, the state capital could not reach. BCOS was also used to bridge communication gap by Kwarans that lives in communities that falls in the boundary between Oyo and Kwara States, especially in Kwara North.

Table 3: Radio Programmes Politicians used in reaching out to Kwarans during 2019 general elections

Radio Programmes	Responses
News & Talk Shows	60%
Phone in Programme	41%
Entertainment (Comedy Skit & Itinerant Music)	6%
(Sponsored Programme) Advertisements/Events & Announcements	57%
Economy/Business Programme	6%
Political Interview	56%

The above table shows that 60% of the respondents mentioned News and Current Affairs Programme as radio programme that exposed them to information during 2019 general election, while 57% of their respondents said radio advertisement/announcements/commercials were used in reaching them as against 56% and 41% who mentioned political interview and phone in Programme respectively as their mostly exposed to programmes during the 2019 general elections in Kwara State.

Table 4: Other media platforms used aside from radio during 2019 general elections in Kwara

Description	Frequency	Percentages
Newspaper	26	27.4
Television Station	26	27.4
Billboard	40	42.1
Fliers/Posters	35	36.8
Songs from local musicians	26	27.4
Social media	78	80.0
Religious leaders' messages	28	29.5
Lamp posts/Street Display	9	9.5
Magazine	4	4.2
Itinerant musicians	4	4.2
Market Square messages	6	6.3

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 4 shows that 80% of the respondents mentioned social media as another media channel that was prominently used in reaching out to them aside from radio stations in the course of the 2019 general elections in Kwara State. Billboards and fliers/posters were scored 42% and 36% respectively as platforms used to reach the populace. Messages from religious leaders gathered 29.5% responses as against Newspapers, Television stations and songs from local musicians that got 27% each. Itinerant musicians and market square messages were also deployed as electioneering tools with 4.2% and 6.3% respectively according to respondents.

With data obtained from online questionnaire administration and reviews of related studies, the researchers can convincingly report that radio stations and social media platforms played significant roles as instruments for sensitizing, mobilizing and informing residents of Kwara State in the course of the 2019 general elections. In specific term and as it relates to question one on the roles of radio stations during the 2019 general elections in Kwara State, our data as presented in Table 1 indicated that 71% of the study's respondents expressed the position that radio stations effectively combined the roles of educating, mobilizing and informing electorates in Kwara state about the electoral process during the 2019 general elections. Findings from the study highlighted that the radio served as the major source of information about the 2019 general elections among residents.

This was contrary to the researchers' assumption that it could have been social media networks, television, newspaper and interpersonal communication among others that were deployed to educate, mobilize and pass information. Results also showed that majority of the respondents believed that radio stations played significant role as platform for mobilizing, educating and passing information to the residents about the 2019 general elections in Kwara State.

In relations to which radio station among the ones available in and around Kwara State were highly utilized by political parties and candidates during the 2019 general elections, respondents rated stations according to their perceived utilization, depth and scope of reach.

As Table 2 shown, 84.3% of the respondents were of the opinion that Sobi FM top the list of radio stations highly utilized by political parties and by extension candidates during the 2019 general elections in Kwara State. In the same wise, 42.7% of the respondents expressed the view that Harmony FM was next in line of the most utilized among the radio stations, followed by Royal FM with 36% of respondents noting that the station was also well utilized. Among other stations, 25.8% of the respondents rated Radio Kwara 99.1 Midland FM as well deployed by parties to disseminate political information about the 2019 general elections in Kwara State.

Arising from the finding above it is important to note that, private radio stations attracted more volume of political and non-political advertising traffic. It is also important to note that as a result of their utilization especially by opposition political parties and figures, these private stations become politically vulnerable and were targets of attacks, attempted arsons, threats from government officials and agencies, intimidation of guests invited to political programme and other sundry attempts at muzzling opposition political voices in the run up to the 2019 general elections in Kwara State.

Discussion of Findings

While the mass media in general and the radio in particular have for decades attracted scholarly attention (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, 1954), the number of studies that systematically evaluate the effects of radio on voting behavior is surprisingly small. For instance, Geer and Geer

(2003) focus on voter reactions to positive versus negative radio advertising and acknowledged that radio's effects on voting behavior remain largely unaddressed.

Descriptive studies found out that candidates make widespread use of the radio at both the federal and municipal levels in the United States (Herrnson 2000; Strachan 2003). The findings of these studies on the continued importance of the radio in the dissemination of political information aligned with the findings of our study.

In Kwara State, for instance, as highlighted by our study's respondents, the radio continues to perform important functions especially that of information dissemination, sensitization, education and mobilization of the citizenry especially with respect to the conduct of the 2019 general elections in the state. Our findings on types of radio programme used in engaging Kwarans were corroborated by La'aro, Mahamood and Bamigboye, (2021); affirmed that radio programmes are impactful for the respondent's level of political participation through, news, current affairs, phone-in-programmes and commentaries. McCleneghan (1987) found out that candidates who sponsored advertisements on radio tend to do better than those who do not. The findings of these studies on the continued relevance of radio programmes and advertisements in the dissemination of political information reinforced our findings.

The continued importance of radio in political advertising and campaign was reiterated by Overby and Barth (2006) when they noted that political advertisements broadcast on radio have greater influence over voting decisions than do television ads, seemingly because they are perceived to be effective at the dissemination of information more than television as a result of greater repetition and length.

On the extent of the utilization of other media platforms for electioneering process by voters in the Kwara State. The researchers found out that social media networks (Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp) were heavily deployed aside radio programmes. Most of the radio programme contents were often shared through these social media handles. Ahmad, Alvi and Ittefaaq (2019) study on the use of social media on political participation among University students corroborated our findings. "social media is a vital

platform for netizens to participate in real-life political activities. And that online political activities correlates with political awareness and offline political participation.

While reiterating the centrality of the radio to the political process, Overby and Barth (2006) noted that most research on the politically relevant aspects of radio has focused on political talk radio (PTR), with particular focus on the emergence of Rush Limbaugh as a national figure in the United States in the 1990s. In the same wise Lee and Cappella (2001) noted that PTR have significant influence on public opinion, candidate perception, and policy outcomes.

Further underlying the importance of radio to the advancement of political process, Di Leonardo (2012) captured the roles of Tom Joyner Morning Show (TJMS) and the network of black radio stations that were part of the show in the advancement of the political messages and political career of Barack Obama.

The importance of the radio to the political ascendancy of Hitler and the Nazi were also vividly explained by Maja, Ruben, Petrova, Santarosa, and Zhuravskaya (2021). To this end, it can be noted that the radio has and will continue to play critical role in political and electoral process in developed as well as developing democracies.

For most political leaders in Nigeria the radio is seen as a cheap media channel for the dissemination of Parties manifestoes, boosting of candidates profiles. Others have come to the realization that the radio remains by far the fastest media outlet for reaching out to electorates in the period leading to the conduct of elections. Political leaders also used radio for diverse means.

For some, the radio is a weapon to consolidate power, others used the radio to propagate political ideologies, to some political leaders especially those in political authority, the radio is often time used to disseminate policies and programme to the citizen and of course the radio continues to be a veritable platform for political campaign. Findings from study highlighted that the then national governing party which doubled as the official opposition party in Kwara State, the All Progressives Congress Party (APC) used the various radio stations in Kwara State, Oyo State and Benin Republic to highlights the poor performance of the then ruling People's Democratic Party government in the state. By

this, the opposition party in Kwara State, the All Progressive Congress, use the medium of the radio to mobilized the support of the people for its candidates and thus was able to dislodged the People's Democratic Party PDP which was the ruling party in Kwara State as at the time of the 2019 general election at the polls. Thus, the radio played a major role in the mobilization as well as the electoral success of the All Progressive Congress in the 2019 general election in Kwara State.

Conclusion

Broadcast media, especially radio stations continue to play immeasurable role in the consolidation and sustenance of democratic process and practices especially in developing and transitional democracies. The roles of broadcast media in the dissemination of political information, mobilization of the people for political cause and action and political sensitization continue to be central to the vibrancy and advancement of democratic practices.

In Nigeria, the broadcast media have been central to the political process. Since the return to civil rule following the conduct of the transitional elections in 1999, Nigeria has held five consecutive national elections and the broadcast media especially the radio has been central in the successful conduct of these national elections as agent for the dissemination of information, mobilization of the electorate and sensitization of Nigerians for electoral cause. In specific term and as it relates to the conduct of the 2019 general elections in Kwara State, this study has highlighted the central role that the radio has played as platform for the mobilization, sensitization and dissemination of information to electorates and the people of Kwara State.

Findings from this study, affirmed that radio stations were maximally deployed to keep residents of Kwara State abreast of political information, events and occurrence especially those that had implications for the 2019 election and related issues as it affects the state. Aside the radio, findings from the study also highlighted the growing social and political importance of social media platforms notably Facebook and WhatsApp as vehicle for the dissemination of political (Table 4) information. However, it is also important to highlight that in a highly divisive society like Nigeria, the use of social media

comes with unintended social consequences especially as it relates to its use for the dissemination of inciting messages, hate speech, fake news, unverified news, half-truth and sometimes outright falsehood.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made for future consideration. Politicians, especially those in opposition and in government should engage people with requisite and adequate knowledge of media ecosystem, so as to use the best of the media platforms, deploy the most appropriate media programmes to safe cost and waste exposure. We advised that research is carried out to identify the most appropriate radio programme useful for political engagement for future projects.

The researchers also recommended that Kwara State government should as a matter of urgency set up radio station in any part of the communities bordering Kwara State, Nigeria and Republic of Benin. Opposition Politicians from Kiama, Edu, Patigi and environs relied heavily on BCOS in Oyo State and Paraku, Benin Republic

due to poor reception of Kwara radio located in Ilorin, the state capital. Some of the residents in the border towns both from two sides share cultural and language affinity, so it is easier for them to cross the border to place commercial on foreign radio station.

The National Broadcasting Commission needs encourage individuals and corporate entities with free operating license and technical assistance to establish community radio to cater for information needs of the Kwara North residents. This will help in alleviating poverty through dissemination of timely information for the farmers and other agro allied businesses in the community.

Furthermore, as the uses of social media networks for electioneering is on the rise in Nigeria, appointments and recruitments into media and communication arm of political parties should devoid of political patronage but competence because some of the social media handlers, working for politicians are purveyors of fake news and hate speech. They end up creating a bad press rather than to increase the visibility of their principals.

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