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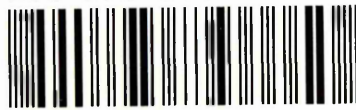
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# THE MEDIA AND VALUES REORIENTATION IN NIGERIA

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the 'Mass Media and values re-orientation in Nigeria'. Presently, Nigeria is grouped among the poorest nations of the world despite billions of dollars earned from years of crude oil sales. The underdevelopment and poverty in Nigeria has been attributed to years of corruption and irresponsible leadership, which has led to the subversion of civic values. Historically however, the Nigerian media has shown the capacity to mobilize Nigerians; as exemplified by its efforts during the struggles against colonialism, military dictatorships and campaign for civil rule. The media has also been visible in challenging, criticizing and exposing some individuals involved in corrupt behaviors. This study was therefore conceived on the conviction that the Nigerian media has the capacity to successfully undertake the reorientation of values in Nigeria. The core question therefore is: What role can the Nigerian Mass Media play in the social and economic development of Nigeria through the re-orientation of civic values? This is addressed through five areas of enquiry: the capacities of the Nigerian Media; media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration; media believability and accessibility; the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria; and the ethnic, tribal and religious background of media practitioners.

A critical realist paradigm underpins this study. Key theoretical approaches are the related ideas of agenda setting theory; gatekeeping; framing and priming. Interviews and survey methods were used to collect data from key media stakeholders. The analysis of empirical data indicates that the Nigerian media can play a key role in the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria where:

1. There is a consensus of opinion about the need for values re-orientation

2. There is a high level of media believability

3. Topical media issues are freely discussed

4. Media access is unhindered

However, certain aspects of the Nigerian culture were found to validate corruption across ethnic, tribal and religious boundaries.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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All responsibility for the errors and omissions within this text is of course, my own.

# DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my darling wife and best friend Kelechi and my lovely children who are also my friends: Chukwumalobim; Ebubechukwu; Chukwuagoziem and Mesomachukwu.

# CHAPTER ONE: CAPACITY OF THE NIGERIAN MEDIA

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores *the capacity of existing Media in Nigeria to deliver messages that could bring about values reorientation to support social and economic development.* Consequently, the study seeks to explore if the Nigerian media has the capacity to positively affect or influence Nigerians to reconsider the state of their current values. However, there are conflicting views in both academic and public discourse about the role of the media in Africa and Nigeria in particular, as well as the extent and direction of media influence in general. Furthermore, there are also differing views of the media within Western European and African scholarship. For example Eide (2001) argues that:

> *"The power of journalism should be regarded as a particularly important and interesting kind of power in modern societies"* (p.1).

Such perception fits contemporary western media studies. For Thompson (1995):

> *"The media have played a central role in the development of modern institutions"* (p.12).

In contrast however, Kupe (1999) claims that:

> *"In Africa the media have always been peripheral to the lives of most people in the continent"* (p.9).

Yet Tettey (2001) specifically reveals that:

> *"The media are among the forces that have shaped, and continues to define the establishment of democracy in Africa"* (p.1).

This study uses historical examples, as well as the empirical study of current media activities in Nigeria to explore the extent to which the Nigerian media can successfully support the reorientation of values in Nigeria.

As discussed in section 5.11 the term 'values' is used in this thesis to describe the sot of articulated assertions about normative behavior that predominate in public, media and political discourses. As such, values are beliefs about what is desirable and undesirable within any society or group. Often, values are associated with normative beliefs that require or preclude certain behavior, establishing boundaries to indicate what is acceptable against what is unacceptable. Consequently, they become the yardstick used by society to measure whether behavior, attitude and beliefs fall in line with what is acceptable or unacceptable in society. Reorientation on its part is the act of changing, adjusting or aligning something (in this case civic values in Nigeria) in a new or different direction. The working definition of "values-reorientation" in this study therefore is conceptualized as "the act of changing the direction which attitudes and beliefs in Nigeria are currently oriented or the act of adjusting or aligning behavior, attitude and beliefs in Nigeria in a new or different direction within the public discourse of contemporary Nigerian politics. This is articulated as a move away from corruption, embezzlements, dishonesty and general indiscipline to the direction of virtues of honesty, patriotism, hard work, and general abhorrence of social vices".

Values reorientation, as understood by political actors, media practitioners and citizens, is therefore about changing both normative beliefs and practices with regards to behavior within civil society. This public discourse often conflates attitudes and behaviors (beliefs and practices). The discourse articulates a linear relationship between value change (attitudes and beliefs) and consequent behavior (practice). It asserts that a

reduction in such things as corruption is required as a necessary (but in all cases not sufficient) precursor to changes in values.

Section 1.1 of this chapter presents a brief overview of the key issues and history around the media in Nigeria and Africa. Section 1.2 explores the motivation for the study. Section 1.3 gives examples of Nigerian media interventions in the political life of Nigeria. Section 1.3.1 presents the key questions or themes explored by the thesis. Section 1.4 presents the general research question and issues of this study and section 1.5 gives a brief overview of the thesis chapters.

## 1.1 KEY ISSUES AND HISTORY AROUND THE MEDIA IN NIGERIA AND AFRICA

Most media scholars and experts in Nigeria, and indeed Africa, agree that the media have some form of impact, influence or effect on its audiences. However, the nature and extent of this influence and/or effect remains a source of disagreement amongst both African and western media scholars. For example Edie (2001) is of the view that:

> *"The mass media all over the world have established themselves as a new channel - a third channel for political, (social and economic) influence - and in many aspects also as an independent power broker"* (p.9).

On a daily basis people are exposed to information, ideas, news, advertisements, messages and ideologies from different media sources, within Nigeria citizens have access to radio, television, cable and satellite, the Internet, social networking sites, cell phones, tapes, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, journals, books, videos and cinemas. We may ask, why does the public willingly expose themselves to this almost overload of information? One may answer that because of its very nature the media helps members of society to make sense of their world. At the same time the media have a role to play in the social and cultural structures of society including acting as an observer of that society. Kupe (1999) notes that in the context of Nigeria and Africa:

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> *"The media keeps a watchful eye not only on the state, but also on the private sector and NGOs"* (p.9).

This assertion aptly exemplifies how a section of the Nigerian media responded to a number of issues and events that arose in the country over the past few decades. Olayiwola (1991) insists that:

> *"The media act as the instruments of political, social, cultural and physical communication, and of economic progress"* (p.4).

However, how consistent the Nigerian media have been in fulfilling this role is one of the issues to be explored in this study.

It has been widely claimed by Nigerian media historians that the Nigerian media played a significant role in the struggle for political independence and recently in the restoration of democracy. According to Human Rights Watch (2002):

> *"The Nigerian media, possibly the largest and most diversified in Sub-Saharan Africa, played a critical role in the reestablishment of democracy and has flourished in the more liberal environment created by the elected government"* (p.14)

Newspapers like the West African Pilot, Tribune, Herald, Daily Mirror, Egbe Omo Odudwa, Comet, etc were prominent during the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

In the two decades preceding Nigeria's return to democratic governance in 1999, magazines like NewsWatch, Tell, The News, Source, Tempo etc, and newspapers like Concord, Vanguard, Champion, Guardian, This Day, Punch, Tribune, Sun and Daily Independent consistently campaigned against military rule, corruption and human rights violations. Since the return to democracy in 1999, African Independent Television and Radio (AIT), Channels TV, Murhi TV, Galaxy TV and other privately owned broadcast media outfits have also undertaken campaigns against corruption, abuse of power and the rule of law. Today, there are a number of online publications highlighting issues of corruption, mismanagement of national resource and the constitutional, political and

social crisis in Nigeria. At present there are over 40 Nigerian online news publications and some key examples include: 234Next; Saharareporters.com; elombah.com; Nigeriaworld; Nigerians.com; Ganji News; Yahoo-Nigeria News; Amebo News; Odili.Net and Lagos Online News.

Within Nigeria, as within Europe and the USA, the media have a key role to play in the creation, maintenance and activity of the public sphere within civil society. All through Nigeria's history there appears to be a strong link between civil society and the media. A key example being the pressure from the media for former military President Ibrahim Babangida to "step aside" after he annulled the June 12, 1993 general elections. An election widely acclaimed both locally and internationally as the most free and fair election conducted in Nigeria up to that date. Traber (1995) is of the view that:

> *"Civil society cannot flourish unless it has access to the public sphere or creates its own public spheres"* (p.7).

While Olayiwola (1991) explains that:

> *"The media provides news and sets the agenda for political, social and cultural discourse"* (p.9).

Another example of the media in Nigeria functioning to support civil society can be seen in the pressure that compelled former military leader, Sani Abacha, to begin a transition to civil rule program. Despite Abacha's despotic disposition, he was continually confronted by the media and civil society until he died in 1997. Olukotun (2002) captured the situation thus:

> *"To outwit the state security agents, the press and other components of civil society drew upon their tradition of activism, dating back to the colonial days, and invented new strategies for reporting and disseminating news and opinion during the dark days of military dictatorships in Nigeria"* (p.16)

The failed "third term" bid by former Nigerian civilian President Obasanjo is yet another example of the media supporting civil society in frustrating an unpopular policy by a Nigerian leader. Media coverage of the "third tenure" drama, particularly the live broadcast of the constitutional amendment debate at the Senate chambers by the African Independent Television (AIT), led to the "untimely death" of the political careers of some parliamentarians. Particularly, those who supported the "third term" bid against the wishes and aspirations of Nigerians.

According to Ojo (2000):

> *"The mass media educate the public on state affairs, disseminate information on the activities of the government ... expose wrongdoing, including corrupt practices which impact negatively on economic development, and keep the government on its toes, all in order to ensure 'accountability, transparency, probity and integrity"* (p.15).

The continued coverage, as well as the prominence which the media gave the "third term" agenda of former President Obasanjo kept the issue in the public domain and made it impossible for the plan to succeed. These three cases will be discussed further in chapter four sections 4.1 to 4.3.

The Nigerian media has therefore demonstrated its capacity to galvanize public opinion and engender public discussion among Nigerians over time. In the 1998-1999 transition to democracy all aspects of that transition was extensively covered and intensely reported by the media.

Oseni (1999) reveals that:

> *"Following the release of a transition programme by General Abdusalami Abubakar on 20 July 1998, an 'agenda-setting' seminar was organized by journalists for journalists with the aim of holding the administration to its word or promise on hand-over of power to civilians; being strong in the face of danger; offering where necessary, alternatives to the transition agenda; serving as a feedback on government policies, as*

*well as expanding the score of the transition to areas such as morality, accountability, management of the national economy and the amelioration of poverty"*(p.4).

Without doubt, the media in Nigeria has, on occasions, vividly manifested its mobilization and agenda-setting ability. However, the media unfortunately has more recently failed to consistently champion and/or engender sustained social changes despite the obvious need in the country to re-mobilize on many levels. Ojo (2000) thoroughly believes that:

> *"The media in Nigeria needs to be strengthened in order to successfully fulfill its role as 'a watchdog for society' more effectively"* (p.10).

In reality, there are factors that specifically hinder the media from consistently functioning in the interest of the masses in Nigeria particularly and Africa in general. According to Jamieson (1999) bribe taking by journalists is common though the name given to the practice varies from country to country. For example:

> *"There is journalism for 'sale' – known as 'brown envelope journalism' in Nigeria, 'soli' in Ghana (from 'solidarity'), and 'gatu' in Liberia (from 'gratuity'). Another is the deliberate sensationalistic disinformation as in Malawi"* (p.12)

There are also issues of media ownership, media control and censorship, profit-led motivation, ethnicity and religion that the media in Nigeria has to manage on a daily basis. As Kasoma (1999) explains:

> *"The media is not free of social ties of owners, bribe-taking journalists, ethnicity, language, advertisers, sources and donor-funders"* (p.2).

The ability of the Nigerian media to transcend these variations is a key topic of debate. Ojo (2003) notes that *"Nigeria's ethnic composition and unique plural and divided society make mass media effectiveness a mirage"* (p.7) and Olukoyun (2003) argues that:

> *"Ethnic competition among major ethnic groups, namely, Hausas, Ibos, and Yorubas, as well as between the major groups and the increasingly restive minorities, remain an intractable problem".*

However, Oyovbaire (2001) thinks differently insisting that *"the Nigerian media is not complex nor is it pluralistic but a locational and institutional monopoly of the south-west"* (p.11). This view stems from the belief that the Nigerian media is controlled by the Yoruba ethnic group of south-western Nigeria and that there is a preponderance of media establishments in south-western Nigeria.

For Ngoa (2006) it is important to clarify the observable fact that the history of the Nigerian press, its personalities and activities, all seem to centre on the Southern Protectorate, especially around the metropolitan city of Lagos and its environs. One key location being Abeokuta, where the first Nigerian newspaper was published, as well as where majority of newspapers are published and largely consumed.

This certainly was the case in the recent past and continues to be so due to the fact that, irrespective of the newspapers originating in the south, the gap in western education between the south and the north of Nigeria was always considerable and remains relatively so even today. This is largely because most of the schools in the country were established by Christian missions who were equally responsible for initiating the first two press outlets in Calabar and Abeokuta.

There also remains the additional issue of ethnicity and ethnic loyalty. Ethnicity has been at the heart and soul of Nigerian society and the struggle for power and space between groups is reproduced in virtually all aspects of the people's national life. Abati (2000) clarifies that in many ways the Nigerian press mirrors this ethnic phenomenon and helps bring *"to light the many dimensions of the ethnic game ... which acts as the ears and mouthpiece of the ethnic groups"* (p.16).

Consequently, the current fragmented structures of the Nigerian landscape have resulted in its failure to support the required impetus needed to drive sustainable value change in Nigeria. Perhaps, as Ogbondah (1997) suggests:

*"The media needs to educate 'themselves' on what democracy is, in other to be able to define what their role should be"* (p.11).

This thesis therefore seeks to explore if the Nigerian media has the capacity to support the national agenda of values reorientation. To do this the thesis explores the past history of the Nigerian media. It explores examples of previous political and social actions by the media and successful agenda setting. The thesis then makes use of data from interviews with key members of the media along with survey data to explore perceptions of the media generally in Nigeria.

## 1.2 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

According to Sowore (2010):

> *"The printed and the electronic media have been choking on corruption-related news; so much that you would be excused in thinking there was nothing else our journalists found worthy to talk about"* (p.8).

The general perception within public discourse in Nigeria is that corruption has become endemic in many areas of the Nigerian society. Nigeria with its enormous natural and human resources has remained basically economically embryonic and consequently is still largely underdeveloped 50 years after gaining independence.

Presently, despite the billions of dollars from crude oil sales, Nigeria remains classed amongst the poorest nations of the world. It is argued by both citizens and external experts that the underdevelopment and poverty in Nigeria is the direct consequence of many years of corruption and irresponsibility by its leaders and citizens alike. Lamenting Nigeria's failures in economic and social services over the years, the Save Nigeria Group (SNG) (a coalition of radical members of the national assembly in Nigeria) drew attention to the impact of embezzling public funds meant for

infrastructural development on national life. In their 2010 document "manifesto for liberty, security, and prosperity Nigerians must insist on", they indicate that:

> *"The consequence of high-level political and bureaucratic corruption can be seen on the faces of most Nigerians who live in abject poverty. Over 70% of Nigeria's 150 million people live below poverty line, with close to 80% of Nigerians earning less than 300 naira [or £1.14] a day ... "* (p.3).

In addition the Transparency International Corruption Index Report (TICIR), (2000) describes the situation as *"entrenched bastions of corruption".* Similarly, U.S. Secretary of State Hilary Clinton described the situation in Nigeria as "heartbreaking". Speaking at the Corporate Council on Africa's Seventh Biennial U.S.-Africa Business Summit (2009) in Washington, she said:

> *"There is no doubt that when one looks at Nigeria, it is such a heartbreaking scene we see. The number of people living in Nigeria is going up. The number of people facing food security and health challenges are going up ... because the revenues have not been well managed"* (p.2).

The result of this failure is seen in the very poor national infrastructure and social values. This problematic state of affairs has led to the emergence of a very destructive syndrome in Nigeria, known within Nigeria as the "get-rich-quick syndrome". The manifestation of this syndrome according to Nonyelu (2006):

> *"Is the emergence of the vicious and mindless acquisition of material wealth without recourse to manner of acquisition and consequences of such acquisition "* (p.8).

Obiajulu (2003) is of the opinion that:

> *"The Nigerian society has for long been subjected to the habit of acquiring wealth by some citizens with little or no effort. This habit combined with a "get rich quick" mentality and reliance on government patronage has largely been responsible for the disrespect for efficiency norms in the country"* (p.69).

Yet over the years, the media has, on occasions, played some visible role in challenging and exposing some individuals involved in negative behaviors. On occasions, the media

has criticized and disgraced certain corrupt individuals both in government and the private sector. For example the cases of some senior public officials listed below who were indicted for diverting public funds are still current in the Nigerian public sphere and media landscape.

- Former Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives, Alhaji Salisu Buhari,

- Former Senate Presidents Evans Enwerem

- Former Senate Dr. Chuba Okadibgo

- Former Inspector General of Police Mr. Sunday Ehindaroh

- Former Minister of Education Prof. Nwosu

As recently as 15th October 2010 Mrs. Cecilia Ibru the former CEO of Oceanic Bank was jailed in Nigeria for 6 months for diverting depositors' funds worth (191 billion Naira or £813m) into her private accounts.

The media have also acted more broadly and engaged in opposition to corrupt political, economic and social activity by government and national institutions. In addition to the Generals Babangida and Abacha examples already discussed in section 1.1 a contemporary example of additional agenda changing intervention is that of the President Obasanjo regime of (1999-2007) which though democratically elected, displayed unbridled and wide spread corruption. During this era, the repressive tendencies of previous military regimes were beginning to recede but corruption and embezzlement of public funds reached epidemic dimensions. For instance, the regime was said to have spent over N3 trillion or $16 billion US dollars from 1999 - 2007 for the provision of electricity, yet power outages today are recorded as worse than before 1999. The regime equally continued to show utter disrespect to the constitution of the

Federal Republic of Nigeria, as well as to the rule of law, akin to past military regimes in Nigeria. The regime was also noted for election rigging and flagrant disobedience to court orders and court rulings.

During this period (1999-2007) new forms of social and political unrest emerged. Sharia law appeared in the Moslem dominated north; warlords and kidnappings emerged first in the oil rich Niger delta region and presently across the entire Nigeria; while new forms of political "godfatherism", "gangsterism" and "cultism" also developed across the country. For instance, kidnapping and armed robbery now occur in broad day light to the extent that in September 2010, residents of the south eastern city of Aba in Abia state fled the city as a result.

Ethnic militias such as the "Odua People's Congress" (OPC) Youth wing, the "Egbesu Boys" and "Area Boys" appeared in the south-west, the "Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra" (MASOB) and the "Bakasi Boys" in the south-east, the "Boko haram" and "Arewa Consultative Forum" in northern Nigeria while the "Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta" (MEND) and "Niger-Delta Peoples Volunteer Force" (NDPVF) among other groups emerged in the south-south or the oil rich Niger delta region. All of these led to the destruction of oil pipelines and oil rigs, cult violence, armed robbery, kidnappings, arson, political, cult and ritual killings, as well as general insecurity across the country. A recent example is the twin bombing in the capital city of Abuja on 1st October 2010 as Nigeria was celebrating the 50th anniversary of its political independence. As a result the potential continuation of the Obasanjo regime was a source of public concern and debate.

The "third term" bid of former President Obasanjo, popularly known as the "third term agenda", was an attempt by the former President to manipulate the amendment of the constitution of Nigeria to enable him remain in office for a third four year tenure. His

constitutionally allowed two tenures of 4 years each had expired. Human Rights Watch (2007) describes how the president became embroiled in unprecedented controversy that led to a political media uproar in Nigeria.

The prominence which the media gave the "third term bid" brought it fully into the public domain. African Independent Television (AIT) aired a live broadcast of the constitution amendment debate in the Senate throughout the period, which made it possible for Nigerians to know where their representatives stood on the issue. Consequently, some Senators who were already compromised, found it impossible to sell-out (that is accept bribes and vote in support of the unpopular third tenure agenda) since their constituents who vehemently opposed the bid were able to watch their every move. Another consequence of televising the debate was that the few Senators who did eventually "sell-out" and voted in support of the "third term agenda" were ruined politically and ostracized from their communities. In chapters three and four the thesis will explore further examples of the Nigerian media role as stated in Ojo (2000) who argues that:

> *"The mass media educate the public on state affairs, disseminate information on the activities of the government ... expose wrongdoing, including corrupt practices which impact negatively on economic development, and keep the government on its toes, all in order to ensure 'accountability, transparency, probity and integrity"* (p.12).

However, the overall involvement of the media in the campaign against corruption in Nigeria has been and remains too sporadic and sparse to produce any meaningful impact on the re-evaluation of current societal values especially by those who occupy leadership positions.

The motivation for this study therefore, is based on the fact that previous historical examples indicate that the media in Nigeria possesses the capacity and ability to support civil society in engendering successful reorientation of values. Therefore issues of

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corruption and underdevelopment could still in part be addressed by contemporary Nigerian media.

The questions explored in this thesis therefore include on the one hand ascertaining the extent to which the Nigerian media can undertake this role, as well as on the other hand establishing the factors that support and/or act against this role?

My desire and conviction to embark on this study stems from the many successes achieved and recorded by the Nigerian media over the years, as exemplified by media efforts during the country's struggle for independence, military dictatorships and the current democratic dispensation. All of these, point to the fact that the Nigerian media has historically had the required capacity and potential to champion the reorientation of Nigerians in relation to civil society and civic values. It could therefore support them in acquiring the values needed for the social, economic and political development of the country.

## 1.3 GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTION AND ISSUES

This thesis focuses on five key research questions in other to address "*the role the Nigerian Mass Media can play in the process of social and economic development of Nigeria through the re-orientation of societal values*". The research questions are specifically set out as follows:

- *What is the capacity of existing Media to deliver messages that could bring about values reorientation to support social and economic development in Nigeria?*

- *What role can media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of media practitioners play in the media effort at values reorientation in Nigeria?*

- *What is the extent of media believability and accessibility in Nigeria and what are the factors that affect them?*

- *What is the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to discuss issues raised in the media, as well as other issues perceived as topical in the country?*

- *Do the ethnic, tribal and religious backgrounds of media practitioners affect the manner of coverage and reportage of topical issues in the Media in Nigeria?*

Taking each of the research issues in turn therefore:

- *The capacity of existing Media to deliver messages that could bring about values reorientation to support social and economic development in Nigeria?*

The study intends to examine the nature and structure of existing media in Nigeria with a view to ascertaining: whether there are inherent institutional or structural difficulties; whether these difficulties have previously prevented the media from sensitizing Nigerians to take a stand against activities that damage civil society, including the individuals that perpetuate them; and whether there are other factors that have prevented the media from investigating and exposing such practices and/or explaining the negative consequences for Nigeria.

- *Media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of journalists.*

Media ownership is crucial to this study as ownership is usually associated with control. As a result of the current pattern of media ownership in Nigeria, Oduyela (2007) seems to suggest that journalism in Nigeria is shifting from mirroring the society to protecting those in positions of authority.

The various levels of government particularly state and federal governments in addition to politicians, retired military officers plus influential business men and women are the owners of the mass media in Nigeria. However, this is the very class that has been largely associated with corruption, the embezzlement of public funds and other social vices in Nigeria. Faced with these types of owners, the question now arises as to whether current media ownership is inimical to effective critical media performance in Nigeria?

In relation to press freedom, the study examines the historical use of media laws and decrees in Nigeria with a view to finding out if there are laws that prevent the media from fulfilling its role and obligations to society. Media watchers in Nigeria are of the view that some obnoxious laws and decrees lingering on the statue books were/are deliberately preserved by the ruling elite for self protection.

The study equally investigates the training available to media practitioners in Nigeria in order to assess its adequacy and success in properly equipping practitioners for their specific job roles. It has been claimed in some quarters that journalism does not require any special training and that anybody who can read and write can be a journalist. This unfortunate and entirely inaccurate assumption explains the presence of the vast variety of people from all sorts of background who now make their careers journalism. This study will, therefore, undertake an attempt at understanding and explaining the extent to which adequate or inadequate training has affected the quality and practice of journalism in Nigeria.

The remuneration of journalists in Nigeria has been a controversial issue for a long time. Media workers in government owned media establishments are paid on the same basis and rates as civil servants while journalists in privately owned media organizations are paid differently. In Nigeria some people believe that journalists are

well remunerated, while others insist that they are poorly paid pointing to the brown-envelope-syndrome that is bribe taking carried out by certain journalists. Oduyela (2006) notes that:

> "*It takes the glory and grace of God for a journalist on N20,000 [£83.33] monthly salary to close his/her eyes to a N250,000 [£1,042] bribe to cover a corruption story"* (p.2).

- *Media believability and accessibility and the factors affecting them.*

This aspect of the research will explore the extent to which information, news and messages delivered by the media are believed by Nigerians. Over the years some Nigerians have tended to perceive and react towards media messages as if they were entirely government information or propaganda. The total dominance of the media in Nigeria by military governments, particularly the electronic media and the strict control of the media in general during military regimes, has particularly contributed to this perception. However, a lot of things have now changed in the Nigerian media landscape. Privately owned electronic media houses now grace the landscape and democracy has brought with it relative freedom of the press. For example in June 2011 the freedom of information act was signed into law by the new president Dr. Jonathan.

The study also explores the extent to which the media is accessible to the general public in Nigeria. Asking such essential questions as:

- Do Nigerians have access to radio and TV signals were ever they may be in the country?

- Can the average Nigerian family afford Radio and TV sets?

- Are programs produced and broadcast in the language(s) widely understood by the general Nigerian public?

- Are there economic and literacy issues militating against accessibility to newspapers, magazines the new media?

The issue of accessibility is critical to this study because it is only when people have free and easy access to the media that media messages can have any realistic and significant effect on them, their thinking and their values.

- *Capacity of the "public sphere" to provide forums for citizens to discuss topical media issues in Nigeria.*

This research theme directs attention towards finding out if Nigerians are free to publicly discuss with one another issues of corruption and other topical issues in the country raised by the media. If they are, then the question of where these discussions take place and who can participate, as well as how the information is obtained must be raised.

In addition, the study considered whether there are hindrances that preclude Nigerians from discussing media issues perceived as topical and what the gains of such discussions are?

- *Ethnic, tribal and religious issues in Media coverage and/or reportage in Nigeria.*

In this section the study examined the extent to which ethnic, tribal and religious differences affect the manner of media exposure, reports and the coverage of corruption, embezzlement and other national issues. This issue is important because there have been occasions when some media outfits have exposed certain corrupt practices only for another media outfit to extol the virtues of the individuals involved and defend them.

# 1.4 OVERVIEW OF THESIS STRUCTURE
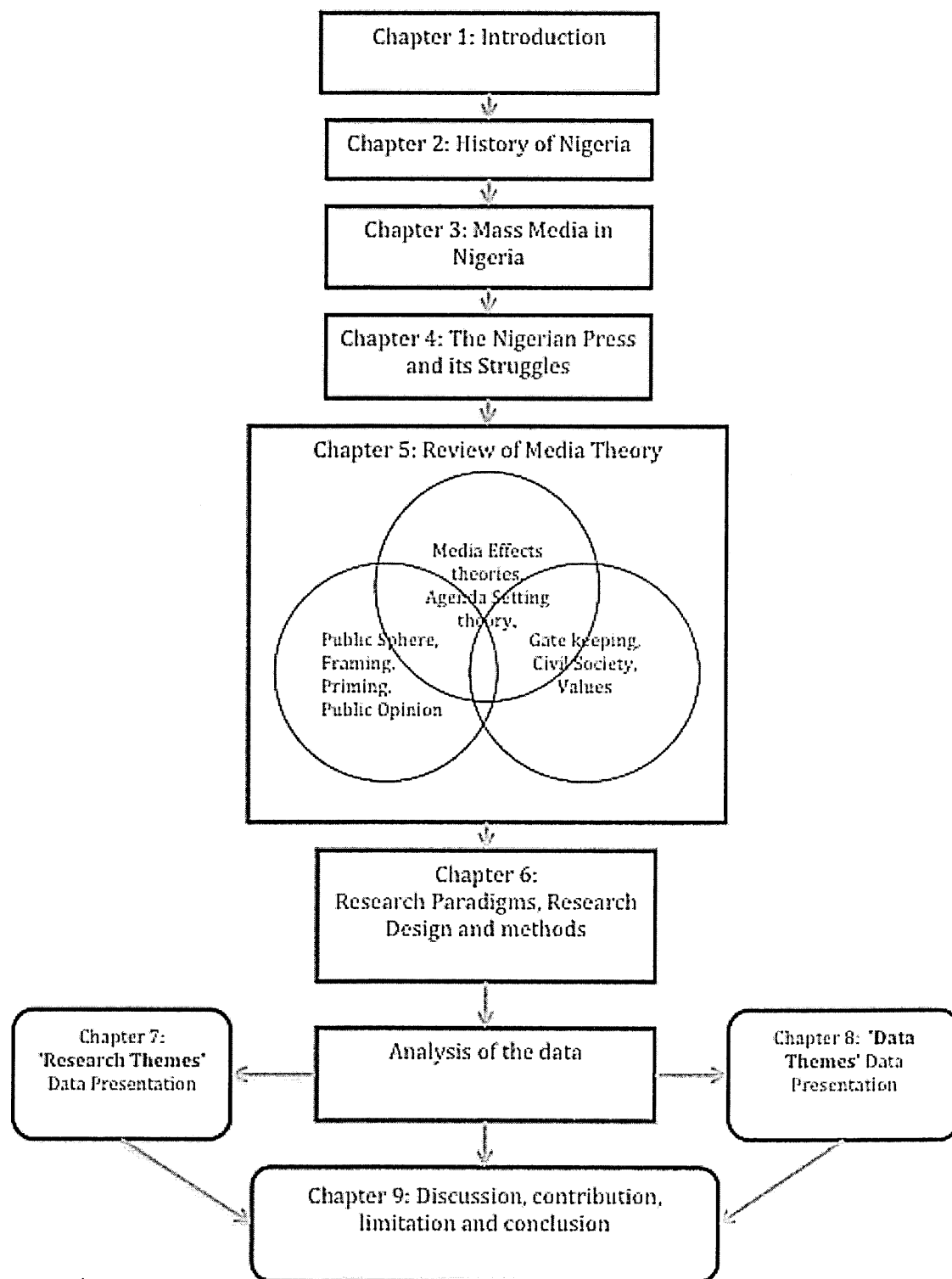


Fig 1.1 Diagram showing the research process

The logical structure of this thesis is presented in figure 1.1 above and shows that it is broken down into nine chapters.

This chapter has presented the study introduction detailing key research issues and history around the media in Africa generally and in Nigeria particularly. The motivation for this study as well as examples of Nigerian media interventions in Nigeria discussed.

Chapter two gives a brief history of Nigeria it also discusses the emergence of government agencies charged with orientation and reorientation in Nigeria in response to the general outcry about the effects of deteriorating civic values.

Chapter three centers specifically on the Nigerian mass media. It looks at different perspectives in the on-going debate about the Nigerian media, as well as the chronological development of the Nigerian media.

In chapter four a brief history of the different struggles of the Nigerian media starting from the 1900s to the present time is presented. The chapter also discusses the Nigerian media and military rule, the media in the current democratic process media ownership patterns, as well as its difficulties and/or problems in the current Nigerian media landscape.

Chapter five presents a review of literature that discusses relevant media effect theories and literature. It specifically focuses on agenda setting theory and other models that have conceptual convergence with the agenda setting theory such as gate-keeping, the public sphere, civil society, public opinion, framing and priming.

Chapter six discusses the methodological position behind the empirical work. The chapter also provides a description of the research methods used in the study. These include in-depth interviews and survey methods. The approach taken in analyzing the qualitative data (grounded theory) is also discussed.

Chapter seven presents the qualitative and quantitative data generated from in-depth interviews and survey questionnaire respectively. The Chapter presents an analysis of the data in line with the indicative research questions.

Chapter eight presents what the study calls "data themes". The "data themes" emerged from the study data itself and cross cut the research questions.

Chapter nine summarizes the research process adopted for this study and discusses the findings and their implications. The chapter outlines the study's contribution(s) to knowledge, as well as exploring the study limitations. It finally makes some recommendations for further research and concludes the study.

# CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH ENVIRONMENT

## 2.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF NIGERIA
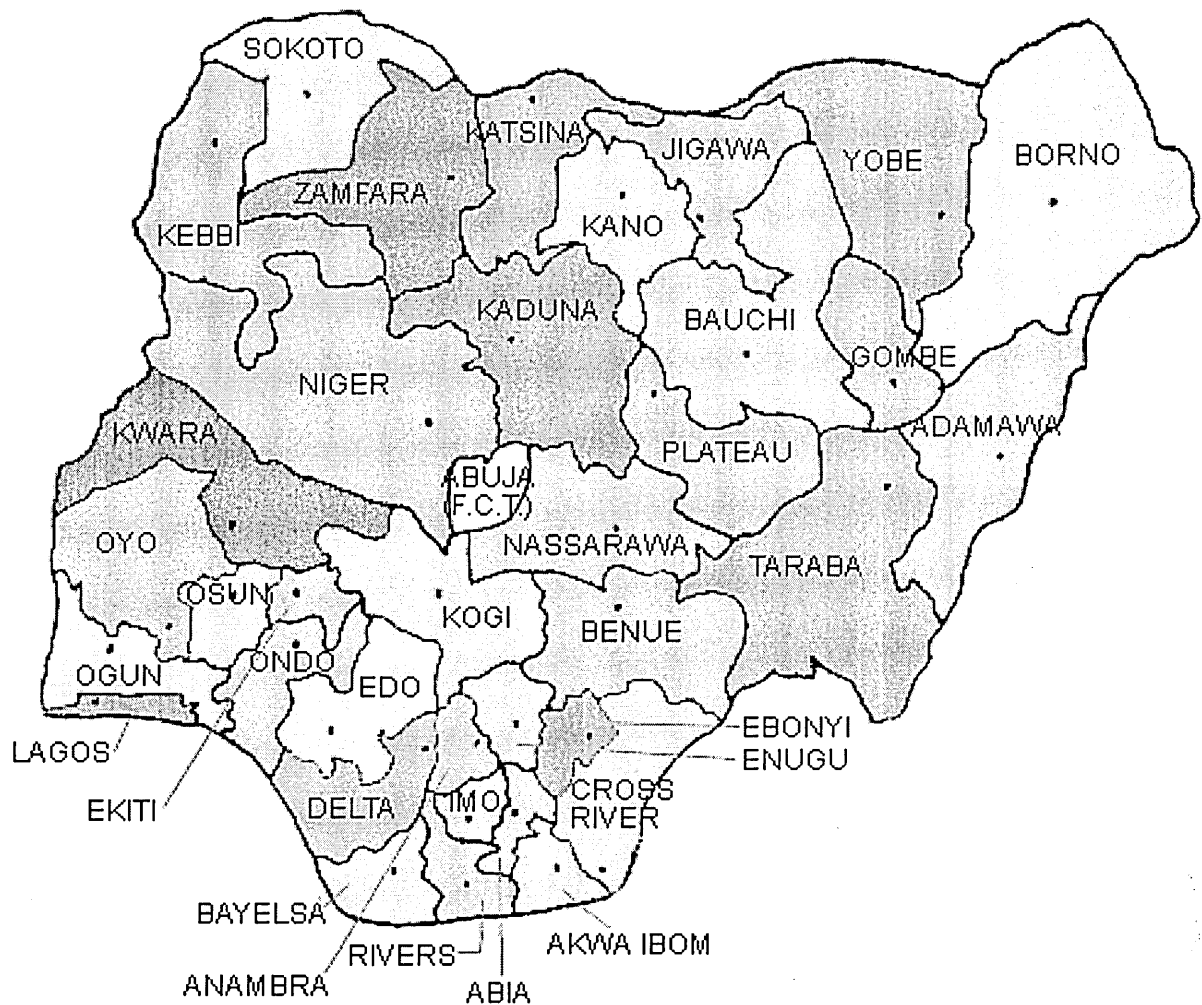
Fig. 2.1 Map of Nigeria showing 36 state and Abuja.

## 2.1.1 Introduction

Nigeria is made up of 36 states and its national capital is Abuja, also known as the Federal Capital Territory. Abuja is not a state, but a geographic area that was carved out of three different states of Niger, Kogi and Nassarawa. All the states in Nigeria are further divided into local government areas (LGAs) or councils with headquarters in each (LGA). There is also the grouping of Nigerian states into a geo-political zone made

up of states with similar demographic characteristics. Consequently, there are 36 states, 774 local government areas (LGAs) or councils and six geo-political zones in Nigeria. The geo-political zone arrangement is a development of the last decade that replaced the previous four region structure which existed in the 1960s.

Much of the history of Africa written by Western Scholars particularly sub-Saharan Africa characteristically emphasizes the arrival of foreign colonizers as the most significant event in Africa's history. Consequently, a lot of historical records about Nigeria written by western scholars coincide with the arrival of George Dashwood Goldie Taubman, an English adventurer, who later became known as the founder of modern Nigeria.

## 2.1.2 Indigenous View Of Nigeria's History

Contrary to colonial historical accounts, there exist indigenous records by Nigerian historians complemented by oral history and tradition handed down over many generations. The Nigerian nation of today may be a modern political construction but her component units of ethnic and tribal groupings had distinct political and institutional histories. These histories predate the creation of modern Nigeria with intelligible records dating back to before the arrival of Taubman.

Aside from oral tradition, archaeological evidence, historical art and cultural patterns, there is further historical evidence corroborated by Christian and Muslim records. This evidence shows that the geographical area now called Nigeria has had a rich history of human social development and cultural differentiation dating back several centuries.

Uya (1992) points out that:

> *"Different sedentary populations with reasonably large political structures had extensively inhabited the region as far back as 250 B.C. Indeed before the European conquest, the geographical region known today as Nigeria was home to an estimated*

*three hundred ethnic and tribal groups whose systems of internal rule, language and culture often differed"* (p.15).

Uya further explains that *"these different ethnic and tribal groups had exchanged trade, intermarried and lived together for centuries"* (p.15) and adds that *"they also had different cultures and different levels of socio-political, technological and economic development"* (p.15).

Historical evidence indicates that the present northern Nigeria had ancient cities such as the Kanem Bornu Empire and the 14 Hausa city states. These ancient empires were known to have settled in this area about 1000 years ago. The Niger Delta region was home to Kalabari settlements such as Bonny, Okrika, Brass, Akassa and new Calabar which existed for hundreds of years before European colonialism. In fact the Kalabari of the Niger Delta region specifically the people of Abonnema and Buguma in 1984 celebrated 1000 years habitation of their present location in 1983. Maier (2000) expresses the opinion that the land and people of the Niger Delta has existed for more than a century before the gathering of Europeans in Berlin (1884-1885) where arbitrary lines were drawn across the map of Africa to indicate the different colonial territories.

The country known today as Nigeria was created from three separate entities. These entities were the Niger Coast Protectorate, the Lagos Colony, and the Royal Niger protectorate. The three separate entities came under the direct governance of Britain as part of the Colonial Empire in 1900. After 1900, the entities became known as the Lagos Protectorate, the protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The Protectorates of Lagos and Southern Nigeria came under a single administration in 1906, and in 1914, the Northern and Southern Protectorates were amalgamated.

Nigeria as it exists today is the byproduct of series of historical processes both internal and external, spanning centuries and culminating in its emergence on October 1, 1960, as an independent nation.

Ngoa (2006) believes that the root of Nigeria's post-independence politics is entrenched in her colonial history. However, Uya (1992) observes that:

> "Pre-colonial Nigerians did not live in splendid isolation from one another, because the people intermarried, engaged in long and short distance trading and borrowed mutually from each other's cultures" (p.16).

Whatever the economic, as well as socio-cultural interactions of the various peoples of the region, they substantially maintained that the exclusive identity of the groups is a different matter. Uya (1992) points out that:

> "The bulk of the many groups in pre-colonial Nigeria whether in the savannah or forest regions ... characteristically, lived in small scale societies varying from a few hundred people to the large compact village type ... [where] ... the prevalent idiom of association was the kinship idiom defined territorially or genealogically" (p.20).

Lineage was the basic unit of socio-cultural and political relations. Religion and secret societies in some of the groups played prominent roles in putting governance on a balance between power and authority on the one hand and service and accountability on the other.

According to Uya (1992):

> "Rulers were judged and continued in power on the basis of how well they served the 'public good'. Even divine kings whose actions were judged to compromise the welfare of the people were overthrown, sometimes, as in the case of old Oyo, by being asked to commit suicide" (p.18).

Or in the case of the Tiv's, were leaders are asked to drink the "Akombo" or swear the "Swem" a local instrument of political control over traditional rulers or the political check and balance among the Tiv and Yoruba ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Maier (2000) corroborates thus:

> *"The old Oyo monarchy ruled through a complex system of checks and balances which involved a council of notables, the Oyo Mesi, and the secretive Ogboni society made up of eminent political and religious figures. The Oyo Mesi could depose the Alafin that is the King, when the Prime Minister, the Bashrun tells him that - 'The gods reject you, the people reject you and the earth rejects you'. Whenever events got to the point that the Bashrun makes the above statement, the Alafin was required to commit suicide"* (p.9).

We can draw from this pre-colonial history the existence in some ethnic groups and regions a cultural basis for belief in political checks and balances and for accountability by political and community leaders. This also indicates a cultural history of public accountability. However, that accountability and its political implication might vary.

The present political entity called Nigeria is therefore a colonial construction of Britain which was designed in 1914 to serve British interests. This unfortunately truncated and destroyed the local pattern of socio-cultural and economic development of the various ethnic and tribal groups.

In 1963 when Nigeria became a republic its population stood at 55.67 million. Uya (1992); Osaghae (1998) and Maier (2000) explain that, as result of Nigeria's huge geographical space and immense human and material resources the country was considered the "giant" and "hope" of Africa at independence. It was also perceived as capable of providing leadership for Africa and indeed the black world. Unfortunately, the consideration as "giant of Africa" was short lived as the country's new leaders, in their euphoria and excitement set the stage to turn the newly independent state into a tool of plunder and what Maier (2000) describes as a *"typical third world basket case"* (p.15).

Ngoa (2006) adds that after the bloody military coup of January 15, 1966 Nigeria has not known peace until recently when it returned to democratic governance in 1999.

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From January 15, 1966 to January 1970, Nigeria witnessed more than one million deaths in what was then considered Africa's most gruesome civil war. The country also experienced 30 years of dehumanizing military dictatorships which increased distrust among the ethnic groups and amplified agitation for power. Ake (1985) is of the view that contending groups struggle on grimly, polarizing their differences and convinced that their ability to protect their interest and obtain justice is coextensive with their power.

In this type of politics, there is deep alienation and distrust among political competitors. Consequently, they are profoundly afraid of being under the power and control of their opponents. This fear in turn breeds a huge appetite for power, which is sought without restraint and used without restraint (See Ake (1985) and Osaghae (1995)).

The imbalance in socio-economic and political development, as well as differences in orientation between the various groups in the newly independent nation resulted in the creation of 12 states from the existing four regions in 1967. Additional states were subsequently created as follows, 19 states (1976), 30 states (1991) and 36 states (1996). However, Osaghae (1998) reveals that:

> *"Rather than state creation replacing or eliminating regionalism and fostering national unity, it resulted in the emergence of ancillary and more particularistic form of discrimination called statism"* (p.7).

Out of the 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria, the Yoruba's in the south west, Ibo's in the south east and Hausa's in the north are said to be the three major ethnic groups in the country. The languages spoken by these three major ethnic groups Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa languages respectively, along with the English language, form the official languages of Nigeria.

Ngoa (2006) explains that Nigeria is bounded in the north by the republics of Niger and Chad, Benin to the west, to the east by Cameroon and the Atlantic coast to its south and is an ethnic mosaic of over 250 tribes and tongues. Uya (1992) points out that:

> *"Ethnicity poses problems for the development (and sustenance) of national consciousness"* (p.16).

But Nonyelu (2006) believes that:

> *"Economic access could be responsible for much of the problems facing Nigeria"*. [Arguing that] *"corruption, religion, ethnicity and tribalism are different ways people struggle for power to control the resources of state"* (p.7).

Indigenous and migrant Christian populations exist in the North. As in the North, indigenous and migrant Muslim populations also exist in the South particularly in the South West of Nigeria. Most of the Muslim populations in the South East are migrants from the North. Nigeria has an official census figure of 150 million. Nigeria is also the world's 5th largest producer of crude oil. Poverty in Nigeria has been blamed on endemic corruption, as well as on widely acknowledged mismanagement and looting of the country's resources by what the late Bisi Onabanjo (a governor of Ogun state during Nigeria's second republic) refers to as a "cabal of native imperialists". Maier (2000) explains that:

> *"Top government officials and the business elite enjoyed the good life while urban poor, suffers soaring unemployment and inflation of up to 50 percent per year"* (p.16).

National infrastructural facilities like electricity, pipe borne water, road and rail networks or inland water ways, functional hospitals, education, housing etc are all currently in a poor state of repair.

On the other hand, corruption has multiplied in Nigeria and has become endemic in all institutions of society. The country is notorious internationally for scam letters and other forms of criminal activities including drug peddling and terrorism. In January

2010 the United States of America officially included Nigeria in the list of state sponsors of terrorism effectively declaring the country a terrorist state.

Recently from 23rd November 2009, until the 2011 elections the country was embroiled in a constitutional crisis arising from the health condition of late President Umar Musa Yar'dua who refused to hand over to the Vice President as required by the constitution despite the fact that he is incapacitated.

## 2.2 INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE

It is obvious that successive Nigerian governments have been aware of the endemic nature and implications of corruption on national development. That is why different governments over the years have set up various anti-corruption and orientation agencies. Some of the agencies created by different governments to deal with corruption and deteriorating civic values currently in operation include:

- Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC);

- Independent Corruption Practices Commission (ICPC);

- National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA);

- National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC);

- Code of Conduct Bureau (COCB);

- National Orientation Agency (NOA).

### 2.2.1 The National Orientation Agency

According to Ibrahim Babangida former military President of Nigeria at the launch of the national orientation agency (NOA) in August.1993:

*"Nigeria established the National Orientation Agency (NOA) to harmonise and consolidate efforts and resources of government in the fields of public enlightenment, social mobilization and value re-orientation"* (p.3).

It was General Ibrahim Babangida that established the Agency on August 1993 by decree 100. To establish the Agency, the new decree merged three former organs of government, namely: the Public Enlightenment (PE) and the War Against Indiscipline (WAI), National Orientation Movement (NOM) a division of the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture with the Directorate for Social Mobilization, Self-Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER).

Government rhetoric in Nigeria appears to generally concentrate visions of social change and value reorientation on the agency question. This view holds that the polity is bad because of the actions of particular "bad" individual persons. The hope then is that the society will become better if the "bad" persons are removed and replaced with "good" persons.

This view of social change was already visible in Nigeria before political independence and thereafter. Njoku (2007) explains that:

> *"In June 1950, a few students of the King's College, Lagos, a high school, formed a club known as 'the league of Bribe Scorners', with the objective never to give or receive bribes for the rest of their lives"* (p.11).

According to Njoku (2007):

> *"One advantage of the agency question is that it establishes a community on concrete persons rather than on abstract principles. However it draws straight and simplistic lines between individual acts and social realities, overlooking the historical processes which created them and mixing the private realm with the public sphere controlled by powerful institutions. It does not sufficiently confront how individual persons themselves are trapped within social structures. It further falls into the problem of reducing social goodness and evil to entirely personal issues independent of social systems, which shape our actions and imaginations"* (p.12).

In 1966, Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu after staging a coup with some other military officers announced that their intention 'was to rid the country of irresponsible politicians, incompetent and corrupt bureaucrats, restore respectability and accountability to the Nigerian public service. After eight years in office as military head of state in Nigeria, General Gowon said that his continuing stay in was to eradicate corruption in the country (Njoku, 2007).

Njoku again adds that:

> "Announcing the 31$^{st}$ December 1983 coup, Brigadier Abacha claimed that the military ''was compelled to seize power from the Shagari government to save Nigeria from rampant corruption, ineptitude and profligacy that had characterised both federal and state governments of the country'' (p.9).

Consequently, the Buhari-Idiagbon administration declared War Against Indiscipline (WAI). The Babangida administration established the Directorate for Social Mobilization, Self-Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER) and later the National orientation Agency (NOA). The Abacha regime launched War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC). This regime also inaugurated an anti-corruption outfit which targeted drug trafficking, money laundering and other miscellaneous financial crimes know as the National Drug Laws Enforcement Agency (NDLEA). Obasanjo dedicated a large part of his presidential inauguration address on 29$^{th}$ May 1999 to corruption and his intention to fight it and its beneficiaries.

Nigerians both collectively and individually are unanimous in the acceptance that the country desperately requires a re-orientation of its values because they attribute the general lack of economic, social and infrastructural development of the country to corruption and irresponsible leadership.

According to Dotun Akinwole in *A squandered legacy: a pathetic story of the past 50 years of Nigeria's independence* published by saharareporters.com on September 19, 2010:

> "Nigeria has since derailed from the path of coherent unified polity and national development owing to the amateurish and corrupt way in which Nigerian leaders have handled the affairs of the nation. Nigeria has been going down the chute of socio-political regression that seems not to bother the so-called ruling class of different political persuasions who appear in a 'sworn conspiracy' to bleed the country to death" (p.1).

Consequently, despite the acceptance of the urgent need for values reorientation by both government and Nigerians alike, no honest effort has been made to actualize it. Government has continued to pay lip service to the need for values reorientation and agencies of government established over the years for this purpose have been cosmetic.

Very few Nigerians are aware that such agency of government exists because its impact is not felt anywhere. Those who know that such agency exists see it as one of the outlets created by government to filter away public resources and compensate cronies, friends and family members. Such agency, in character and structure has melted into a normal Nigerian civil service bureaucracy and functions purely as another government department or ministry where nothing works. There are no records anywhere to show what this agency has been able to achieve in its 15 years of existence.

## 2.2.2 Mission And Objectives Of NOA

The cardinal mission of the Agency is to:

> "Consistently raise awareness, provide timely and credible feedback; positively change attitudes, values and behaviors, adequately and accurately inform and sufficiently mobilize citizens to act in ways to promote peace, social harmony and National development".

Unfortunately, the state of values, disharmony and general under development in Nigeria today clearly testifies to the colossal failure and the obvious inability of this agency to achieve its stated mission.

The Agency has 4 objectives which are as follows:

- Ensure that government programs and policies are better understood by the general public.

- Mobilize favorable opinion for such programs and policies.

- Encourage informal education through public enlightenment activities and publications.

- Establish feedback channel to government on all aspects of Nigeria national life.

The establishment of the National Orientation Agency (NOA) in 1993 is clearly one of the pointers that Nigeria is well aware that something is wrong with its social values. Another pointer is the listing of what the Kuru declaration document of 2001 called national values, and the incorporation of values reorientation as a cardinal issue of national importance in the NEEDS, (2004) document which states that:

> "Not only should there be values re-orientation to enthrone the ethics of hard work and transparency; its effort should also be directed towards greater service to Nigeria, wealth creation through productive effort and engagement in government as a service rather than commercial business" (p.51).

On the other hand, the worsening of corruption and the entrenchment of a host of other social vices in Nigeria over the same period 1993 - 2007 also points to the fact that only lip service has been paid to the important issue of values reorientation in Nigeria.

## 2.2.3 Re-Branding Nigeria

Faced with persistent negative image both within the international community and at home, Nigeria in 2008 launched the Re-branding Nigeria Project. According to the new program, Nigerians are to project the country's positive image, ideals, achievements and global successes instead of highlighting the negative challenges facing the country.

Nigeria's Senate President David Mark outlined Nigeria's major achievements in the fields of science, medicine, sports, peace-keeping, literature and arts, which he said are hardly mentioned at the global arena. He challenged the Ministry of Information and Communications to spearhead efforts in developing a set of core national values that will portray Nigeria positively around the globe.

According to the architect of the rebranding Nigeria program Prof Dora Akunyili who is Nigeria's minister of information:

> "... Nigeria badly needs a better image. In the eye of the world, every Nigerian is a potential criminal. Nigerians are regarded as unruly and difficult to lead. Nigeria is also perceived as a country where nothing works, where chaos is a daily staple. You and I know that Nigeria is not the worst in terms of violence or crime. In South Africa, dare not carry your bag around the way we do here. It will be snatched and you might even be shot. It is in India that they fake all the drugs that are giving us problems, yet no one is talking about it".

Continuing she adds:

> "Everybody is giving positive image of themselves but Nigerians are too negative about their country. That is what I intend to correct. If we don't speak well of ourselves, no one will....we should stop running down ourselves. For too long we have been running down ourselves and have left other people to tell our story. It is time for us to tell our own story. Yes, I admit that we have miscreants, but is there any country that does not have criminals? Do we allow the story of few criminals to undermine our collective interest?" (p.3).

However, many Nigerians disagree and consequently the program has met with criticisms across the country as Nigerians question the modality of rebranding a nonexistent brand. Traditional rules, student leaders, social critics, civil rights leaders and numerous citizens have criticized the rebranding image project calling it another conduit pipe for siphoning Nigeria's lean resources.

They were quick to point out similar programs like the War Against Indiscipline (WAI), Directorate for Social Mobilization, Self-Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC) mounted by past regimes that yielded no results. The critics also pointed out that a government agency called National Orientation Agency (NOA) whose responsibility it is to enlightenment Nigerians still exists and wondered why the need to enunciate the rebranding project independent of the agency.

They questioned what Nigeria was rebranding at this time when nothing is working in the country and wondered whether it was the decayed infrastructure, endemic insecurity, aggravated corruption, sectarian violence, unemployment, plundered banking industry and pervasive criminality that is being rebranded. The general consensus among the critics was that Nigeria needs to channel its resources towards providing basic human needs such as electricity, water, transportation, education, food, health care, housing, employment, security, etc.

## 2.3 SUMMARY

This chapter discusses the composition of the Nigerian nation and establishes that Nigeria is presently made up of 36 states plus the national capital Abuja, also known as the Federal Capital Territory. Abuja is not a state, but an area that was carved out of the 3 different states namely: Niger, Kogi and Nassarawa respectively.

The modern Nigeria nation as we know it today was carved out of three separate entities namely the Niger Coast Protectorate, the Lagos Colony, and the Royal Niger protectorate. The three separate entities came under the direct governance of Britain as part of the Colonial Empire in 1900. However, the Protectorates of Lagos and Southern Nigeria came under a single administration in 1906, and in 1914, the Northern and Southern Protectorates were amalgamated to form the present day Nigeria.

Also discussed in this chapter are the responses of successive Nigerian governments to calls by its citizens and institutions to tackle the glaring erosion of civic values which appear to impact negatively on the social, economic, infrastructural and political development of the country.

Responding to these calls, different regimes in Nigeria over the years set up various anti-corruption and reorientation agencies including the National Orientation Agency (NOA) which was set up to among other things:

- To harmonize and consolidate efforts and resources of government in the fields of public enlightenment, social mobilization and value re-orientation.

The establishment of the National Orientation Agency (NOA) therefore, is a clear indication that Nigerians and successive Nigerian governments are well aware that something is wrong with civic values in the country.

Another Nigerian government response to calls for reorientation of values in Nigeria occurred as recently as 2008 when it launched the Re-branding Nigeria Project. The program was launched to spearhead efforts at developing a set of core national values that will portray Nigeria positively around the globe. The next chapter will discuss the history of the Nigerian media beginning the current debate about the state of the media

in Nigeria. It will also look at media issues including press freedom and the recent developments in the Nigerian media.

# CHAPTER THREE: MASS MEDIA IN NIGERIA

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

As already stated in chapters 1 and 6, the focus of this study is to understand what role the Nigerian mass media can play in the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria. The study hopes to achieve this focus by adapting the agenda setting theory and other theoretical models like gate-keeping, public sphere, framing and priming and using data to identify and explain the role the Nigerian media can play in the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria.

It is important to point out that the sourcing of information or news by the Nigerian media has it peculiarities. Some of these peculiarities therefore render it incorrect to argue that all issues raised in the Nigerian media and discussed in the Nigerian public sphere are the agenda of the Nigerian media. News sources in Nigeria are dominated by "news makers". These "news makers" are made up of senior public office holders, top civil servants, politicians, business executives, captains of industry and other influential members of society whose views and opinions dominate daily media information and/or news in Nigeria. Consequently, news content and other media information in Nigeria is always populated by the views and opinions of both media practitioners and media "news makers". This situation therefore raises the question of whose agenda is the Nigerian media agenda. To understand the Nigerian media in context, it is necessary to familiarize with the two views that currently dominate public debate about the Nigerian media.

# 3.2 PERSPECTIVES ON NIGEIRAN MEDIA

The state of the media in Nigeria following the return to democratic governance in 1999 has been variously described. Many views have been expressed both by foreign and local media watchers, as well as individuals within and outside the media in Nigerian.

Akinfeleye (2003) is of the view that the Nigerian media:

> *"Has remained one of the most vilified and acclaimed institutions in the country in recent time. While it has been commended by some, others have seriously condemned it for irresponsible, reckless, and sensational journalism"* (p.27).

However, all the views so far expressed acknowledged the enormous contributions of the Nigerian media towards political independence in 1960 and restoration of democratic governance in 1999 and could be summarized into two main perspectives regardless of the criteria used by the assessors.

One school of thought believes that the media in Nigeria have lost its biting teeth. They see the media according to Oduyela (2006) as corrupt, self-serving, unethical and completely compromised. Sobowale (2002) agrees with this school of thought arguing that:

> *"Sadly, the* [Nigerian] *media tended from 1960, to destroy that which they labored so hard for so many years to build. Having gain political independence, petty jealousies, occasioned by political and ethnic differences, beclouded the vision of media proprietors and media practitioners. Rather than promoting national integration and national consciousness, the media became sectional and a potent agent of disunity. They promoted inter-ethnic hatred as well as inter-ethnic distrust and acrimony that eventually led to the collapse of the first republic"* (p.21).

On the other hand, another school of thought believes that the Media in Nigeria remains vibrant, relatively free, responsive, alive and well. The views expressed by Kalejaiye (2009) below exemplify this school of thought:

*"The press, it has been argued, was in the forefront of the struggle for enthronement of democracy or better still, the return to civil rule. Many in this group will point out that the press was also in the vanguard of the independence struggle. To them while other countries in Africa fought for their independence on the battlefield, that of Nigeria was fought for, and won on the pages of newspapers expending millions of words, instead of ammunitions, in the process"* (p.19).

Many articles have been written representing one of the two positions but for the purpose of this study, the articles by Seyi Oduyela in (2006) titled "The Media in Nigerian II" and another by Uche Nworah again in (2006) captioned, "The Nigerian Media As Scapegoats" will form the bases of our discussion. The two articles were chosen because of the antecedents of the authors. Both are renowned journalists with lots of pedigree and experience within and outside Nigeria and have been known to be passionate about their views. Both clearly exemplify the two perspectives under discussion.

## 3.3 FIRST PERSPECTIVE

Although Oduyela (2006) strongly believes that *"the Nigerian media is currently corrupt, self-serving, unethical and completely compromised"*, he also agrees that *"the media in Nigeria has a rich history of activism"* and that accounts for why he began by saying that:

> *"The Nigerian media has been credited for standing against the oppressive rule of the Military and was said to have been part of the struggle that removed the military from power. During the military era, we witnessed in Nigeria publications like Tell, The News, Newswatch, African Concord and the most vociferous of them all, Tempo Magazine. These news organizations and others fought with their pen"* (p.1).

However, he believes that the complexion of the Nigerian media began to change immediately democratic governance emerged. Continuing he says:

> *" ... shortly after the demise of the military and with the installation of a retired military general with a cosmetic democratic government, things began to change. We now began to see a new media. This is not like the pro-democracy media, but pro-naira media. We now see media executives jostling for appointments, contracts and*

*advertisements from those they are supposed to watch. We now see partnership with the enemies of the people and they now tell the harmless Nigerian public what their benefactors want them to say. Most of the news organizations became public relations consultants for these politicians"* (p.1).

He goes on to add that:

*"Journalism in Nigeria now has shifted from mirroring the society to protecting the rogues in power. It has moved from its position as the watchdog to collaborator in the killing of a nation through misinformation and covering-up for dishonest public office holders. It is no more news that editors and publishers call Ministers, Governors and other public office holders to inform them of stories about them and the possibility of killing it"* (p.3).

According to him:

*"We thought the Media will retain its role against the military and put the present civilian government on edge, but what we have is conspiracy and promotion of profligacy, stealing, and publicity for looters as champions"* (p.3).

Lamenting the state of the media he continues:

*"It takes the glory and grace of God for a journalist on N20,000 monthly salary to close his eyes to N250,000 bribe to cover a corruption story. That is why we see journalists buying and riding cars worth N500,000 with their take home pay that cannot take them home and no one seems to ask them the source of the money. Why would they ask when editors too travel to get their Ghana-Must-Go? The simple answer is that the bosses lack the moral sense to question their employees because they are guiltier of this corruption syndrome than their boys"* (p.5).

Oduyela vehemently insists that *"hardly can you find a journalist in Nigeria that does not have a price from the Editor-in-Chief to the just employed reporter"* (p.4).

## 3.4 SECOND PERSPECTIVE

Responding to Oduyela's views, Uche Nworah believes that those assessments are faulty and does not represent the Nigerian Media he knows and is a part of. So he declares:

*"I submit that media and journalism practice in Nigeria is actually alive and well. I was bowled over during my recent visit to Nigeria by the number of titles at the newsstands, the increasing number of FM and TV stations jostling for licences at Ernest Ndukwe's National Communications Commission (NCC) offices"* (p.1).

Furthermore he goes on to add that:

*"Considering the prevailing economic environment in Nigeria which is still harsh and hostile, one can only encourage those media houses that are still managing to keep their heads above the waters. To be able to do this, they must be doing something nice to keep the interests of the readers who flock the newsstands daily to purchase the titles, the ability to maintain the interests of the readers, viewers or listeners are of course the only reason why advertisers will patronize the media houses"* (p.1).

Continuing Nworah insists that:

*"If anything, the Nigerian media is getting more vibrant by the day, Dele Olojede recently proved that Nigerian trained journalists are not rubbish after all; else the Pulitzer Prize committee wouldn't have so deservedly rewarded him. Baring the lack of adequate resources as expressed by some journalists in the article "How internet affects journalism practice in Nigeria". I am proud to say that Nigerian journalists can hold their ground and compete with the best anywhere in the world"* (p.3).

Commenting further Nworah argues that:

*"In the Nigerian media landscape, the natural career progression route for journalists apart from setting up their own media houses is to wander into corporate affairs departments of private corporations such as banks, telecom companies, etc"* (p.5).

The other option which Mr. Oduyela doesn't like so much is that of accepting appointments into government positions such as press secretaries or media spokespersons of government officials.

*"There is still nothing wrong with journalists accepting job offers, especially ones that may improve their living standards, life is too short, also life is not all about criticizing and attacking the government of the day. If one gets offered the opportunity to come and contribute to the process of nation building by working for the government, it should not be regarded as a sign of selling out"* (p.4).

Reacting to the issue of trading favors by journalists, Nworah insists that, *"it is a natural expectation and occurrence in every profession to trade favors"* (p.4).

But quickly points out also that:

> *"There have been cases of journalists who will not bulge and have chosen the honorable way out by resigning from their jobs. This phenomenon is universal. In the UK, newspapers are known to be either pro labour or pro conservatives. Also, in America, newspapers and media houses are known to either be sympathetic to the Democrats or to the Republicans"* (p.5).

The two perspectives discussed above leave us questioning the true state of the Nigerian media. In other words, is the Nigerian media simply corrupt and infective or it is vibrant and a functioning part of the civil public sphere in Nigeria. It is hoped that answers to the five research themes or questions earlier set out in chapters 1, 3 and 5 respectively will help us determine the correct state of the Nigerian media.

# 3.5 HISTORY OF NIGERIAN MEDIA

Here a brief history of the Nigerian media is presented starting with early emergence of newspapers, the different stages of development, its struggles and contemporary developments in the Nigerian media industry.

## 3.5.1 First Newspapers

Historically the Nigerian media, particularly the print media and to a great extent the electronic media, was nursed by the British colonizers and some foreign educated Africans. However, Akinfeleye (1985) argues that, despite the early British influence in Nigerian journalism, its exact origin is somehow unclear. For him it is difficult to determine if Europeans brought Journalism to Nigeria or that Nigerians had some Journalism before the arrival of the Europeans although he provides evidence of irregular newspaper publishing ventures before 1859.

However, the consensus among scholars and experts of varied backgrounds is that the first printing press was founded in Calabar Nigeria, in 1846 and was owned by the Presbyterian Mission. Another consensus also is that Rev. Henry Townsend of the Presbyterian Mission founded and published the *"Iwe Irohin"* in 1859 which has been acknowledged as the first newspaper in Nigeria and Africa's first and oldest vernacular newspaper in Abeokuta, (see Omu (1978); Nigeria yearbook, (1973-76) and Dimkpa (1997)).

Reverend Townsend according to Akinfeleye (1985) is today still remembered as the father of Nigerian Journalism. The *"Iwe Irohin"* newspaper which was a fortnightly was from inception published in Yoruba language but started an English edition in the form of a supplement six years later. The paper sold for about one penny (120 cowries) a copy and two shillings was the annual subscription. Omu (2000) states that:

> *"The image many people have of this pioneering effort is that of a religious tract pre-occupied with religious teaching and preaching and keeping a safe distance from the distractions and confusions of politics but the truth of the matter is that the Iwe Irohin exerted its greatest influence as a political weapon"* (p.53-54).

Information, enlightenment and literary education were the advertised motive, but politics and propaganda became the dominant force. In October 1867, a popular uprising in Abeokuta (the 'Ifole' or house-breaking) led to the expulsion of Europeans, looting of the mission building and the destruction of the Abeokuta press; but despite the abrupt end of the paper, *"Iwe Irohin"*, Townsend and the year 1859, today, still define the nature of Nigerian journalism (see Omu (2000) and Dare (2000)).

Dimkpa (1997) confirms that:

> *"The second key owners of the media were foreigners who immigrated to Nigeria during the colonial days. These foreigners were mostly Sierra Leoneans and Liberians who were earlier exposed to western education before Nigerians"* (p.19-20).

Omu (1978) adds that, *"the first of these foreign dominated newspapers was the Anglo-African founded by Robert Campbell"* (p.20). After the demise of *"Iwe Irohin"*, Robert Campbell, a Jamaican educationist, set up the Anglo-African in 1868; but two years after its establishment, the Anglo-African collapsed. By 1880, Omu (2000) notes that, many people in Lagos began to feel the need for a newspaper to fill the gap created by the collapse in 1867 of *"Iwe Irohin"* and the Anglo-African in 1880.

In addition, Omu (2000) explains that educated Africans showed frustration about the absence of a voice they required to sooth the temperament of the times. It was therefore not a surprise that a wealthy businessman, Richard Beale Blaize, brought out the first truly Nigerian newspaper in November 1880. He called it the *Lagos Times and Gold Coast Colony Advertiser*. The paper however was unable to survive financially and was extinct by 1883.

In 1890, persuaded by the Liberian businessmen John Payne Jackson who was dismissed as a bookkeeper at the *Lagos Times* because of drinking problems, Blaize revived the *Lagos Times* under a new title; *The Lagos Weekly Times*, again financial problems arose between Blaize and Jackson, who was managing the paper, and Jackson's response was the launching of his own newspaper; *The Lagos Weekly Record in* 1891.

John Payne Jackson later had an extra-ordinary career with the *Lagos Weekly Record* and was for twenty-five years the most outstanding journalist in West Africa. Jackson was a major influence in Nigeria journalism. He created the vibrant tradition of fearless journalism, fostering seriousness of purpose and a spirit of enterprise in the newspaper industry.

*The Lagos Weekly Record* continued its tradition of erudite and combative style under John Payne's Son, Thomas Horatio Jackson. Its readership was mainly the steadily

increasing Lagos and Gold Coast Colony elite and its contents were political, ranging from the activities of the movement towards African nationalism.

Like most newspapers of the period (1880 – 1930s), circulation was small as individual newspaper sales ranged from 200 – 9000 annually, readership of a leading newspaper such as the *Record* would at best represent an increase of about 4000 to 9000 during the period. But Jackson's *Lagos Weekly Record* seems to have surpassed that estimate. Omu (1978) confirms that: *"the greatest circulation during the period under review was 700 a week and that was attained by "The Record and The Standard" around 1919"* (p.81). The collapse of the *Lagos Weekly Record* in 1930 and the death of Thomas Horatio Jackson in 1936 drew the curtain on an era in the history of the Nigeria press.

Though John Payne Jackson's *Lagos Weekly Record* was described as an "arsenal of ideas from which opponents and the government took their weapons", Omu (1978) and Dare (2000) regarded Blackall's *Observer* as the most successful 19th century newspaper both financially and in terms of readership.

This first newspaper era in Nigeria was described by Omu (2000), as not only of service and sacrifice of innovation and experimentation but also the era of transition from the society of "European Africans" or "black Englishmen" to that of educated Nigerians *"who had no roots in British guardianship and were not tied up with humanitarian loyalties"* (p.60).

## 3.5.2 Pre-Independence Newspapers

The first newspaper era in Nigeria came to an end when another generation of newspaper publishers emerged on the scene. This new generation had new approaches to journalism and was anxious to create opportunities for greater democratic participation. This new era was epitomized in Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and his *West*

*African Pilot.* The Pilot launched in November 1937 announced its mission as the Sentinel of popular liberty and guardian of civilization with the "supreme task" of making assertions in unequivocal terms (Omu, 1978).

*The Pilot* indeed heralded the revival and revolution in Nigerian journalism. Nnamdi Azikiwe brought with him essential components of the new journalism, and his paper immediately became the major forum for the now ever-increasing nationalist consciousness which was in desperate need of an outlet for expressing the mode of the times. The *Pilot* sold about 9000 copies daily and ended the circulation supremacy of *The Daily Times*, which then had a circulation figure of about 6000.

In the words of Omu (2000):

> *"Azikiwe's impact on the Nigerian press was significant. Among other things, he widened the social basis for the profession of journalism, which lost its traditional elitist and aristocratic definition"* (p.61).

Evidently, the period 1880 to 1937 marked the birth of a radical press (newspapers having no affiliation with the church) in Nigeria.

Omu (2000) in his chronicle of the Nigerian press highlighted "five milestones in journalistic service". These are – the early newspaper – (*Iwe Irohin* (1859), *Lagos Times* (1880), *The Lagos weekly Record* (1891)), pre independence newspapers such as *The West African pilot* (1937) and the more recent *Guardian/Newswatch* (1983/85). Dare (2000) also notes that *"between the period 1859 and 1937 (Irohin to the pilot) there emerged newspapers that became the spearhead of a nationalism that was at once cultural and political"* (p.12). He also adds that by 1937 no fewer than 51 newspapers had been established in Nigeria signifying the emergence of the first indigenous industrial enterprise. Most of "these newspapers" Dare (2000) observed:

*"Were founded by men in all sorts and conditions of distress, people who according to Obafemi Awolowo ... himself a member of the second generation of pioneers of the press were regarded as the 'flotsam and jetsam' of the growing community of Nigeria's intelligentsia"* (p.13).

Worthy of note though is the emergence of the *Daily Times* (later, Daily Times of Nigeria) in 1926. The *Daily Times* was a different kind of newspaper in the sense that it was founded (by a Nigerian and four Britons) as a commercial paper, with most of the trappings of a typical "London Daily" and as such was not considered that much part of "the struggle" but served as a training ground for what could be described as some of the best hands in Nigerian journalism. The paper, which had a circulation figure of 3000 in 1930, and rose to 5,900 by 1937 is believed by many to have been Nigeria's first daily newspaper; but this is technically not the case.

There appeared on the newsstands on November 9th, 1925, a tiny daily newssheet proclaiming itself "West Africa's first daily newspaper". It was the *Lagos Daily News*, founded by a bookseller, Babamuboni, who hurriedly came out with the publication obviously to checkmate the plan of the *Daily Times* coming out as the first daily newspaper. Herbert Macaulay, who was credited with being critical, took over the *Lagos Daily News* in 1927. Macaulay developed the *Lagos Daily News* into a "ferociously antigovernment" newspaper and a political springboard as well as an organ of his political party (The National Democratic party) but it died like many others before it.

In 1939, the colonial authorities, under the auspices of the Northern Literature Bureau, set up the first newspaper north of the Niger. The paper was the Hausa–language *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*. The Northern Literature Bureau in 1945 became the Gaskiya Corporation and added to the *Gaskiya Ta fi Kwabo* an English-language fortnightly – *The Nigerian Citizen* in 1948.

In 1949 the late Obafemi Awolowo established the *Nigerian Tribune* as a voice and vehicle for his political party – The Action Group (AG). Within this period and 1959 when there was the crucial election that was to lead Nigeria into self determination from Britain many newspapers were launched while others went into partnership all in preparation for "independence" (Dare, 2000).

### 3.5.3 Post-Independence Newspapers

The early years of independence were not a story of glory for the Nigerian press. Omu (2000) said:

> *"Political partisanship and overzealous parochialism served to reinforce primordial prejudices and to heighten inter-group tensions and animosities"* (p.60).

Dare (2008) also notes that:

> *"With the attainment of independence and the exit of the 'common enemy' in 1960, cleavages that had been hidden by the struggle for nationalism came into the open. The organized political parties, ethnic groups, and regions turned inwards and played "black-on-black". So intense was the bitterness and rivalry among contending groups that the Nigerian press became an "instrumental press"* (p.17).

In the words of Omu (1978) in Dare (2000) *"editors and staffers working on newspaper of different political persuasions, were hardly on speaking terms"* (p.18) and veteran journalist Anthony Enahoro insists that whoever and whatever ruined Nigeria's first Republic, did so with the active collaboration of the greater section of the Nigerian press.

However, Omu (2000) observes that:

> *"The advent of military rule in the mid 60s aroused a mood of self-criticism and regret as new loyalties were affirmed as was the tradition and legacy of the pioneer press. Thus the seventies witnessed some recovery of moral authority as the press played an active role in the projected reform of society. It was in this new climate of stimulated enthusiasm and quest for new values and directions that the Guardian and the Newswatch came into being"* (p.58).

## 3.5.4 Newspapers of 1970s – 1990s

The *Guardian,* Omu (2000) says:

> *"Calls itself the flagship of the Nigerian press and so it really is. It has been indisputably the best newspaper ever produced in Nigeria and its brand of journalism has had a profound and provocative impact on Nigerian journalism"* (p.60).

The *Guardian* brought with it new standards, penetrating and persuasive analysis, poise and polish of language and above all stands out as the best of the Nation's media Institutions.

*Newswatch* on the other hand, broke new grounds in investigative journalism, encouraged debate, lucid and simple like the style synonymous with American quality magazines. For its style of investigative journalism, the magazine's founding Editor-in-Chief Mr Dele Giwa lost his life in 1986, courtesy of a letter bomb, the first of its kind in the country.

Today, the Nigerian press industry is bustling with other quality newspapers and magazines like the *Concord, ThisDay,* the *Comet, Champion, Daily Independent, Punch, Vanguard, National Interest, Examiner, The Post-Express, Trust and Anchor* and so on. In the magazine category are *Tell,* the *News, Tempo, the Source* and numerous others.

## 3.5.5 North – South Variations

A point of clarification however, is the observable fact that the history of the Nigerian press, its personalities and activities all seem to centre around the then Southern Protectorate, especially around the metropolitan city of Lagos and environs (Abeokuta for example where it all seem to have started) where the newspapers are produced and largely consumed.

As Ngoa (2006) indicates:

> *"This was the case and had remained so due to the fact that newspapers had their origin in the south, plus that the gap in western education between the south and north of Nigeria was very wide and still seems to be so. Gap in western education is largely wide between the two regions because most of the schools in the country were established by Christian missions who also pioneered newspaper publications in Nigeria"* (p.135).

Ngoa (1989) and Osaghae (1989) identified that by 1912, there were only 34 primary schools in the north compared to the 150 primary and 10 secondary schools (the first secondary school in the north came in 1922) of the south. Although by 1957 when most of the restrictions on missionary activities were relaxed in the north, especially in the middle belt areas, the number of schools up north increased to 2,080 primary schools with about 185,000 pupils and 18 secondary schools with a student population of 3,643, this was nothing compared to the southern figures of 13,473 primary schools and its 2,343,317 pupils; and 176 secondary schools with a student population of 28,208.

Ngoa (2006) identified that comparatively in terms of the availability of newspapers between the north and the south, the north had its first newspaper in 1939 with the introduction of the *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo,* by which time there were more than 16 newspapers in the south. The implication of the above statistics as it relates to readership and circulation of newspapers in the two areas of the country is that, by 1950, the north had only one University graduate compared to the scores of hundreds of professionals and University graduates in the south.

He further points out that the activities and personalities of the pre-independence, independent and military era's media had been punctuated by struggles. It was the struggle for independence (anti-establishment journalism), and then with the military the struggle to be free from dictatorship, and today the struggle for survival in the 'dog eat dog' politically suffocating environment.

In this study, the media namely; print, electronic and new media is the focus and this is with the view to ascertain how the media can be used to awaken and instill in Nigerians positive civic values of honesty, hard work, accountability, patriotism, tolerance, self-discipline and respect for the rule of law through the reorientation of values

## 3.6 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NIGERIAN MEDIA

Today the government controls and regulates most of Nigeria's broadcast media through the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). Radio is the most important mass medium for reaching general audiences because it is inexpensive and does not require literacy. The federal government owns stations affiliated with the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, individual states control other stations, and still others are privately owned. The Voice of Nigeria broadcasts in Arabic, English, French, and five indigenous languages. Some Voice of Nigeria broadcasts are aimed at domestic audiences; others, primarily shortwave, are transmitted around the globe. Library of Congress – Federal Research Division Country Profile: Nigeria, June, (2006).

Similar to the market for radio broadcasts, the federal government owns two stations affiliated with the National Television Authority, various states have their own stations, and private operators broadcast by satellite. Nigerians also obtain news via Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and Deutsche Welle. However, today there are many privately owned television stations across the country.

In contrast to the broadcast media, the print media are dominated by private publications, a situation that is more amenable to criticism of the government. Nigeria has 14 major daily newspapers, but only one *"The New Nigerian"* is government-owned. The country also has six newsweeklies and various tabloids. The government

does not restrict access to the Internet, which is most widely available at cybercafés. Library of Congress – Federal Research Division Country Profile: Nigeria, June, (2006).

Television and radio broadcast stations currently operational in Nigeria are; 83 AM, 36 FM, and 11 short-wave radio stations and three television stations. Recent information on the number of radios and televisions is not available. In 2005 Nigeria had only about 1.8 million Internet users, many of whom relied on equipment at cybercafés. Internet hosts totaled 1,535. In 2004 more than 9.1 million mobile cellular telephones and 1 million mainline telephones were in use Library of Congress – Federal Research Division Country Profile: Nigeria, June, (2006).

For the purpose of this study, the concept of mass media will be limited to Radio, Newspapers, Magazines, Television and the new media. In Nigeria the print media and television face the challenge of illiteracy, poverty and epileptic power supply respectively. However, radio is the most important medium for reaching general audiences because of its inexpensive nature. On the other hand, television is commonly available but the epileptic nature of electricity supply seriously hampers usage across the country.

Nigeria's media scene is acclaimed as one of the most vibrant in Africa and the Library of Congress (2006) indicates that:

> *"State-run radio and TV services reach virtually all parts of the country and operate at federal, regional and state levels. All 36 state governments run radio stations and most operate TV stations as well. There are also many independent producers and community Radio/TV services ran mainly by universities"* (p.9).

Radio is the key source of information for many Nigerians. Private radio and TV stations have been licensed, and there is substantial take-up of pay TV. Today there are

about 83 AM, 70 FM and 11 Shortwave Radio stations as well as 116 television stations of which there are 40 cable stations (World Radio and Television Handbook 2007).

There are more than 100 national and local newspapers and publications, some of them state-owned. They include well-respected dailies, tabloids and publications which champion the interests of ethnic groups. The lively private press is often critical of the government. Unachukwu (2002) believes that:

> *"Media coverage of the third tenure drama, particularly the live broadcast of the constitutional amendment debate at the Senate chambers by the African Independent Television (AIT), led to the 'untimely death' of the political carriers of some parliamentarians"* (p.102).

Press freedom improved under the regime of former President Obasanjo, but restrictive laws and decrees still remain. Media rights body 'Reporters without Borders' says Nigeria is often a violent place for the press, with journalists suffering beatings, unfair arrests and police raids.

## 3.7 PRESS FREEDOM

Nigeria has had varying degrees of freedom of the press over the course of its history. Generally, there has been a diversity of voices in the media; however, as the government changed hands frequently and at times in violent circumstances, the media voices that were in support of a leader would find themselves without a voice as a replacement emerged. At some points in the history of Nigeria, newspapers and magazines were proscribed entirely due to their criticism of government authorities.

Many examples of attempts at silencing the press in Nigeria can be found even in recent times. Although newspapers and magazines were mainly privately owned, the government at times prohibited them from expressing their editorial opinions. In 1977

*Newbreed* was closed down. In 1984 the government closed down the *Tribune* and four years later in 1988 *Newswatch* was the victim of government censorship.

As recently as 2009 Channel TV and AIT TV were closed down. It is also common for government officials to harassed individual journalists. In 1971 Minere Amakiri, a reporter for the *Nigerian Observer*, was detained and had his hair shaved with pieces of broken bottle. On the 21$^{st}$ of January 2010, the incumbent governor of Imo State, Mr. Ikedi Ohakim personally flogged a journalist Mr. Ikenna Samuelson in his office for written a petition against him (See appendix 4). Numerous other journalists have experienced similar assaults over the years.

As a result of the above action though the press was intended to be a "watchdog" for the people, similar to its role in countries like United Kingdom or the United States, it at times had difficulties fulfilling that role in Nigeria due to the demands of the various competing special interest groups. The large number of different voices created something of a marketplace of ideas and some of these ideas unfortunately resulted in violence.

At the turn of this century many national and provincial newspapers emerged in Nigeria. Many specialized and general interest magazines, as well as journals also came into circulation along with public and private television and radio stations. Ownership of personal computers and internet usage also drastically increased. However, the availability of these media outfits does not necessarily mean that the people are reached with their content.

This is because despite the large number of newspapers and magazines nearly one third of men and half the women are illiterate, as well as the issue of inadequate electricity supply and low income per capita in Nigeria.

## 3.8 SUMMARY

This chapter looked at two perspectives in the on-going debate about the current state of the Nigerian media. The first school of thought of which Oduyela is an active member believes that the media in Nigeria has lost its biting teeth. Those who belong to this school of thought see the Nigerian media as corrupt, self-serving, controlled, unethical and completely compromised.

The opposing school of thought to which Nworah belong insists that the media in Nigeria is not only vibrant but relatively free, responsive, courageous, alive and well. They point to international awards constantly won by Nigerian journalists practicing within the country to support their position.

A brief history of the Nigerian media was presented starting with the emergence of the first newspaper the "Iwe Irohin" newspaper in 1859 through to the different stages of media development, culminating in recent envelopments in the Nigerian media industry. The discussions clearly show that there is relative press freedom in Nigeria although instances of brutality and closures of media houses existed and still exist, but that did not stop the media in Nigeria from challenging, pursuing and exposing various military dictators, their corrupt officials, as well as other accomplices both within business and civil society.

The next chapter will specifically concentrate its discussion on a brief but instructive account of the Nigerian press and its various struggles spanning from the days of colonialism through to the various military regimes to present times. This account of the struggles of the Nigerian media draws extensively from the work of late veteran journalist, M.C.K. Ajuluchukwu who between 1951-1953 edited the West African Pilot Newspaper which was owned by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe Nigeria's first president. The same Mr. Ajuluchukwu also later became the General Manager/Editor-in-Chief of the

Nigerian Outlook (between 1954 and 1970). Further discussions in this chapter will be directed at the problems of the Nigerian media, current state of civil society in Nigeria, media ownership patterns, the Nigerian media and military rule, the media and the new democratic experiment in Nigeria and issues of media control in Nigeria.

It is our considered view that these discussions along with the empirical data to be obtained will help to give a clearer insight into the present state of the Nigerian media thereby facilitating the understanding as to whether or not the Nigerian has the capacity to successfully champion the reorientation of civic values in the country.

# CHAPTER FOUR: THE NIGERIAN PRESS AND ITS STRUGGLES

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, *"the role of the mass media is to inform, educate, and entertain members of the society"* Sobowale (2002). The role of the mass media in creating political awareness, engendering empathy and mobilizing people for social change has also been recognized. The press according to Akinfeleye (2003):

> *"Is the watch-dog, check-on-to uncover and never to cover up corruption and/or wrong doings by the other three estates. They are also to monitor governance and make the other three estates accountable to the people at all times"* (p.19).

The Nigerian press has been performing these functions since 1859 when the first newspaper (mass medium) "Iwe Irohin", was published. The press has done creditably well especially in the area of surveillance and correlation. In the words of Akinfeleye (2003):

> *"As a journalist and media educator, I wish to commend the Nigerian Press for a job well done in its constitutional role of monitoring governance and making public officers accountable to the people"* (p.19).

However, according to Uche (1989) it should be pointed out that:

> *"The press has its own shortcomings too. It has been accused of "fuelling" the crises of the 1960s. The press that was nationalistic during the independence struggle, that provided nationalists arsenal from which they drew their lethal arms and ammunition, and served as launch pad from which they launched vitriolic attacks on colonialists, suddenly became a parochial, primordial, and tribalistic press at independence. The firebrand press suddenly became 'tribal-brand' press. The press of the First Republic aligned with the three major political parties which themselves are ethnic (or tribal) based"* (p.47).

Sobowale (2002) indicates that:

*"They could not perceive issues beyond the confines of party ideologies or ethnic boundaries...because none of the three major political parties had a firm footing in any region other than where it was based, even though each had considerable following in the other regions, the media could not promote national goals"* (p.27).

This trend was to repeat during the months preceding the 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war which polarized Nigeria into two; those supporting the Biafra cause and those against it. During the Second Republic (1979 – 83) the press witnessed a "phenomenal growth". Many newspapers, radio and television stations were established.

Sobowale (2002) explains that:

> *"This sharp increase in the number of mass media establishment was, as in the past, motivated by political considerations, it cannot be disputed that these media performed the traditional functions of informing, educating, and entertaining their audiences...and contributed in no small measure to the economic, political and social development of the country"* (p.27).

Furthermore Popoola (2003) reveals that:

> *"During the Second military interregnum (December 31, 1983 – May 29, 1999) and the runoff to the Fourth Republic (or is it Third Republic?) the Nigerian press had a "running battle" with the various Military Juntas. The regime of Generals Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon (December 31, 1983 – August 27, 1993) set the tone for subsequent regimes on how to relate with the press. The regime remained one of the harshest military regimes in the country, for it had no respect for human rights including that of the press"* (p.15).

Other military regimes followed the footsteps of Buhari/ Idiagbon and even surpassed them, in their maltreatment of the press.

In addition Ngoa (2006) says:

> *"Under the Babangida and Abacha regimes newspapers/magazines were proscribed and media houses were shut at will for daring to inform the public of their dubious activities"* (p.198).

He further explains that:

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*"As if closing down would not do, arsonists, hired killers and hit squads (Strike Force) were let loose on the press, to burn media houses (arsonists were caught setting Guardian Newspapers office on fire in 1996 or thereabout), kill journalists (Mr. Dele Giwa received a 'parcel bomb' in 1986, while Baguda Kaltho of the News magazine is still missing till date many years after he was declared wanted by the police) and to maim (Mr. Alex Ibru, the publisher of Guardian newspaper may not have fully recovered from the gun shots he received from agents of General Abacha). To crown it all, journalists, both males and females, were arraigned before Military Tribunals on 'trump up charges' and many of them were jailed"* (p.198).

It is important to note that the "war" of attrition against the press was not limited to the press men; their families (including wives, children and relations) were not spared. Many at times, families of news men were held hostage in their stead. Guns were pointed at their wives and little children, their offence being that they are related to journalists.

In all these, according to Kalejaiye (1999):

> *"The Nigerian press though harassed, pursued, bombarded...yet...remained undaunted in the pursuit of its watchdog role. The press was beaten but not intimidated. It was humiliated but not cowed"* (p.3).

It was this same press that led the struggle for the enthronement of democracy in Nigeria.

Akinfeleye (2003) points out that:

> *"The Nigerian press literally led the 'peoples' army' that fought the military to a standstill leaving them with no choice but to hand over to elected 'civilians' on May 29, 1999. The press in this regard deserves a 'locomotive' pat on the back"* (p.21)

He adds that:

> *"Since the advent of the 4th Republic on 29 May 1999, the Nigerian press have been up and doing. They have to their credit great exposes such as the one that swept Salisu Buhari, the First Speaker of the House of Representatives in this civil regime out of*

*office and the Toronto certificate saga involving Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the governor of Lagos State, Nigeria"* (p.21).

Ngoa (2006) agrees that:

> *"Since the return to civil rule on May 29, 1999, the Nigerian press has not witnessed too much official harassments. But there are few reported cases of isolated official high-handedness against the press but the one that readily comes to mind is the brutalization of the Vanguard newspaper's photojournalist by security operatives attached to the Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, early 2005. The journalist was beaten to a state of coma and almost lost his life".*

Again, in June 2006 two journalists, Gbenga Aruleba and Rotimi Durojaiye of African Independent Television (AIT) and Daily Independent newspaper respectively, were arrested and arraigned for calling the recently purchased Presidential Jet 'fairly used' or *'Tokunbo'* that is a second-hand jet while the Federal government claimed the jet was brand-new. The irony is that the journalists were charged under a moribund law, the Sedition Act, a law that has been declared null and void by a competent court of law, the Court of Appeal, since 1983.

Also recently, the government seems once again to have stepped-up its harassment tactics against the press. This can be attributed to the fact that many high ranking public and private officers continue to engage in the looting of Nigeria's national resources. In February 2010, Mr. Ikedi Ohakim the incumbent governor of Imo state ordered the abduction of a journalist whom he personally flogged and brutalized in his office for exposing the looting of the Imo state treasury by the governor through award of dubious contracts.

## 4.1.1 The Liberation Struggle (1900 –1960)

This was the period during when Iwe Irohin, Lagos Times and Gold Coast Colony Advertiser, The Anglo-African, The Lagos Weekly Times, Weekly Record etc. existed

and played their various roles. But worthy of attention here was Herbert Macaulay's Lagos Daily News and Nnamdi Azikiwe's West African pilot. Although John Payne Jackson's Record was described as the "arsenal", the two were the spearhead of a nationalism that was "at once cultural and political". This marked the era of transformation from "European Africans" to "educated Nigerians" (Ngoa, 2006).

## 4.1.2 Independent Nigeria (1960-1966)

This period marked the birth of democracy in Nigeria. It marked a period of post-colonial milestone that experienced a bewildering transition from repressive colonial government to an environment of new found freedom of expression. However, it was not a glorious period in history for the Nigerian press because the press had become an instrument of political rivalry, ethnicity and sectionalism.

## 4.1.3 1st Military Intervention (Jan. 1966 – Sept. 1979)

This period represents the first serial period of military governance in Nigeria. It was a period of 13 long years of bondage for Nigerians. A period when the military's imposition of self on the people was rather repugnant and the people themselves became so polarized between those for and against the military to the extent that, the media too became polarized along the same lines.

Like the period before this, the media still did not have a glorious story to tell. It was a press divided amongst itself and so was weakened to fall. Discussing the first military era in Nigeria veteran journalist M. C. K. Ajuluchukwu argues that the media was unarguably in no position to fight for the restoration of democracy without which the media and the people were left under the tyranny of the military.

## 4.1.4 Second Republic (1979-1983)

Nigerians enjoyed a second taste of democracy on October 1, but the media again seem unable to adapt to the new environment of "freedom" as they became very partisan. It was a period of democracy under siege punctuated by Foreign exchange jugglers, import licenses without imports, rice importation experts and the government of the second Republic became afflicted with treasury looters and certified pen robbers; and some media practitioners found themselves in a consuming dilemma - i.e. they were either in the employ of military apologists or they worked for a government owned newspaper. The result of all these was that again, Nigeria witnessed a short–lived second Republic (four years and two months) and the military struck once more on "New Year's Eve".

However, in February of 1983, the flagship of the Nigerian press - The *Guardian* arrived with an open "wound" as its "conscience" which "only truth can heal". The entry of the guardian into the Nigerian newspaper industry accelerated the recovery of moral authority by the press and encouraged the search for new values and directions. The *Newswatch* magazine and its team of professionals led by the ebullient journalist – the late (courtesy of a parcel bomb) Dele Giwa entered next. *Newswatch* reflected careful judgment and great courage; and together with the journalistic achievements of the *Guardian,* the struggle for democracy began in earnest.

## 4.2 THE NIGERIAN MEDIA AND MILITARY RULE

From the 1980s to 1990s Nigeria was ruled by four military dictators namely: General Muhammadu Buhari (1983–1985); General Ibrahim Babangida (1985–1993); General Sani Abacha (1993–1998) and General Abdulsalaam Abubakar (1998–1999). The different era of military dictatorships Joseph (1997) explains were marked by:

*"Arbitrary arrests and detentions, extrajudicial killings, corruption, excessive use of force, torture of detainees, harassment of journalists and democratic activists and arson attacks on media houses. Approximately $150 billion earned from oil sales during the period simply translated into crumbled infrastructure, and a three-digit increase in external debt for Nigeria"* (p.10).

Despite draconian laws and restrictions like Decree No. 4 of 1984, which criminalized press reports and written statements that exposed an officer of the military government to ridicule, and Offensive Publication (Proscription) Decree 35 of 1993 that empowered the military head of state to ban or sanction any publication, journalists still found a way to continue operating and performing their role as the watchdog of society. For instance in July 1993, citing threats to national security, the government closed down 17 newspapers and magazines and one broadcasting station in a single day (Ojo, 2007).

The Nigerian press found ways of evading the brutal attacks of the military juntas. Discussing these tactics Olukotun (2002) reveals:

*"To outwit the state security agents, the press and other components of civil society drew upon their tradition of activism, dating back to the colonial days, and invented new strategies for reporting and disseminating news and opinion"* (p.5).

Committed to keeping SNigerians regularly and truthfully informed about what is going on (Tell Management 1993), reporters and editors of the proscribed magazines (Tell, The News and Tempo) went underground, producing content in hideouts and making heavy use of the new communication technologies at that time: internet, laptop computers and mobile phones.

Theoretically, these stories were clearly attempts at public agenda setting. Tell cover stories such as "Stolen Presidency – IBB wages War on the Nation" (5 July 1993), "More Plots against Handover" (9 August 1993), and "Betrayal of a Nation: Babangida Entrenches his Dictatorships" (16 August 1993) and The News Cover Stories such as

"Conspiracy! Desperate Attempts to Abort Democracy" (28 June, 1993) promoted the pro-democracy agenda in an attempt to shape public opinion and mobilize public action.

Haynes (2003) posits that:

> *"Though some issues of the magazines were confiscated by state security agents the moment they hit the newsstands, these publications still had an important effect at the grassroots level. Their stories were picked up by folktale artists, political activists and movie producers who adapted them into various genres of Nigerian popular culture that recounted 'the scandalous situations the news media covered so bravely"* (p.27).

Much of the information published underground was obtained by clandestine methods, including secret tape-recording of government meetings and gaining access to secret or confidential documents through disguised identities or through the cooperation of insiders. The stories also made use of documents leaked by whistleblowers and pro-democracy activists, as well as interviews with victims of government abuses (Ojo, 2007).

When deciding which stories would be covered, fact-checking them and even speaking with sources, such places as stadiums, hotel lobbies, taxicabs and movie theatres could became "newsrooms" where the disguised editorial staff and reporters could meet.

Thus most of the writing and editing was done in a mobile manner which implied moving from one hideout to another and dropping off materials at different points explained Dare (1998) who reveals that:

> *"Production during the period was largely clandestine. And to evade security agents, the magazine staff sometimes distributed their publication using a hired ambulance or water truck"* (p.63).

According to Oroh (1999):

*"This form of journalism also drew funding and logistical support from government and private foundations in the international community and was carried further by new communication technologies"* (p.43).

Despite the hostility of the Abacha regime the underground media still flourished, giving voice to the pro-democracy movement in Nigeria and maintaining pressure on Abacha. The dictator died of cardiac arrest in June 1998 and fewer than 12 months after his death Abacha's successor, General Abubakar, organized elections. In May 1999 a democratic government was installed. It is crucial that the vibrant Nigerian media play a significant role in maintaining democratic values now that the democratic government is in place. Unfortunately, that appears not to be the case.

The media declares Olayiwola (1991):

> *"Are the instruments of 'political, social, cultural and physical communication, and of economic progress, providing news and setting an agenda for political, social and cultural discourse"* (p.9).

Moreover, Olukotun (2002) believes that the Nigerian media became advocates of openness, human rights and democratic governance when the occasion calls for it.

For instance Okunna (2002) explains that:

> *"The prominence which the media gave the 'third term bid' [of former Nigerian President, Mr. Obasanjo] brought it to the public domain. African Independent Television (AIT) aired a live broadcast of the constitution amendment debate at the Nigerian Senate throughout the period, which made it possible for Nigerians to know where their representatives stood on the issue"* (p.100).

The military era in Nigeria lasted for 15 years at a stretch comprising four coercive military regimes, one interim administration and represents the most agonizing period in the history of the Nigerian press. Major Generals Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon (January 1, 1984 –August 26, 1985), had an extensive repressive style epitomized in the jailing of Tunde Thomson and Nduka Irabor of the *Guardian* under

Decree No. 2 in 1984; but the Babangida administration (August 27, 1985 – August 27, 1993), dealt a lethal blow on the Nigerian press. Babangida's government, besides unnecessary proscriptions of newspapers and magazines, imposed on the Nigerian press the offensive Newspapers Registration Decree 43 of 1992. In place of Decree 2, the government initiated Decree 4 and for the first time in the history of Nigeria, a journalist was killed via a parcel bomb all during the administration of General Babangida.

However, the Nigerian press was yet to face its worst nightmare. In August 1993 when it was time for Babangida to "step aside", as a result of mounting public opinion and agitation by the Nigerian media, he put in place a security threatening arrangement against his own initiated "Interim government".

Babangida left office in favor of an interim substitute with whom he left behind General Abacha as a predestined minister of Defense (who in the case of any problem should "take-over" as the "most senior minister"). Abacha did not seem to be answerable to Shonekon and so naturally, struck on November 17, 1993; thereafter, Nigeria and the Nigerian press was never the same (Ngoa, 2006).

Ajuluchukwu (2000) explains that the last phase of the second military epoch saw the emergence of General Sani Abacha on November 17, 1993. His administration was repulsively notable for many acts of brutal repression of the independent media. First he threw the president of the Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigerian (NPAN), Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola into detention and left him there to die.

Incidentally Abacha passed away on June 8, 1998 one month before M. K. O. Abiola followed on July 7, 1998 under mysterious circumstances. Abacha did not stop at picking on Abiola. He arranged to have Chief Alex Ibru, publisher of the *Guardian* title murdered and the newspaper house torched. But thanks to providential intervention both

the publisher and his newspapers escaped destruction. A number of other newspaper houses received varying degrees of inhuman treatment from the Abacha regime.

Yet, the Nigerian press fought on and worthy of special mention are two magazines, The *Tell* and the *News*. These two outfits it can be said pursued Abacha to his "timely" death with their virulent agitation for the revalidation of the people's collective will. The interim military administration of General Abdulsalam Abubakar (June 8, 1998- May, 29, 1999) did not enjoy any respite from Nigerian journalists either. Abubakar's government had no choice but to return Nigeria to a democratically elected government.

Thus on May19, 1999, General Abdusalam handed over to a duly elected president Olusegum Obasanjo who himself 20 years earlier had handed over to Shehu Shagari.

Ethnicity has been at the heart and soul of Nigerian society as the struggle for power and space is reproduced, virtually in all aspects of the people's national life. Abati (2000) clarifies that:

> "*In many ways the Nigerian press mirrors the ethnic phenomenon and helps bring to light the many dimensions of the ethnic game as it acts as the ears and mouthpiece of the ethnic groups*" (p.33).

According to Abati (2000):

> "*Ethnicity has served as an emotional tool in the hands of Journalists as individual preferences got mixed up with that of a group(s); and this has comfortably reflected in the ownership structure of the Nigerian media*" (p.33).

With the exception of the *Daily Times* and the *New Nigerian, which* has been under government control (with periodic threats of privatization), the ownership pattern of the Nigerian media from its early history has subsisted. Abati (2000) observes that:

> "*The ethnic identity of a Nigerian newspaper can be established in two ways, first by looking at the ethnic identity of the publisher and second, by looking at the main market that the paper seeks to cultivate and patronize*" (p.33).

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Abati (2000) further reveals that:

*"In spite of the conflicts of loyalties, ethnic tensions and rivalries, deep seated distrust and mutual suspicion all seeking some form of national remedy, the individual publisher's search for a place, for relevance is all things considered tied to the aspirations of his own ethnic group"* (p.34).

Ngoa (2006) insists that:

*"With the ethnic nature of the Nigerian media, we can safely reiterate that, the media's capability in structuring issues even with the urban African has limitations in the commonality of affectation. Depending on the ethnic 'coloration' of the medium. In rural Africa, indeed rural Nigeria, the territorial agenda is ethnic based and not necessarily as set by mainstream media"* (p.137).

# 4.3 THE MEDIA IN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REGIME

One is tempted to suggest that many years of military dictatorship in Nigeria, made the mass media alert to their function of watchdog of society. This is because within one year into the third republic, the young speaker of the Federal House of Representatives was exposed by *The News* magazine (an independent magazine) of certificate forgery and perjury. In the biography he submitted when he stood for election, Alhaji Salisu Buhari claimed 36 years of age and to have attended University of Toronto, Canada but he was younger and had never attended university (Ojo, 2007).

In an exclusive report entitled "The Face of a Liar" – the magazine disclosed that the speaker was a cheat *The News* 2 August (1999). At the end of the day, the former speaker admitted that he forged his birth and academic certificates. He was removed as Speaker, tried and convicted of forgery and perjury and sentenced to jail, *Tell* 9 June (2000).

Immediately after the removal of Speaker Salisu Buhari, another news magazine *"Tell"* ran a story about the Senate President, Evans Enwerem. He was accused of having a questionable past, which should have prevented him from becoming the third most important man in the country.

As the vanguard of the nascent democracy, the mass media discovered financial recklessness on the part of the new Senate President Okadigbo. *Tell*, (9 August, 16 August and 23 August 1999). As a result of persistent media focus on him, the Senate set up a probe to investigate the allegations against him. He was removed like his predecessor, having being found guilty of corrupt practices too.

In less than two years of the democratic experiment, Nigerian had three Senate Presidents and two Speakers of the House of Representatives for no other reason than corrupt practices exposed by the mass media. According to Tell magazine:

> *" ... from, Evan(s) Enwerem to Chuba Okadigbo and now to Anyim Pius Anyim, the upper legislative house has become a laughing stock over allegations of impropriety"* Tell 7 May (2001).

Allegations of corrupt practices by the media were not limited to the legislature. In November 2000, a member of the House of Representatives, Adams Jangada, Chairman of the House Anticorruption Committee, tendered about 4 million naira (N4m) packed in eight "Ghana-must-go bags", claiming it was a bribe offered to some members of the house by the trio of the President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, the Vice-President, Atiku Abubakar and Governor Peter Odili of Rivers State. The allegation caused some commotion and, for over an hour the law-makers engaged in a free-for-all fight *Tell* 20 November (2000).

The mass media according to Ojo (2001) is filled with:

*"Allegations of corrupt practices, which influenced the frequent dissolutions of the federal executive councils in the first two years of the new democratic regime* [in Nigeria]*"* (p.11).

Continuing Ojo (2001) adds that:

*"In the fight against corrupt practices, the mass media extended its investigations to the local governments and discovered that the performance of local government functionaries seems the opposite of what they were elected to do"* (p.11).

This led to a restructuring of the local government funding pattern which now tied local government funds from the federation allocation committee to their state governments in the form of joint accounts between states and local governments.

The News Magazine reports exclusively on 4th June (2001) that:

*"Three governors could soon face serious problems over sharp practices. One of them according to the magazine, from the south-west had been spending money like confetti, buying houses in Florida, United States. The magazine also alleged that over $100 million was found in the personal account of one of the governors' from south eastern Nigeria"* (p.17).

Indeed, corruption under the new democracy has been 'pervasive, open and shameless', as the Lagos-based *Comet* newspaper of February 15, 2000 editorializes that:

*"In February 2000, the speaker of the Oyo State legislature was declared wanted by the police, having been exposed for defrauding the Oyo State government of 6.5 million naira (about $60,000)"* (p.7)

Only recently, the Nigerian media was filled with stories of bank chief executives who were relieved of their positions by the central bank governor and arrested by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) because they corruptly siphoned billions from their various banks.

The incidences above support the view of Curran and Gurevitch (2000) who says that:

*"The media protect the public by preventing those with power from overstepping the mark; the media serve as an agency of information and debate that facilitate the functioning of democracy"* (p.73).

MSI Africa (2008) believes that:

*"Nigerian citizens are generally able to access news and information when needed. However, news is now being eclipsed by a preponderance of entertainment reports and programs, especially in the broadcast sector"* (p.3).

# 4.4 PROBLEMS OF THE NIGERIAN MEDIA

It is common knowledge that the Nigerian state which was founded through colonization and colonialism is highly and deeply complex and pluralistic. Many developments in the Nigerian state during the postcolonial period have added new dimensions to the complexity and pluralism. We can categorize Nigerian corporate society along several lines. There is the dimension of the multiple ethnic nationalities and especially of the rate of transformation of each nationality into the mainstream of the political economy of capitalist development.

Oyovbaire (2001) points out that:

*"In 1963 the former mid-western region was created, while 1967 saw the beginning of state creation and today "Nigeria has 36 internally complex and pluralistic states, 774 local government areas and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Recently, the country's pluralism has acquired the additional vocabulary of a six zone structure of south-south, south-east, south-west, north-central, north-west and north-east"* (p.23).

There are also the complexities and pluralism of religion, religious sensibilities and religious denominationalism. The two major religions of Christianity and Islam, together with their denominational and intra-denominational divisions, dominate the religious terrain in Nigeria. They actually compete with a variety of traditional or indigenous religions, so that certain individuals and families can and do transcend this religious terrain.

According to Dare (2000):

> *"The responsibility of the press in exposing systematic abuses has been eroded by ethnic and religious considerations. The newspaper that sets out to expose a corrupt public official may find other newspapers vigorously defending the official for no reason other than [that] the embattled official is from the same ethnic group (or religious landscape) as the proprietor or editor of the sympathetic newspaper. Of course, it could well be that the crusading newspaper [has] picked on its target official in the first instance because the official happens not to be from the same ethnic group (or religious terrain) as the editor or proprietor"* (p.30)

Oyovbaire (2001) reveals that:

> *"In 2001, a former Minister of Mines and Power "the late Chief Bola Ige" was accused of illegally depositing the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA)'s monies in a commercial bank at an interest rate lower than the official rate at the time. A public outcry followed, to discover which pocket had benefited from the deal. The mass media did not consider it worthwhile to go further. Reason, the personality involved was from the south-west, which is the dominant ethnic group in the Nigerian media industry"* (p.21).

At the time of the allegation, the affected minister was the Attorney General and Minister of the Federation as he had been moved from the Power and Steel Ministry before his assassination in late December 2001. As Oyovbaire (2001) would summarize, *"the Nigerian media is not complex nor is it pluralistic. It is a locational and institutional monopoly of the south-west"* (p.3).

Williams (1985) declares that:

> *"In Nigeria the mass media has peculiar problems. Because of the relative young democracy it may take some time for the mass media to adjust to the challenges of a democratic dispensation. This is not unconnected with the fact that the military is known to be the worst abuser of human rights"* (p.16)

Ojo (2000) explains that:

*"The state under the military permits itself the luxury of employing violence vis-à-vis the civil society. The so called 'opposition press', real or imagined, is targeted and insecurity becomes the norm rather than an aberration"* (p.6).

The media in Nigeria is rooted in the south-western part of the country along the famous Lagos–Ibadan axis. Consequently, the media is generally regarded as the mouthpiece of south-western Nigerians (the Yorubas). In a plural polity like Nigeria such public perception of the media because of their ethnic coloration and chauvinism is not good enough both for democratic sustenance and national integration.

On the efficacy of the mass media generally in Africa and Nigeria in particular, Ekpu (1990) notes that:

> *"The prevailing patterns of media ownership in the Third World represent another dimension of the problems: 'all too often, the government pulls all the strings, and the functionaries who run the state-owned newspapers, magazines and broadcasting outlets must either behave like pliant, puppets or lose their places to others"* (p.27).

On the ability of the private media to make any meaningful impact, Ekpu (1990) again notes that the:

> *"Media juggernaut is the privately owned press lack the necessary skill, size and prestige or is too eager to play ball in order to survive in the harsh economic environment of third world publishing"*(p.27-28).

Commenting on the attitude of some journalists in Nigeria today Ladepo (2007) calls them a *"different breed"* altogether he states that not only have many of their stories been tainted by "brown envelops" most of the journalists themselves have become hired "political assassins", helping politicians to annihilate their opponents by publishing rumors, half-truths and outright fabrications. He went further to add that the:

> *"'Brown envelope' stories you read do far less damage than the good stories suppressed because 'brown envelope' is in play. Other problems of the mass media world in Nigeria include proprietary and ownership influence plus poor remuneration.*

*All these constitute serious setbacks in the bids of the mass media to serve as the vanguard of the people"* (p.17).

It does appear that no proprietor in Nigeria establishes a media house for purely economic reasons. For instance, late Chief M.K.O. Abiola established the Concord group of newspapers to achieve two purposes: first, to boost his political image and, second, to counter the *Nigerian Tribune* of Chief Awolowo in the south-west. One can easily understand why some of these papers are regarded as the megaphones of their proprietors with very narrow and parochial focus.

Addressing the poor remuneration of media practitioners in Nigeria, Eselebor (2008) declares that:

> *"Poor remuneration of journalists has critically affected the level of application of ethical standards. The search for additional income to make ends meet has made many journalists to compromise their ethical convictions"* (p.32).

He further adds that:

> *"Some journalists have commercialized news gathering and event coverage, as they are seen hovering around venues of an event even after the event is over, hoping that the public relations person of the organization or the organizer of such event would show some form of gratitude* [give them a bribe]" (p.34).

There is also a problem with the equipment available to media practitioners in Nigeria. MSI Africa (2008) confirms that:

> *"The facilities available to the media for gathering, producing, and distributing news are neither modern nor efficient. There is a deficiency in all aspects of the process, and these technological deficiencies affect the quality of production, particularly audio output"* (p.5).

They insist that:

> *"News reporting suffers from obsolete equipment; inadequate training; trying to satisfy the inclinations and interests of owners; the economic conditions of media*

*organizations; the political environment; and cultural, ethnic, and social considerations"* (p.5).

The adequacy of training for media practitioners in Nigeria is also a challenge. Eselebor (2008) argues that:

> *"Although there are numerous schools that offer journalism or mass communication degrees, they are antiquated with regard to curricula, staffing, equipment, and technological developments. Consequently, journalism training programs are obsolete. However, opportunities for training abroad are available, but most journalists who have the opportunity to study in foreign countries do not return to Nigeria with their new expertise and knowledge. Local and international opportunities exist for short-term training, and are accessible to enterprising journalists. The types of courses available include writing business news, covering climate change, health, environment, investigative reporting, and ethics"* (p.29).

# 4.5 MEDIA OWNERSHIP PATTERNS

The ownership of Nigerian electronic, print and 'new' media sectors has changed hands throughout the country's history. At present, though, the electronic and print media are in common ownership. The existing ownership pattern reveals that there is public ownership or government ownership as well as private ownership of both the print and electronic media. This ownership pattern involves media ownership by private individuals and/or private institutions.

MSI Africa (2008) indicates that:

> *"Media ownership is not transparent in most cases. The precise owners of some media organizations are not always known to the public and, in many cases, the professional journalists serving as directors of such media companies are seen as fronts for unknown investors"* (p.4).

Under the National Broadcasting Commission Act, religious bodies and political parties are specifically precluded from owning broadcast media. Foreign ownership of broadcast media is also restricted, resulting in very little foreign investment in the

Nigerian media. The history and ownership pattern of the print media in Nigeria has earlier been discussed in this chapter.

## 4.6 PROBLEMS OF MEDIA CONTROL

At one time or the other in the history of most countries, media and information control has been a source of problem for governments around the world. Generally, according to Omu (2000):

> *"This problem is associated with owners' interests and punitive laws that make it difficult for the media to perform its statutory functions without let or hindrance. These laws most often include laws of libel, sedition, defamation, official secrets, and national security ... " (p.19).*

The Nigerian press according to Omu (2000) has:

> *"Doggedly, vigorously, resourcefully, creatively and courageously fought in the face of tyranny and seems to be at its best whenever faced with a struggle. Thus it continues to defy, any hurricane of official intolerance and persecution but remained basically an ethnic media after the struggle" (p.15).*

In Nigeria three types of government (colonial, civilian and military) had been in power at one time or the other in the history of the country and all three types of government have implemented policies that restrained freedom of the press in Nigeria in many ways. To achieve media control, journalists have been killed, maimed, harassed, detained, jailed, and repressive laws and decrees enacted to cow the media.

Comparatively, the British colonial administration appear to have been the least harmful/repressive, however it is said to be responsible for setting in motion the types of repressive press laws existing in Nigeria today. These laws and decrees against the media gave government officials the legal backing to persecute, fine, detain and imprison journalists, and to proscribe media houses. For instance, Decree No. 4 of 1984

criminalized press reports and proscribed written statements that exposed an officer of the military government to ridicule.

Then, the Offensive Publications (Proscription) Decree 35 1993, made it possible for the government to clamp down on six media houses across the nation. Under the same Decree 35 1993 the Nigerian government in July 1993 closed down 17 newspapers and magazines and one broadcasting station in a single day (Ojo, 2007). Even government owned media were not spared. This kind of suppression also took place after the 22 April 1990 failed coup d'état when over seven media houses were closed down.

The era of military dictatorships in Nigeria witnessed the worst forms of media emasculation in the history of the media in Nigeria. Joseph (1997) earlier indicates that:

> *"The period of military dictatorships was marked by arbitrary arrests and detentions, extrajudicial killings, corruption, excessive use of force, torture of detainees, harassment of journalists and democratic activists and arson attacks on media houses"* (p.10).

At times family members of targeted journalists were also arrested, detained, brutalized and constantly harassed. According to Ekpu (1990):

> *"The government pulls all the strings, and the functionaries who run the state-owned newspapers, magazines and broadcasting outlets must either behave like pliant, puppets or lose their places to others"* (p,21).

Aside from government control of the media through laws, decrees and the courts, other means of control exist which obstruct freedom of expression. One such is what Uche (1989) calls *"co-opting"*. The government uses certain preferential treatments to "buy" the most influential journalists in the country by appointing these influential critics in the media to top posts within the government.

"Co-opting" of journalists ensures that they are reduced to being mere stooges of government officials. This tactics was rife during the many years of military

dictatorship in Nigeria. It is not surprising therefore that the editor of the Guardian had to publish an article reassuring his readers that his proprietor's acceptance of a ministerial appointment in the government could not influence the objectivity of the newspaper in handling issues concerning government.

According to Omu (1978):

> *"Other measures of government control include denying journalists access to places and persons for information, refusing to give government advertisements and dubious labeling of documents containing valuable information. All these measures have been used. For example, the newspapers that were pro-government during the colonial rule, the Eagle, Lagos Critic and Record (for some years of its existence) received most government advertisements"* (p.15).

Omu adds that:

> *"While the few indigenous businesspersons who could advertise in the newspapers at the time gave their advertisements to Standard Newspaper or other newspapers that represented their nationalistic feelings. This measure has been in use ever since. Presently, unsurprisingly, one finds more government advertisements in pro-government newspapers than in any anti-government newspaper"* (p.21).

In addition, regulatory bodies set up by the government can be a source of media control. Where there are defects or loopholes in the decree that set up such regulatory bodies, these can be used for repressing freedom of expression. It is thought that government may intentionally leave loopholes in laws and decrees so as to exploit such in silencing any opposition.

It is widely believed that one pitfall in the decree that set up the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) is the power given to the commission to revoke the licenses of stations which do not operate in accordance with the code and in the public interest. The decree did not specify either how to seek redress or to what the public interest is, as in

the American Federal Communication Commission. Thus the decree allows the NBC to provide licences in perpetuity only to withdraw them at whim.

Uche (1989) reveals that:

> *"The influence of the government is seen in the unflinching support government media organizations give the government of day. Government officials do not hesitate to remove anyone in charge who fails to offer unquestioned support. An 'erring' official risks being sacked with 'immediate effect' or faces other punishments for such 'heinous' acts"* (p.17).

He further adds that:

> *"Within one year of the elected civilian government assuming office in 1990, no less than ten chief executive officers of state-owned broadcasting stations were sacked"* (p.15).

Uche (1989) also indicates that:

> *"Private media proprietors also exert significant control over their media organizations. Proprietors have been known to demand self-censorship by their editors. The proprietors expect those working in their media organizations to understand and protect their interests. Often a proprietor's economic and/or political interests are very influential in how they want their papers to relate to the government of the day"* (p.18).

It is common knowledge in Nigeria that in 1992, late Moshood Abiola the multi-millionaire politician, asked his editor Bayo Onanuga to apologize to the then military President, Ibrahim Babangida. Onanuga's article in one of the titles of which Abiola is proprietor was believed to have angered the president.

Onanuga refused to apologize and instead resigned along with three of his colleagues. Abiola, however, did apologize and to rub the former editor's nose in the dust, the apology, a private letter from Abiola to the President, was reported exclusively by the Daily Times of 23 April 1992.

Uche (1989) points out that:

> *"Media practitioners have never failed to denounce these controls, except for journalists who have been 'co-opted'. There have been instances when the government has been taken to court. In 1975, a reporter was arrested, flogged and his hair and beard shaved on the orders of a military government who found his articles offensive. The reporter instituted a court action and, won and the government was asked to pay him damages"* (p.21).

For instance, MSI Africa (2008) reveals that:

> *"A lot of ex-military men and politicians own these* [private] *media outfits and intend to use them the way they wish, thereby restricting the editors and reporters to events that are of interest to the owner. If the event to be covered is not related to* [the owner's] *party affiliation,* [he says] *it should not be reported. If reported, it is done with great bias and a lot of negative content"* (p.5).

However, some people argue that the situation has not changed much even with the return of the country to civilian democracy. In 2009, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) withdrew the operating broadcast license of the African Independent Television (AIT) over the broadcast of a story about the health of late President Yaradua.

## 4.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at the history of Nigerian press struggles beginning from 1900 through to 1999 when the current democratic government in Nigeria came into existence. The period of struggle included all the military regimes and the three failed attempts at civilian democratic governance. The chapter also looked at various problems of the Nigerian media and identified many problems confronting the Nigeria media but also showed that despite these problems, the Nigerian media still played an active part in the struggle for political independence and the return to civil governance.

The key features of the repeated moments of struggle by the Nigerian media over this period include:

- Resistance to colonial and military rule

- Exposure of corruption and political, social and economic mismanagement

- Growth of a pluralistic and mixed media landscape

- Challenges of corruption, ethnicity and localism in media reporting

- Excessive media control and manipulation by both government and private owners

The chapter identified the existing media ownership pattern in Nigeria and the attendant forms of media control in Nigeria. However, these controls only limits media efforts in Nigeria but did not stop it from making visible impact as exemplified in the discussions outlined in the whole of 4.1 and 4.2.

The next chapter will review available literature on media effects theories in general but will focus on agenda setting theory and other theoretical models like gate-keeping, public sphere, civil society, priming and framing.

# CHAPTER FIVE: RELEVANT MEDIA THEORY

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This review of literature discusses media theories, media research works, media studies and mass communication literature which are relevant to this study. However, most of the works on media theories reviewed in this chapter originated from outside Nigeria and indeed Africa. This is because most contemporary media theories in particular were founded and developed in Europe and America. However, some African and Nigerian media studies literature and research works were reviewed particularly literature on Nigerian media history, ownership, media achievements and/or successes, media challenges, media believability etc. Unfortunately, none of the literature reviewed dealt with media and values reorientation in Nigeria, Africa or indeed elsewhere.

Most available mass communication and media studies literature on Africa generally and Nigeria in particular, often focused on political emancipation, enthronement of democracy, development media studies, media and society, press freedom, media and politics, media and corruption, media history, media and military rule and so on. Literature directly related to the Nigerian mass media and values reorientation does not currently exist. However, that is not to say that all information derivable from existing literature is not relevant to this study.

Consequently, this literature review focuses on media effects and related ideas since the main objective of this study is to ascertain whether the Nigerian media can play any role in the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria. The review covers basic media effect theories but focuses mainly on agenda setting theory because the theory will be the key

to analyzing and understanding Nigerian media's role in values reorientation. Furthermore, additional concepts such as:

- Gate keeping

- Framing

- Priming

- Public Sphere

- Civil Society

that were required to support or enhance a better understanding of the workings of the agenda setting approach in analyzing Nigerian media's role in values reorientation were also reviewed.

## 5.2 HISTORICAL REVIEW OF MEDIA EFFECTS THEORY

There are many views among media scholars regarding the nature and extent of media influence or effect and this has led to the emergence of many theories struggling to explain their different positions.

Thompson (1995) believes that:

> *"The coming of the mass media has created organizations with enormous capacity for influencing masses of people"* (p.3).

But despite this assumption, there remains no consensus on the overall extent and direction of influence as well as, the capacity of the mass media to influence and/or affect masses of people. This is because different theories or models of media effect/influence have led mass communication, media studies and social science

scholars of different orientations to arrive at very different conclusions on the subject of media effect and/or influence.

## 5.2.1 Hypodermic Model

The first media effect model is known as the "hypodermic model". This model assumes that audiences are passive and simply absorbs injected material from the media. It believes that the media has direct effect on media audiences. This model posits that exposure to the media brings about observable change in the behavior of media audiences. This effect model has similar character with the mass-society theory, some Marxist theories, and those who blame the media for the ills of society.

The media for Lippmann (1922) is the world outside and the picture in our heads. According to Ngoa (2006):

> *"Early 20th century media experts and mass communication researchers preoccupied themselves with theoretical thinking ranging from the general effects of mass communication on its audience to attitudinal change, observed changes in behavior and media effects on public opinion"* (p.32).

Among the major issues of the 20th century as regards media effects was corporate propaganda with the deliberate goal of controlling the public mind (Chomsky, 1998). It was generally believed that this goal was achieved, since the general consensus of the time was to liken the effect of the media to the effects of a "bullet" or "hypodermic needle".

Media effect of the period was referred to by Defleur and Ball-Rokeach (1982) as the transmission belt theory. The magic bullet theory of mass communication effects was derived from the stimulus-response view of Lasswell (1927) which posits that any powerful stimulus (such as mass media message) can evoke a uniform reaction or

response from a given organism (like an audience). According to Infante, Rancer & Womack (1990):

> *"The theory suggested that the mass media could influence an audience directly and uniformly by shooting or injecting them with appropriate messages intended to trigger a desired response"* (p.334).

For Ngoa (2006) one historical version of media effects research has it that while media experts concerned themselves with a heuristic approach to ad hoc studies of media effects, psychologists became preoccupied with attitude change research; with an approach that is essentially learning or a reinforcement theory. He confirmed that the convergence approach of Hoveland et al in the 1940s and 1950s represented a major attitude change research that exemplifies the psychologists approach.

## 5.2.2 Lazarsfeld and Limited Effects

Severin & Tankard (2001) reveals that Hoveland began his research while working for the U.S Army during World War II, when the army used films and other forms of mass communicated messages for the training and motivation of soldiers. He believes that attitudes were learned and that they were changed through the same processes that occurred when learning took place. His research in attitude change is what is today known as the Yale Communication and Attitude - Change Program.

Lazarsfeld, in the 1940s carried out the first media effects study using the 20th century presidential electoral voting patterns, the study sought to determine the effects of the media on people's choice in the election (Griffin, 1991).

Again, Severin & Tankard (2001) indicate that Lazarsfeld and his team studied the 1948 elections by surveying voters in Elmira, New York. Both studies looks at the media as an important factor in the electoral decision of individuals with regards to who to vote

for. The result was that both studies found that media's role in election decision, compared to personal as well as group influence, was rather weak.

Hoveland's study and the two Lazarsfeld election studies according to Ngoa (2006) shows that orientation films could be effective as a source of information but not in changing attitude; the studies also showed that only few people were affected by media messages in electioneering campaigns. These studies and their findings seem to be the forerunner that laid the foundation for the emergence of the limited effects theory of mass communication.

Klapper (1990) referred to the limited effects model as the law of minimal consequences. However, mass communication ordinarily does not serve as necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions through the structure of community or society, which scholars like Klapper referred to as the nexus of mediating factors and influences. The mediating factors referred to include selective perception, selective retention and Lazarsfeld et al's selective exposure.

Severin & Tankard (2001) were of the opinion that these mediating factors are such that

> "They typically render mass communication a contributory agent but not the sole cause, in a process of reinforcing the existing conditions" (p.263).

Critics of this model have challenged the passive view of the audience implied by the model. Gauntlett and Hill (1999) and Gauntlett (1995, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2005) criticised media effect theories generally insisting that the effect paradigm should be laid to rest and listed "ten things wrong with the media "effect" model". The ten wrong things are listed as follows:

- The effect model tackles social problems 'backwards'

- The effects model treats children as inadequate

- Assumptions within the effects model are characterized by barely-concealed conservative ideology.

- The effects model inadequately defines its own objects of study.

- The effects model is often based on artificial elements and assumptions within studies

- The effects model is often based on studies with misapplied methodology

- The effects model is selective in its criticisms of media depictions of violence

- The effects model assumes superiority to the masses

- The effects model makes no attempt to understand meanings of the media

- The effects model is not grounded in theory.

Libbey (2005) in his own criticism said:

> *"It has become something of a cliché to observe that despite many decades of research and hundreds of studies, the connections between people's consumption of the mass media and their subsequent behavior have remained persistently elusive"* (p.14).

## 5.2.3 Two Step Flow Models

However, nobody can claim that the media has no effect or influence whatsoever on its consumers. Additionally, there is also the active-audience model which argues that the audience does not simply receive messages from the media. They point to the situation where opinion leaders in society interpret media messages to people thereby influencing the way they respond to media messages.

The two-step flow model suggests that contrary to the earlier argument of selective exposure being responsible for the media's limited effect, ideas often flow from the media to opinion leaders, who in turn pass on the idea or information to their less active

counterparts (McQuail and Windahl 1981). However, the two-step flow model has evolved gradually into a multi-step flow model that is often used in diffusion studies.

Ngoa (2006) is of the view that the limited effects model of effects theory is only one strand in a many sided argument; as the simplistic bullet theory which attributed quite strong effects to mass communication gave way to the limited effects argument, so did the later to the moderate effects model. Severin & Tankard (2001) advance that this model of mass communication effects theory goes too far in minimizing the effects of mass communication. The authors confirm that, eventually researchers began to suggest that the limited effects model *"might have swung the pendulum too far in the other direction"* (p.267). Furthermore, Severin & Tankard (2001) believes that a number of approaches including agenda-setting, effects of television violence, the powerful effects model and the knowledge gap hypothesis *"indicated that mass communication was having more than limited effects"* (p.267). These criticisms did not deter scholars of the all-powerful effect theory of mass communication because in the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, came other powerful effects studies. They include scholars such as George Gerbner (1969); Noelle-Neumann (1973); Mendelsohn (1973); Moccoby & Faquhar (1975) and Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach & Grube (1984).

The model recognizes that audiences are active but argues that the media still influence audiences. This group found that the themes of media reporting corresponded closely with ideas already held by audience groups. Indeed, members of the audience might reject opinions that did not fit their pre-existing beliefs but still pick up ideas and images that affected their view of the topic. Media influence was reinforced by social interaction. Thus, particularly striking events or stories acquired "social currency" and was passed around in conversations, which reinforced people's views in their minds. The type of media-influence canvassed by this model is much more complex when

compared with the media-effect model. The media-themes model recognizes that audiences are selective and interpretative, and argues that audience activity actually increases media influence by involving the audience's interest and emotions. There was growing emphasis on the way members of an audience select what they want from the media and interpret media messages according to their existing ideas and beliefs. In other words, they heard what they wanted to hear. By this process, it was argued that the media tended to reinforce rather than change people's views.

On the other hand, Lippmann (1922) refers to the media as the principal connector of events around us and the images of these events in our minds i.e. the media transform the world outside into the picture in our heads. However, the model did not explain how members of the audience came to hold the views they held, as well as exaggerated the freedom and choice of the audience.

## 5.3 AGENDA SETTING THEORY

### 5.3.1 Introduction

Media research in the 1950s and 1960s has been described by Hoyer (1991), as a discipline in a hurry to gain acceptance as well as deliver evidence that the media had the power to change attitudes and behavior on a grand scale. The 1950s and 1960s era of the limited effects model of mass communication which we earlier said was the time when researchers became dissatisfied with the model as a dominant theoretical paradigm.

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw with their 1972 agenda-setting hypothesis therefore provided one of the few paradigm shifts in the field of mass communication. Their hypothesis shifted media research from the "limited", to a rediscovery of the

"powerful" effects of the media; and also shifted media research focus from effect of media on peoples' perceptions to attitudes.

Hoyer (1991) added that:

> *"What was lacking in all of the above however was a realistic account of the state of affairs or specifically what went on before the individual at the end of the media channel received the message that eventually changed or confirmed his or her attitude change"* (p.29).

Ever since, there exists a flurry of studies, findings, revelations and theorizing, as well as strong criticisms of the agenda-setting approaches and techniques and most of the criticism ranged from theoretical ambiguities to methodological inadequacies.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) from the launch of their hypothesis advance that the media's agenda-setting function is responsible for the almost perfect correlation they found between the media and the public ordering of priorities that is media agenda, voters agenda. But Griffin (1991) argues that:

> *"A possibility may be that media coverage may simply be a reflection of public concerns that already exist and as such findings are impressive but unequivocal"* (p.342).

The public sphere, gate-keeping theory and agenda setting theory are germane to this study. However, it is important to mention that this study presents a slight departure from a core agenda-setting research which deals mainly with audience perceptions of political communication and political behavior because it focuses on the phenomenon of values reorientation through the media in Nigeria.

## 5.3.2 Agenda Setting Theory

The power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented phenomenon. Severin & Tankard (2001) reveal that:

> *"Agenda-setting hypothesis came about during the period (1950s and 1960s) when researchers became dissatisfied with the limited effects model"* (p.222).

It was McCombs and Shaw that carried out the first systematic study of the agenda-setting hypothesis.

The theory claims that what the media finds important will eventually be mirrored by what people think are important. It facilitates the formation of public opinions and the distribution of pros and cons of a particular issue. Agenda-setting shifts the focus of attention away from immediate effects on attitudes and opinions to long term effects on cognitions (Protess and McCombs 1991).

Lang and Lang (1959) believe that:

> *"Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the media, 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. Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news, like lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience as well as the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story"* (p.273).

These cues repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic. In other words, the news media can set the agenda for the public's attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms.

Long (1958) argues that:

*"In a sense, the newspaper is the prime mover in setting the territorial agenda. It has greater part in determining what most people will be talking about, what most people will think the facts are and what most people will regard as the way problems are to be dealt with"* (p.22).

The agenda setting theory fundamentally explores the relationship the news media has on the perceived salience of key political issues. According to Ghorparde (1986):

> *"Agenda setting is a relational concept that specifies a transfer of salience from agenda primers (media) to agenda adopters (consumers)"* (p.11).

Agenda setting research has shown that there is a correlation between what the media deems important and salience in the public mind. The concept explains the ability of the media to tell us what to think about. Ngoa (2006) says:

> *"Agenda setting refers to media audiences' acceptance as important those issues, events and people because the media has made it so for people to think and talk about"* (p.42).

McQuail & Windahl (1981) observe that: *"the media, by simply paying attention to some issues while neglecting others, will effect on public opinion"* (p.102) adding that the hypothesis would seem to have escaped the doubts which early empirical findings had on the powerful media effects view.

Although the influence of media agenda can be substantial, the media alone does not determine public agenda. Information and cues about object and attribute salience provided by the news media are far from being the only determinants of public agenda. The substantial influence of the media did not in any way nullify the basic assumption of democracy that the masses have sufficient wisdom to determine the course of their nation, their state, and their communities.

Particularly McCombs (2005) is convinced that people are quite able to determine the basic relevance to themselves and to the larger public the topics and attributes advanced

by the news media. The media set the agenda only when citizens perceive their news stories as relevant.

Folarin (1998) identifies four elements involved in agenda-setting to include:

> "The amount or frequency of reporting, the level of prominence given to the issue reported, the degree of conflict generated by the reports and the cumulative media-specific effect over time" (p.16).

Wood (1983) observes that:

> "Virtually all communication researchers and writers seem to agree that the media possess the power and prestige to determine for its audience what is important. The media does this in three distinct ways, establishing materialistic goals, status conferral and agenda-setting" (p.54).

Describing the concept of status conferral, Ngoa (2006) indicates that it is closely related to the concept of agenda setting and adds that:

> "Status conferral refers to the media's ability to confer or bestow prestige as well as enhance the authority of individuals, groups, organizations and even issues by legitimizing their status in the public's eye" (p.40).

Agenda setting on the other hand, refers generally, to the ability of the media to raise the importance of an issue in the public's mind. Dearing & Rogers (1992) refers to agenda setting as an ongoing competition among issue proponents to gain attention of the media professionals, the public and policy elites.

Ngoa (2006) explains that:

> "The idea of people desiring media assistance to be able to order their priorities, especially in determining political reality had been in existence but without the name agenda setting" (p.41).

He points out that McQuail (1987) refers to it as the power to "structure issues". Lazarsfeld et al (1944) agrees that it is a phenomenon that has long been noticed and studied in the context of election campaigns.

Consequently White (1973) describes the ability of the media to shape election campaigns as:

> *"A primordial and sweeping political power unrestrained by any law. The media sets the agenda of public discussion, and determines what people will think and talk about; an authority usually reserved for tyrants, parties and priests in other nations"* (p.25).

McCombs and Shaw in 1972 used the 1968 American Presidential campaign as the platform to investigate the agenda-setting function of the Mass Media. They attempted an assessment of the relationship between what voters in one community regarded as important issues and the actual content of media messages used during the campaign.

Again, after the annulment of what most observers and participants saw as the most fair and free election ever held in Nigeria in 1993, the media went to town agitating for the de-annulment and revalidation of the elections. That particular media agenda appears to coincide with the agenda of majority of Nigerians.

Ngoa (2006) argues that:

> *"The agenda-setting theory of mass communication seems to have manifested in the unanimity among the media in Nigeria, with the agenda of pursuing from office the then military ruler, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida who nullified the collective will of Nigerians through the annulment of the election of Mr. Abiola as President"* (p.47).

Agenda-setting as a theory of mass communication has become rather sophisticated and McCombs and Shaw have also fine-tuned their hypothesis by postulating a *"need for orientation"* as a crucial factor in peoples willingness to let the mass media shape their thinking; yet McQuail (1987) insists that:

> *"Despite recent research on the theory, there is insufficient evidence to show causal connection between the public's ordering of priorities and the order of importance placed on issues by the media"* (p.280).

He also notes that:

*"The doubts with agenda-setting as a theory stem from not only the strict methodological demands but also from theoretical ambiguities, and as such agenda-setting theory remains within the status of a plausible but unproven idea"* (p.280).

Accordingly, agenda-setting theory is still developing and expanding both in focus and in dimension. The latest development is a focus on a new level which McCombs and his associates referred to as second level of agenda-setting. The second-level-agenda-setting model views an agenda as an abstract notion and that many other things other than issues could be items on the list. Severin & Tankard (2001) confirms that opening up the agenda-setting concept to include the second level has expanded the theory to now include even effective attributes or attitudes.

Lang & Lang (1983) also suggest that:

*"Agenda setting as a concept expanded into the concept of 'agenda building'; a collective process in which the media, public and the government influence each other in determining what issues to be considered important"* (p.270).

Severin & Tankard (2001) argue that Langs *"concept of "agenda building" is more complex than McCombs & Shaws agenda-setting hypothesis* (p.230-1).

Lang & Lang describes agenda building as the process of going through several stages to put an issue on the public agenda. Furthermore, Severin & Tankard (2001) add that:

*"The media may not only tell us what to think about, they also tell us how and what to think about it and even to do about it"* (p.238).

## 5.3.3 Components of the Agenda-Setting Process

There are three main components of the agenda-setting process. Ngoa (2006) writes that these components are the media, public and policy agendas. Describing these components he indicates:

*"First, media agenda concerns issues deemed important by the media and is assumed that, social issues that are widely recognized in the 'media-agenda' often focus*

*attention on the public agenda which in turn influences the policy agenda thus creating policy changes. He further states that media-agenda's dependent variable is issue salience"* (p.49).

The second tradition known as the *public Agenda-Setting* deals with issues that are considered salient by the public as influenced by the media. It is the concern of mass communication scholars and was set off by McCombs and Shaw (1972). It deals with a set of issues on the public agenda whereas the third component of the agenda-setting process deals with the policy agenda.

The *"policy agenda"* according to Ngoa (2006) is mainly the concern of political scientists who believe more in the mobilization of resources by groups of people to effect policy change. The policy agenda deals with policy actions regarding an issue in part, as a response to the media, as well as the public agenda.

## 5.3.4 Agenda-Setting Theory And Related Media Concepts

There are many arguments about the issue of theoretical relatedness, conceptual complement or overlapping claims between the agenda-setting hypothesis and other models of media effects. According to Ngoa (2006), some scholars have argued that Gerbner, Gross, Signorelli, & Morgan's (1980, 1982, 1986) cultivation theory which proposes that the mass media, especially television, exerts tremendous influence on people by altering their perceptions of reality, constitutes media agenda-setting. Again, others also argue, that even the uses & gratification approach Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch (1974) which is a shift from traditional media effects research of what the media do with people, to what people do with the media, is a media agenda approach of some sort.

However, this study attempts to locate the conceptual complements and/or relatedness between agenda setting as a model and the concepts of media gatekeeping, issue framing and the public sphere, cultivation, public opinion and issues priming.

## 5.3.5 Critique of The Agenda-Setting Theory

The order in which media agenda occur referred to as "causal order of agenda-setting" is an important question in determining whether the media influence public agenda or that the public influence media agenda. McCombs & Shaw raised this question in their original Chapel Hill study and although their study revealed a strong correlation between the media and public agendas, it could not show which was influencing the other. According to Severin & Tankard, (2001):

> *"There are certainly alternative models of this relationship, of which the main one will reverse the flow and state that underlying concerns of the public will shape both issues definition by political elites and those of the media, a process which is fundamental to political theory and to the logic of free media"* (p.236).

McQuail (1987), referring to Davis & Robinson (1986) and Behr & Iyengar (1985), observes that, past agenda-setting research has been criticized for neglecting possible effects of what people think about – i.e., who is important? Where important things happen and why things are important, as a result of questions for which most of the evidence appears inconclusive? Correlation is not causation as Griffin (1991) declares that:

> *"A true test of the agenda-setting hypothesis must be able to show that a matching public agenda lags behind the media schedule of priorities"* (p.335).

Indeed there is no definitive order of influence or effect in the agenda-setting hypothesis. For Griffin (1991):

> *"It is possible that newspaper and television coverage simply reflects public concern that already exists"* (p.335).

While, Severin & Tankard (2001) believes that:

> *"Just as it is possible that the media agenda was influencing the public agenda it is also possible that the public agenda may have been influencing the media agenda"* (p.224).

The above is aptly corroborated by Ray Funkhouser who carried out an exhaustive and retrospective search in news magazines between 1960 and 1970. Although Funkhouser found a strong relationship between media and the public priorities, he was doubtful of the responses to his Gallup polls. He wondered whether, if really measured against the personal as well as emotional concerns of people, the results of the polls would be the same.

According Griffin (1991), the correspondence between news articles and public opinion may be nothing more than the:

> *"Public's regurgitating back to the pollster what is currently in the news, with little or no relation to what the Respondent himself feels is important"* (p.335)..

Thus McQuail (1987); Jensen & Rosengren (1990) advance that, mass-communication research owes at least part of its very existence to sometimes exaggerated and misapprehended notions of the effects of mass communication.

McCombs & Shaw's Chapel Hill studies dealt more with "who is going to win" and "how is the candidate going to do it". In order wards, an analysis of the campaign itself rather than a devoted discussion of the major political issues; besides, the original theory directed attention to issue salience during political campaigns and later expanded to accommodate some political issues, it didn't seem to have considered the concerns of the voter to who the effects hypothesis basically applies (Griffin, 1991).

In addition, as a causal hypothesis, the theory doesn't seem to consider the time needed for agenda setting to occur. That is, how long it takes for media content to have an effect on the "public's subjective rankings" (Severin & Tankard, 2001). Thus, the theory's McQuail (1987) found are impressive but unequivocal and as such more:

> *"Likely that the media do contribute to a convergence of the three 'agendas' but that it is a different matter from setting any particular one of them"* (p.276).

Infante etal (1990) argues, that the media's agenda-setting theory:

> *"At least for the time being is left with the status of a plausible but unproven idea, because it is fraught with theoretical ambiguities and methodological inadequacies"* (p.350).

Griffin (1991) simply views the theory as an uncertain agenda whose basic prediction, although straightforward, can be applied only in narrowly defined situations.

The concept of intermedia agenda setting, calls to question who the real agenda setters are. In other words, whose agenda is the media agenda? Besides, one of the problems associated with agenda-setting is the monitoring of all media that an individual is exposed to and the actual determination of how the individual has been affected since Wilson & Wilson (2001) believes that it is important to understand that agenda setting can differ greatly from one news medium to another.

## 5.4 PUBLIC OPINION

According to Ngoa (2006):

> *"Ideas, thoughts and writings about public opinion have been in existence for as long as it has occupied the inquiring minds of sociologists, psychologists, historians, political scientists, economists and especially communication research scholars"* (p.50).

Price (1992) indicates that they can be found in 18th century philosophy, Renaissance literature, in the works of Plato and Aristotle and have spanned the entire landscape of social inquiry from the arguments and thoughts of reliable theorists and social critics like Rousseau (1762); Bentham (1838); Bryce (1888); Lowell (1913); Lippmann (1922) to the land mark works of late 19th and early 20th century sociologists and social psychologist like Tarde (1890/1903); McDougall (1920); Allport (1924) and Lazarsfeld et al.

However, public opinion remains as controversial as its conceptual approaches and theoretical notions; and even in its definition. Efforts at defining public opinion found the concept vacillating between two viewpoints. There is the viewpoint that locates the concept in the collective realm and another that traces it to the individual.

Indeed very few concepts have triggered as much debate intellectually and even in applied settings as public opinion thus making it perhaps the most enduring of concepts in the social sciences. Ngoa (2006); Baker (1990) and Price (1992) argued that, in conferring or imposing "public" as a title on opinion, enlightenment thinkers implied "universality, objectivity and rationality" whereas the concept itself suggested "considerable flux, subjectivity and uncertainty"; because as opposed to the sociological concept of mass, public as a concept is viewed from the premise that it is a loosely organized collectivity that arises in the course of discussion surrounding an issue. Put simply the public is recognized or marked by the resolution of some problem or an issue (collectively) through discussions or if you like; arguments and counter argument.

However, therein also lays the problem because as Price (1992) observed, there are implications in the concept that the public is a loosely organized collectivity arising in the course of discussion. The notion of the public is also tied together with the idea of a political realm in which citizens enjoy both freedom and responsibility. In close societies this may not necessarily be the case because in closed societies there are no public realm, nor in consequence, overt public opinion.

Price (1992) clarifies that discursive publics represent only a rather small portion of the modern electorate and is also not a fixed entity as a public changes both in size and composition, as does an issue from recognition through disputation and eventual resolution; maintaining that public opinion is formed through a sequence of stages.

Foot & Hart (1953) identified five collective stages in the formation of public opinion.

They include:

- *The problem phase.*

The stage at which too many ideas are raised and equally discarded; a phase this study would generally describe as not necessarily confused, but foggy.

- *The proposal phase*

Although still surrounded by many ideas, this phase is more clearly discursive than the problem phase. Citing Foot & Hart (1953), Price (1992) confirms that these phases still involve some of the characteristics of collective behavior such as *"groping movements, ephemeral emotions, sporadic waves of rumour and influence, disorganized clamour"* (p.30).

- *The policy phase*

This is the phase during which the merits and demerits or strengths and weaknesses of alternatives are considered and actively discussed.

- *The program phase*

This is the execution of approved action (could be referred to as decision time, for example, voting).

- *The Appraisal phase*

This refers to the periodic re-evaluation of the effectiveness of action/decisions taken (Price 1992).

## 5.5 ISSUES

The original proposition by McCombs and Shaw (1972) indicates that the media has the capability to raise the importance of an issue in the mind of the public. It therefore

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follows naturally, that in the formation of public opinion, issues are crucial. Issues in the opinion of Dearing & Rogers (1992) are multi-sided and involve conflict which implies that anything contentious constitutes an issue. Consequently, issues represent:

> "Conflict between two or more identifiable groups, over procedural or substantive matters relating to the distribution of positions or resources" (p.2).

Like the identified stages in the formation of public opinion, issues also proceed through stages. Dearing & Rogers (1992) notes the importance of studying the time-ordered stages of problems being recognized before achieving legitimacy as bona fide issues. On another hand, Downs (1972) identifies what he called "issue attention cycle" where issues rise and fall on the public agenda:

> "Each of these problems [issues] suddenly leaps into prominence, remains there for a short time and then – though still largely unresolved – gradually fades from the centre of public attention" (p.47).

Downs' "issue attention cycle" include:

- The pre-problem stage

Downs (1972) states that:

> "Usually objective conditions (real-world indicators) regarding the problem are far worse during the pre problem stage than they are by the time the public becomes interested in it" (p.47).

- Alarmed discovery stage

This is the stage where a dramatic event suddenly creates an alarmed public awareness and its attendant "euphoric enthusiasm" from society to tackle or solve the problem.

- Realizing the cost of problem solution

This refers to the stage where people (the public) "gradually" begins to realize how prohibitively expensive it is to solve a social problem or issue.

- Decline of public interest

Here, the high cost of solving the problem as well as the boredom created by extensive media coverage of the issue, leads to a fading public interest

- Post – problem stage

According to Albeit, Dearing & Rogers (1992) *"an issue's life cycle may indeed have discernable stages over time"* (p.61). Ngoa (2006) notes that at this stage, despite the fact that the program, policies and even the agencies put in place to cope or solve the problem persist, the issue drops off, or at best remains obscure on the public agenda.

Issues can also be *primed or framed*; priming and framing, are two added concepts to the agenda setting discourse, a newer and added definitions to the media effects literature by Shanto Iyengar and a generation of second level/dimension agenda setting research scholars.

## 5.6 GATE KEEPING

It was Lewin in (1947; 1951) that coined and developed the concept of "gatekeeper". His theory of "channels and gatekeepers" was developed as a means of understanding how to produce widespread social changes in communities Beckman and Mays (1985); Motoyer-Duran (1993); Shoemaker (1991); Shumsky and Pinker (2003).

Shoemaker (1991) defines gatekeeping as the process:

> *"By which billions of messages that are available in the world get cut down and transformed into the hundreds of messages that reach a given person on a given day"* (p.115).

"Media gatekeeping", as an idea has been most frequently used in studies of the mass communication process; especially, as it relates to the collection, collation, selection, production and dissemination of news or information. Between 1915-1935, University

of Chicago Sociologist, Robert Parks used the phrase "media gatekeeping" to imply what is today known as the agenda-setting process Dearing & Rogers (1992); but, McQuail & Windahl (1981) confirms that the concept was originated by Kurt Lewin in a 1947 work dealing with decisions about household food purchases.

According to Lewin (1947), information always flows along certain channels containing "gate areas" where decisions are made based on some impartial rules. It is worthy to note though, that, the decision idea which was invoked in comparison with the flow of news in the media, usually, have to do with whether information or goods should be allowed in, continue or remain in the channel.

McQuail & Windahl (1981) points out that the idea of "media gatekeeping" was adopted and applied by White (1950) in the study of a telegraph wire editor of a non-metropolitan paper, *"whose decision to discard many items was seen as the most significant gatekeeping activity"* (p.100).

Other gatekeeping studies or models include Gieber (1956); McNelly (1959); Galting & Ruge (1965); Bass (1969). McQuail (1987) refers to gate-keeping as restricted in scope and to the activity within newsrooms in choosing from among many incoming wire telegrams and pictures from news agencies for the content which makes up the bulk news.

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) refers to such activities in the news room as "media routines", which help to fit the flow of information into a manageable physical limit. "Media routines", they argue, impose their own social logic on the resultant product, because, they provide a perspective that explains what in the first place can be defined as news. Shoemaker & Reese (1996) observes that, news organizations or media systems are not just passive recipients of a continuous stream of events lapping at their gates, rather, before an item even gets to the first gate, news workers through their

routines, actively construct reality. In other words, they are at liberty to explain what gets defined as news, because news workers perceive some things as news and not others.

Traditional theories of Gatekeeping were mainly applied in communication Donohue, Olien, and Tichenor (1989); Gieber (1956); Shoemaker (1991); White (1950). These theories mainly referred to gatekeeping as a selection process and offered communication scholars a framework for analyzing, evaluating and comprehending how communication or news selection occurred and why some items were selected while others were rejected.

Gatekeepers have three primary functions:

- Firstly, to prevent the entrance of undesired information from the outside

- Secondly, to prevent the exit of undesired information to the outside

- Thirdly, to control the movement of information

There are factors external to the gatekeepers that influence the gatekeeping process. For instance, Shoemaker (1991) observes that some organizations hire the gatekeeper and make the rules. Hirsch (1997) says that:

> *"The gatekeeper was more than likely exercising discretion only within the latitude permitted for selecting particular stories to fit standard, or widely agreed-upon categories"* (p.9).

Berkowitz, (1990) adds that at times lack of resources can influence media gate-keeping decisions while Shoemaker and Reese (1991) argued that:

> *"Education and other background experiences and characteristics may influence the way in which they see the world, a potentially far-reaching effect on what is selected to report and on how it is reported"* (p.122).

Consequently, media gate-keeping theory is relevant in this study since the study is looking at ways the Nigerian media can select, evaluate, interpret and disseminates news, information and ideas that can bring about change in values within the Nigerian society.

The term gatekeeper refers to all those individuals involved in processing, selection and production process of news and other media information. Examples of a gatekeeper will include the reporter, news editor, sub-editor, the over-all editor himself amongst others. Shoemaker & Reese (1996) advance that, the term gatekeeping or gatekeeper suggests the adaptation to physical limits. This implies that it is difficult if not impossible for any media or communication system to report or publish, broadcast or transmit all covered or available stories at any given point in time. Thus, the media need to be selective in the choice of stories and articles. However, the problem here, as some experts have pointed out are, the principles involved in the selection process – i.e. who and what determines the selection process.

In addition, gatekeeping as an idea, according to Shoemaker & Reese (1996), is influenced at the levels of ideology, extra media, organization, media routines and the individual.

This theory is relevant to this study because as Cohen (1963) puts it:

> *"The press may not be sufficient much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly sufficient in telling its readers what to think about"* (p.39).

## 5.7 FRAMING AND PRIMING

The other mass communication theory that has conceptual complement with the agenda-setting hypothesis is the framing model. According to Dearing & Rogers (1992) the origin of framing is embedded in the works of Entman (1989); Iyengar (1991); Salwen

& Matera (1992) who all agree that the media's issues salience, priming and framing suggest that the media in addition to setting the public agenda can also direct individuals on how to evaluate issues.

Issue priming in the views of Fisk & Taylor (1984) refer to *"the effects of a prior context on the interpretation and retrieval of information"* (p.231) and Iyengar & Kinder (1987) believes that:

> *"By lavishing news coverage on an issue while ignoring others the media draws attention to certain aspects of political life at the expense of the others"* (p,114).

Dearing & Rogers (1992); Iyengar (1997); Rogers, Hart & Dearing (1997) are all of the view that: *"priming is the ability of the media agenda to affect the criteria by which individuals judge issues"*. Iyengar in his "overview" of the work; *"Do the Media Rule? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America"*, confirms that:

> *"Issues highlighted in the media become the standard by which media audiences judge politicians and elective office seekers. In his words; if it is crime that dominates the media agenda, not only does crime become public enemy number one, crime also becomes the principal yardstick for evaluating president's or congress's performance"* (p.64).

Again this theory is criticized just like the framing theory for its inability to explain how issues get included in the media agenda.

Framing is also related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Framing is important to this research because of its ability to focus attention on issues or events in this case "values reorientation", as well as its ability to place issues or events in this case "values reorientation" within a field of meaning so that Nigerians can understand its meaning, consequences and importance.

Issue framing on the other hand refers to a means through which an issue is given a particular meaning. Dearing & Rogers (1992) explains that issues framing are the subtle selection of certain aspects of an issue by the media which they make important by emphasizing the particular cause or consequences of that phenomenon.

"Framing", according to Entman (2002:291-292), essentially involves selection and salience. It defines the problem, diagnoses cures, makes moral judgment and suggests remedies. Framing therefore means:

> *"The selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described"* (p.291-292).

Framing is a quality of communication that leads others to accept one meaning over another. According to Fairhurst & Sarr (1996) framing consists of three elements: language, thought and forethought. Language helps us to remember information and acts to transform the way in which we view situations. To use language, people must have thought and reflected on their own interpretive frameworks and those of others.

The media draws public attention to certain topics, it decides what people think about, and the journalists select the topics. This is the original agenda setting "thought". The way in which the news is brought, the frame in which the news is presented, is also a choice made by journalists. Thus, a frame refers to the way media organizations and media gatekeepers organize and present the events or issues they cover, and the way audiences interpret what they are provided. Frames are abstract notions that serve to organize or structure social meanings. Frames influence the perception of the news by the audience, this form of agenda-setting not only tells the audience what to think about, but also how to think about it.

Entman, (1989); Iyengar, (1991); Salwen & Matera, (1992) etc, all agree that the media's issues salience, priming and framing suggest that the media in addition to setting the public agenda can also direct individuals on how to evaluate issues Dearing & Rogers, (1992); but what the results of salience, priming and framing have not told us is how issues are included on the media agenda.

Researchers like McQuail & Windahl (1981) argue that aggregate effects from the media were minimal and did not *"represent adequately the social reality of a mass audience or the process of political information and opinion formation"* (p.49). Findings of the relative failure of mass media to influence voters as widely acclaimed, compared to influence from interpersonal relationships led to the suggestion that, ideas and information flow from the media first, to more active members (opinion leaders) in a community; and then, from them (opinion leaders), to less active members of the community or population is more productive.

The main criticism of both theories is that it has not clearly explained how issues get included in the media agenda in the first place.

## 5.8 PUBLIC SPHERE

Perhaps, the less conceptually convergent to the agenda-setting hypothesis is the public sphere. However, it is no less important to this study because it affords individuals the opportunity to discuss and share opinion about topical issues in society. Public Sphere encompasses a variety of meanings and implies a spatial concept, the social sites or arenas where meanings are articulated, distributed, and negotiated, as well as a collective body constituted by "the public".

Habermas (1962) describes the public sphere as a discursive arena that is home to citizen debate, deliberation, agreement and action. Here individuals are able to freely

share their views with one another in a process which closely resembles the true participatory democracy. Continuing, Habermas explains that in the public sphere, discourse becomes democratic through the non-coercively unifying, consensus building force of a discourse in which participants overcome their first subjectively biased views in favor of a rationally motivated agreement.

If indeed the media sets the agenda, it is most likely that discussions in the public sphere will include those issues which the media currently gives salience. Consequently, media agenda setting could indirectly influence the goings on in the public sphere. Mansson, (1999) points out that the media is the main institution of the contemporary public sphere. Thompson (1995) adds that:

> *"The mass media have changed the balance between the public and the private in our lives, bringing more into the public domain than before, and often leading to debate and controversy"* (p.19).

Williams (2003) explains that:

> *"What is central to the operation of the public sphere is the free flow of information and communication, and media institutions are essential to its effective working"* (p.25).

Again, Thompson (1995) believes that the media have played a central role in the development of modern institutions. To him, modern mass media do not deny us the possibility of critical thought. In fact, they provide us with many forms of information to which we could not have had access. Thompson (1995) further argues that:

> *"Media messages are commonly discussed by individuals in the course of reception and subsequently to it ... (They) are transformed through an ongoing process of telling and retelling, interpretation and reinterpretation, commentary laughter and criticism ... By taking hold of messages and routinely incorporating them into our lives ... we are constantly shaping and reshaping our skills and stocks of knowledge, testing our feelings and tastes, and expanding the horizons of our experience"* (p.16).

Webster (1995) describes the 'public sphere' as:

> *"A forum or arena that mediates between state and society; a forum in which private individuals can debate public affairs, criticize the authority of the state and call on those in power to justify their positions before an informed and reasoning public. The public sphere is independent of government and partisan economic forces and dedicated to rational debate accessible to all citizens who form public opinion"* (p.51).

In virtually every country, the public sphere needs protection from both commercial and political pressures if it is to remain and flourish. Issues of social justice, human rights violations, corruption in government and industries, governance and other public and private societal vices can be discussed in the public sphere. Mansson (1999) points out that many scholars regard the media as the main institution of the contemporary public sphere.

In Africa Ronning (1995) takes the view that state and civil society belongs to one public realm. Mak'Ochieng (1994) argues in relation to Kenya that the African media is itself a public sphere. Traber (1995) also referring to Africa, locates the media in civil society which in turn, he says, needs access to the public sphere or needs to create its own public spheres. Mansson (1999) sees an interaction between civil society and the independent press, as forming a public sphere in Zimbabwe. Ronning (1997) says that Zimbabwean civil society has created a limited public sphere in spaces relatively autonomous of the state. Ekeh (1975) identifies two public spheres in Nigeria, the primordial and the civil structure.

Nnonyelu (2006) is of the opinion that:

> *"Governments in many respects are enemies of the public sphere particularly in less developed democracies. Constantly, they seek to control or manipulate the political and other content of the media and turn them into instruments of government because they know that the media has the capacity to do considerable damage to them"* (p.14).

Habermas' conception of the public sphere has been criticized for focusing too much on the individual and neglecting group input into political life, for failing to recognize the exclusion of women and for assuming rational discussion and the triumph of reasoned discourse in this realm Mak'Ochieng (1994); Calhoun (1992); Curran (1991); Garnham (1990) and Ronning (1994).

## 5.9 MEDIA OWNERSHIP

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) point out that the more dominant paradigms in critiquing the agenda-setting theory stems from the concepts of political economy of the media, gate keeping and media monopoly. They believed that the economic logic of the media stems mostly from the fact that, the mass media particularly the commercial mass media are primarily "Mr. Deliverer" of audiences to advertisers, as well as the politico-financial weights behind them like owners or investors. However, Oyewole (2008) warns that:

> *"A media that is to be in the vanguard of enthroning a corruption free society must also not be encumbered by ownership, political and economic interests"* (p.1).

Writing on "Falsehood and Compromises" (*Guardian*: 53, Friday, August 5th, 2005) Danesi, a member of the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON), complained that "commercial motive" creates a fundamental limitation in Journalism that gets me mixed up most of the times. According to Danesi, he had written what in his assessment remains a very objective article which he had expected a daily newspaper to publish; but, his article could not be published because the powerful advertiser on whom he wrote had been criticized enough by the public.

Again Danesi is worried that:

> *"... Media properties which usually bond media and their audiences, are now being surrendered by ... editors and publishers to the caprices of those who pay the bills".*

Croteau & Hoynes (2001) are concerned about the media and its significance for democratic societies as:

> *"Nearly all media companies are commercial corporations whose primary function is creating profits for owners or stockholders; who measures performance of the media companies along the lines of sales volume, accruals from advertising and profits as opposed to public interest concerns about creativity, independent thought and diversity"* (p.30).

According to Chomsky (2004):

> *"The media typically have their own interest in determining which issues to raise in the public mind: typically, the issues that conform to the interests of the power structures of which they are a part, and which they serve"* (p.20).

The above, seem to clarify the issues of the allocation of the colossal resources of the media and information industry and who controls this busy movement. A movement which Inglis (1990) observes enables us to understand why media forms and content are the way they are. That is a shift from analysis of consumption to that of production. In other words, what is done with the "enormous power", of the media explains, *"how the structures of productive power themselves generate a momentum far beyond individual control because, the media is considered an "elite power" group"* (p.111).

According to Shoemaker & Reese (1996):

> *"A power group where ownership has become so concentrated that the integration of media, big business and government has enabled media elite to exert control over its own scrutiny and as such, has successfully resisted obstacles to greater profits"* (p.231).

Unlike the folklore of capitalism in which giant firms, corporations or even multinationals forcefully compete against each other, mass advertising has resulted in media monopoly where there is "mutual cooperation, interlocked directors and shared partnerships in media operations" which Bagdikian (2000) described as *"more like a cooperative cartel"* (p.15).

The lines between traditional forms of media ownership have become blurred because people are now either publishers of newspapers and/or magazines, proprietors of radio and/or television, owners of movie houses or independent producers of television programs etc. These days, people or those with economic muscle now seat atop financial empires, mining concerns or multinational information technology corporations and complements these with media chains or cross-ownerships ranging from newspapers to the internet.

Bagdikian (2000) confirms that:

> *"By owning all these media, a few large corporations have mass communication power that far exceeds the capabilities of smaller firms, social action organizations and individuals"* (p.15).

Therefore the capability of the media to order priorities or structure issues is surrounded by various boundaries, which equally influence mass media content. Media content is generally agreed as being determined and guided by the concept of "gatekeeping".

# 5.10 CIVIL SOCIETY

The Centre for Civil Society (CCS), London School of Economics in (1995) described civil society as *"an arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values"*. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. They maintain that civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations,

professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group.

Sachikonye (1995) writes that civil society can be defined as the aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities which could be economic and cultural production, voluntary associations and household life. And who in this way preserve and transform their identity by exercising all sorts of pressures or controls upon state institutions. He highlights business associations, tertiary institutions, churches, self-help associations and the mass media, particularly private media.

In southern Africa, civil society has been interpreted in two ways: the liberal pluralistic sense described by Shils (1991) cited by Ibrahim (1995) and as a kind of radical pluralism that goes beyond elite involvement in politics (Wiseman 1995). Ronning (1999) takes a similar view, adding that a well-functioning civil society must have effective parliaments, a market separate from the state and strong and independent organizations.

The civil society in Nigeria is not different. It is made up of registered non-governmental organizations, civil organizations, student's union, social advocates, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, opposition groups, advocacy group, lobby groups, human rights organizations etc. Some of these civil society organizations have over the years patterned with some international organizations including foreign governments, international agencies, civil societies and both local and foreign media to resist military rule, as well as campaign for democracy and the rule of law in Nigeria.

Agenda-setting conceptualized here to explain the ability of the media to bring into the public domain issues that eventually gain, as well as retain public attention and in turn

influence the issues mostly discussed by the public. However, those issues brought to the attention of the public originate from either the media, media news makers, media owners or the public in general. This conception is predicated on the manner in which issues are thrown up or emerge both in the media as news or announcements. For example, the acceptance of high ranking public and private office holders, media owners, advertisers and journalists as sources of news and other media information in the Nigerian media is very common and clear. This therefore makes it difficult to overlook these sources of news and information when discussing the agenda setting theory in connection with the Nigerian mass media.

# 5.11 VALUES

*"Values are belief about the desirability of a mode, means, or end of action"* (Kluckhohn 1951; Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987). As beliefs about what is desirable and undesirable, values are often associated with normative beliefs that require or preclude certain behavior, establishing boundaries to indicate what is acceptable versus what is unacceptable. Discussing the state of values in Nigeria, Okunna (2003) argues that:

> *"Since money appears the greatest thing in life to us, we embezzle public funds and resort to theft. We kill and assassinate fellow citizens at the slightest provocation because we place little or no value on human life. I dare say corruption reigns supreme in our land today because our values are faulty"* (p.82).

Contributing, Obiajulu (2004) notes:

> *"In Nigeria both government and citizens agree that something is wrong with our value system. The federal government showed this belief when it set up the National Orientation Agency (NOA) with offices in the 36 state capitals, Local government headquarters and the federal capital Abuja"* (p.77).

Additionally, Unachukwu (2008) a former state director at the National Orientation Agency (NOA) says that:

*"The establishment of the National Orientation Agency (NOA) in 1993 is clearly one of the pointers that Nigeria is well aware that something is wrong with its social values"* (p.18).

## 5.11.1 Social Values And Norms

Values and norms are closely related because values usually provide the justification for norms. Alwin (1994) explains that:

> *"Values and norms are evaluative beliefs that synthesize affective and cognitive elements to orient people to the world in which they live. Their evaluative element makes them unlike existential beliefs, which focus primarily on matters of truth or falsehood, correctness or incorrectness. Their cognitive element makes them unlike motives that can derive from emotions or psychological drives. Values and norms involve cognitive beliefs of approval or disapproval. Although they tend to persist through time and therefore faster continuity in society and human personality, they also are susceptible to change"* (p.18).

The values and norms of individual persons are derived from the social environments to which they are exposed. Rokeach (1973) adds that:

> *"Through socialization, individuals become aware of and internalize social values and norms, which then become important internal determinants of action"* (p.13).

An individual's internalized values and norms reflect the values and norms of the society and the various subgroups and organizations within that society to which that individual is exposed. Nonyelu (2002) reveals that:

> *"Social institutions regulate human activities and makes sure that individuals are perpetually socialized into the society till death"* (p26).

Tapper (1995) adds that:

> *"Knowledge of the socialization process will help to understand that human behaviors are socially constructed and this awareness will make it possible for members of society to reassess their behavior and change some of them"* (p.17).

# 5.12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This literature review focuses on the agenda setting theory and theoretical models in media studies that have conceptual convergence with the agenda setting theory, as well as some practical issues specific to the Nigerian media. The review reveals some key assumptions of the agenda-setting theory in addition to key features of the other theoretical models discussed. The key assumptions of the agenda setting theory thrown up in the literature include:

- That the media has the power to focus public attention on a few key public issues

- That what the media finds important will eventually be mirrored by what people think are important.

- That the media facilitates the formation of public opinions

- That the media facilitates the distribution of the pros and cons of a particular issue

- That media cues repeated day after day effectively communicates the importance of each topic.

The review also highlights some key features of the theoretical models and/or concepts of gate-keeping, framing and priming, public sphere, media ownership as well as the civil society. For instance, it was shown in the literature that:

- The public is a loosely organized collectivity that arises in the course of discussion surrounding an issue.

- A public is not a fixed entity because a public changes both in size and composition.

- There are stages in the formation of public opinion

- Issues represent conflict between two or more identifiable groups, over procedural or substantive matters relating to the distribution of positions or resources

- The theory of channels and gatekeepers was developed as a means of understanding how to produce widespread social changes in communities

- Gatekeeping is the process by which billions of messages that are available in the world get cut down and transformed into the hundreds of messages that reach a given person on a given day.

- By lavishing news coverage on an issue while ignoring others the media draws attention to certain aspects of political life at the expense of the others.

- Framing is the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text

- Public sphere is a discursive arena that is home to citizen debate, deliberation, agreement and action

- Media ownership enables us to understand why media forms and content are the way they are.

- Media ownership has become so concentrated that the integration of media, big business and government has enabled media elite to exert control over its own scrutiny.

- Civil society is the arena of unforced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values.

- Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group.

It is the opinion of this study that an understanding of the key features and analytical standpoint of the agenda setting theory along with the other theoretical models reviewed in this chapter will facilitate the analysis of the data generated for this study in an attempt to explain patterns of relationships emerging from the data. For example, since the main objective of this study is to ascertain the role Nigerian mass media can play in the re-orientation of societal values, it is believed that the agenda setting function of the media gives the media the ability to draw public attention to key public issues including those negative values that needs reorientation for assessment and possible action.

Furthermore, since the agenda setting theory assumes that issues found important by the media eventually mirror what people in society think are important, it is argued that the Nigeria media can deliberately present identified negative civic values as important to Nigerians so they in turn will perceive and react to these values as important and take steps to alter them. This application of theory and concepts in the analysis of data will enable this study establish the role the Nigerian media can play in the construction of a new reality in Nigeria through the reorientation of values.

The next chapter will outline the study research design in general, as well as explain the importance of an appropriate research design in a research project. The chapter

additionally presents and justifies the different data generating and analysis methods adopted for the study.

# CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH METHODOLGY

## 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the general methodological position underpinning this research. The core objective of this study is to ascertain whether the Nigerian media has the capacity to play a role in the re-orientation of civic values in Nigeria. The chapter also outlines the epistemological position, research design and methods, as well as key sources of data. In addition it looks at some research methods adopted by contemporary media studies researchers in Nigeria, research questions, sampling design and some field work practicalities. The chapter specifically presents and justifies the different data generating and analysis methods adopted for this study.

## 6.2 RESEARCH PARADIGMS

There are many philosophical arguments about generating answers to questions within the social and natural sciences. These philosophical positions or paradigms underpin specific research projects. The philosophical position that drives this study is the critical realism paradigm and is discussed next.

Realism as an ontological position covers a very wide range of perspectives from a number of academic disciplines. Realists tend to use theory to guide their research and to interpret the facts they find. Akin to positivists, they believe in the possibility of causal explanation. The purpose of theory in this tradition and in particular for the more recent variety of the approach termed "Critical realism" is to uncover the deep underlying structures of social reality by identifying generative mechanisms that cannot necessarily be "seen" but can be identified. Critical realism is presently most commonly associated with the work of Roy Bhaskar. He developed a general philosophy of science

which he described as transcendental realism and a special philosophy of the human sciences which he called critical naturalism. The two terms were elided by other scholars to form the umbrella term critical realism.

Bhaskar's consideration of the philosophies of science and social science resulted in the development of critical realism, a philosophical approach that defends the critical and emancipatory potential of rational (scientific and philosophical) enquiry against both positivist, broadly defined, and "postmodern" challenges. Its approach emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between epistemological and ontological questions and the significance of objectivity properly understood for a critical project. Its conception of philosophy and social science is a socially situated, but not socially determined one, which maintains the possibility for objective critique to motivate social change, with the ultimate end being a promotion of human freedom.

"Transcendental realism" attempts to establish that in order for scientific investigation to take place, the object of that investigation must have real and manipulable, with internal mechanisms that can be actualized to produce particular outcomes. This is what is done when experiments are conducted and it stands in contrast to empiricist scientists' claim that all scientists can do is observe the relationship between cause and effect. Whilst empiricism and positivism more generally, locate causal relationships at the level of events, critical realism locates them at the level of the generative mechanism, arguing that causal relationships are irreducible to a constant conjunctive relationship between events which is neither sufficient nor even necessary to establish a causal relationship.

The implication of this is that science should be understood as an ongoing process in which scientists improve the concepts they use to understand the mechanisms they

study. It should not, in contrast to the claim of empiricists, be about the identification of a coincidence between a postulated independent variable and dependent variable.

Critical naturalism which tries to seek out how social events come about argues that the transcendental realist model of science is equally applicable to both the physical and the human worlds. However, when we study the human world we are studying something fundamentally different from the physical world and must therefore adapt our strategy to studying it. Critical naturalism therefore prescribes social scientific method which seeks to identify the mechanisms producing social events, but with a recognition that these are in a much greater state of flux than they are in the physical world since human structures change much more readily than those of, the material world.

It must be understood particularly that human agency is made possible by social structures which in turn require the reproduction of certain actions and/or pre-conditions. Further, the individuals that inhabit these social structures are capable of consciously reflecting upon, and changing, the actions that produce them a practice that is in part facilitated by social scientific research.

One way of conceiving critical realism Sayer (2000) says is to think of it as a broad research paradigm, which is related to a variety of approaches under the heading, "critical social sciences". Critical realism has emerged since the 1970's as a powerful alternative to both positivism, with its search for regular laws, and interpretivism, with its emphasis on 'the interpretation of meaning'. Critical realists to May (2001):

> *"Have attempted to combine the "how" (understanding - which is linked to interpretivism) and the "why" (explanation - which is linked to positivism) approaches by bridging the gap between the extremes"* (p.12).

Kerr (2003) succinctly summarizes the core of critical realism when he suggested that:

*"Realism ... differs from positivism in two important respects. Firstly, realists invoke a much more layered conception of ontology. Realism works on the assumption of "depth ontology" - i.e. that these generative mechanisms are highly complex, often structural and most crucially, not always directly observable. In this sense, part of the explanatory schema must be an attempt at "interpreting" causal links from observable outcomes. By not restricting its focus to directly observable causal links, the "depth ontology" which realism offers is able to produce a much richer layer of explanatory variables and generative mechanism than rival positivist explanations. ...*

*Secondly, the incorporation of agency into the explanatory schema means that the analyst must take an even bolder step beyond positivism. Given that agents are themselves active in interpreting their own structural context and that the meanings which they attach to any given situation are likely to differ, part of the quest for explanation must be the incorporation of the notion of hermeneutics; i.e. an understanding of the differential meanings which agents infer upon their actions"* (p.15-17).

Outlined below are some important characteristics of the critical realism paradigm as enunciated by Grix (2004).

a. Critical realism straddles both the positivist and interpretivist paradigms, sharing foundationalist ontology with positivism and allowing for interpretation in research.

b. A critical-realist approach believes that while social science can use the same methods as natural science regarding causal explanation (in line with positivism), it also needs to move away from them by adopting an interpretive understanding (Sayer 2000).

c. Critical realists, unlike interpretivists, generally seek not only to understand but also to explain the social world.

d. Critical realists conceive of social change and conflict in society as not always apparent or observable, believing that the immediately perceived characteristics of objects, events, or social relations rarely everything (Neuman 2000). We need to look beyond the surface.

e. Furthermore, critical realists believe in a "structured" or "stratified" reality which requires "depth ontology" and the interpretation of causal links not always observable in order to offer a fuller explanation of event, object, social relations, etc.

f. According to critical realists, all human agency occurs and acquires meaning only in relations to already pre-constituted, and deeply structured, setting (Hay 1995). That is, pre-existing structures affect and are affected by actors.

g. Whilst acknowledging that interpretive understanding is an important feature of social science, the objects and structures in society are understood to have causal powers, so critical realists are able to make causal statements and identify causal mechanisms, in contrast to interpretivists (Sayer 2000). However, "realists" idea of causation is different from positivists' (Lew (2002); Williams and May (2000)).

h. Structures and agency are looked upon as mutually constitutive, but they can be treated as separate for analytical purposes, thereby facilitating research (Hay (2002); Archer et al (1998)).

i. Crucially, critically realism is compatible with a wide range of research methods and suggests that the choice of which method to employ should depend on the nature of the object of study and what we want to learn about it (Sayer 2000).

j. Critical realists tend to distinguish between efficient causes (factors) and material causes (social structures), suggesting that both represent causal forces: the first by initiating action and the second by constraining or facilitating such action (Lewis 2002).

One of the early criticisms against Critical Realism is that it begs the question, assuming, rather than proving, the existence of the issue in question. Another objection, raised by Callinicos and others, is that Bhaskar's so-called "transcendental arguments" are not really any such thing. They are certainly not typical transcendental arguments as

philosophers such as Charles Taylor have defined them, the distinguishing feature of which is the identification of some putative condition on the possibility of experience. However his arguments function in an analogous ways since they try to argue that scientific practice would be unintelligible and/or inexplicable in the absence of the ontological features he identifies.

More serious criticism has been levelled at the dialectical phase of this philosophy, which has been alleged, proves too much, since critical realism was already dialectical. Bhaskar's concept of real absence has been questioned by, among others, Collier (2001) who points out that it in fact fails to distinguish properly between real and nominal absences. In addition, his most recent "spiritual" phase has been criticized by many, perhaps most adherents of early critical realists for departing from the fundamental positions which made critical realism important and interesting, without providing any philosophical support for his new ideas.

## 6.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA

As already described in chapters one and two, the aim of this research is to understand the role of the mass media in the social construction of a new reality in Nigeria. In this case the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria. The underpinning sociological construct is therefore one of social action hinged on the capacity of the mass media to deliver messages that could counteract values that have proved damaging to the socio-cultural history of Nigeria since according to Tettey (2001):

> *"The media are among the forces that have shaped, and continue to define, the establishment of democracy in Africa"* (p.1).

The study explores approaches to mass intermediation and their relative efficacies in bringing about desired changes in the perception, attitude and behaviors of significant

entities targeted by media messages in Nigeria. Some examples of entities targeted by media messages include but are not limited to the ones below.

| Different media publics | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ruling Elite | Politicians | Professionals |
| Entrepreneurs | Business Executives | Academic Institutions |
| General public | Parents | Religious Leaders |
| Worker (Public & Private) | Teachers | Students |

Table 6.1 Targeted Nigerian media publics

These entities are targeted by the media because according to Olayiwola (1991) *"the media provides news and set the agenda for political, social and cultural discourse"* (p.4).

Fundamentally, this section focuses on research design. The section also provides insight into some research methods adopted by media studies researchers in Nigeria. The section explains the mixed methods approach which is the research method adopted for this study. In-depth interviews form the primary data collection method employed in this study and a questionnaire survey provided a supporting data collection method. Also dealt with in this section are sampling and access during data collection, as well as methods of data analysis.

## 6.3.1 Research Design

Research design according to Yin (1989) deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem. Consequently, the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer research questions as unambiguously as possible. Ngoa (2006) believes that obtaining relevant evidence entails specifying the

type of evidence needed to answer the research question, to test a theory, to evaluate a program or to accurately describe some phenomenon. In other words, when designing research we need to ask: given this research question(s) (or theory), what type(s) of evidence is/are needed to answer the question(s) (or test the theory) appropriately or satisfactorily?

In addition, Infante, Rancer & Womack (1990) were of the view that *"the purpose of research design is to isolate the variables of interest in a study* [so that patterns of relationship can clearly emerge]" (p.411). Generally, for Ngoa (2006):

> *"A research design can be either experimental or non-experimental. The research design becomes experimental when it involves the manipulation of at least one research variable, while on the other hand, it is non-experimental when there is no manipulation of any variable, but rather the variables are studied for relationship or association which in turn produces 'correlational data"* (p.17).

Consequently, a non-experimental research design can be investigative in nature such as field or survey research. This is therefore the approach adopted by this study.

## 6.3.2 An Overview Of Media Research In Nigeria

There have been a number of research studies of the media in Nigeria over the last decade. However, this has not resulted in the emergence of a preferred or dominant media studies research method among researchers in Nigeria. A brief look at some typical examples of these studies will reveal that scholars tend to adopt research method(s) which they consider best suited for their particular study at a particular point in time. For example, Nwuneli, Okoye, Okunna and Ayo (1993) adopted the simple random sampling and questionnaire method in their study when they looked at: *"Media use, knowledge of world affairs and image of nations among Nigerian youths"*.

Another study by Okunna (2002) titled: *"Gender and Communication in Nigeria: Is this the twenty-first century?"* employed the content analysis method. Omenugha (2008)

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looked at *"News commercialization, Ethics and Objectivity in Journalism practice in Nigeria"* and again adhered to the content analysis method. Olugbenga Kalejaiye (2007) studied *"The Press, Military Coups and the Nigerian Polity: A Historical Perspective"*. Evidently, just like the title suggested, the study was designed as a historical study therefore it adopted the historical research method. In the study *"Agenda Setting: The Neglected Role of some Agents of Power – i.e. Propaganda (Rumour, Gossip, Religion ...) As Structures of Community"* Ngoa (2006) used the mixed methods approach while specifically adopting survey questionnaires, in-depth interviews and content analysis methods.

Consequently, from the above examples, there is no evidence of an emerging dominant methodological pattern in Nigerian media studies research. The observed methodological pattern show that media scholars adopted the research method(s) they considered best suited for their particular study at any particular time.

Therefore, the research design and methods of data collection for this study which aims at understanding the role of the mass media in the reorientation of social values in Nigeria is the mixed methods approach. This study employs in-depth interviews and a combination of open-ended and structured survey questionnaire as data collection instruments.

The rationale for adopting the mixed methods approach in this study is predicated on the conviction that a combination of methods will provide relevant data that will effectively answer the questions posed by this study. Furthermore, the mixed methods approach offers the opportunity for triangulation and complementarity which makes it possible to test the consistency of findings obtained through the different research instruments employed by this study. The study also used both primary and secondary sources of information because information that was considered historically relevant, as

well as important was equally used. Core to this study are semi-structured in-depth interviews with key stake holders in the Nigerian media.

# 6.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In view of the agenda setting hypothesis and the core assumptions of the public sphere theory discussed in Chapter 2, the main objective of this study is to investigate and ascertain the capacity of the Nigerian media to deliver messages that could counteract negative state of values in the socio-cultural history of Nigeria (i.e. values reorientation) for social and economic development irrespective of existing socio-economic, ethnic, tribal, religious and other differences.

The indicative research questions for this study are therefore:

- *What is the capacity of existing Media to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through values reorientation in Nigeria?*

- *What role can media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of media practitioners play in the media effort at values reorientation in Nigeria?*

- *What is the extent of media believability and accessibility in Nigeria and what are the factors that affect them.*

- *What is the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to discuss issues raised in the media, as well as other issues perceived as topical in the country?*

- *Does ethnic, tribal and religious background of media practitioners affect the manner of coverage and reportage of topical issues in the Media in Nigeria?*

These research questions can help elicit answers that could assist in predicting whether or not the Nigerian media has the capacity to deliver messages and information that would counteract negative state of values in the social construction of a new reality in Nigeria through the reorientation of civic values. The next section will describe how each of the methods used in this study provides the data needed to explore the core questions of this study.

# 6.5 METHODS

The method of data collection adopted by this study is discussed in this section. Here the mixed methods approach is introduced and discussed, while the in-depth interview and survey questionnaire methods are also explored.

## 6.5.1 Mixed Methods Approach

The mixed method is an approach to research that combines the data collection and data analysis techniques of both the quantitative and qualitative research methods in a research process.

This study is designed to adopt the mixed method approach because it provides richness and detail to the study by drawing on the specific features of each method. In our case, the in-depth interviews and survey questionnaire methods were the methods adopted. Green et al. (1989) highlights five major advantages of the mixed method to include

- Triangulation

- Complementarity

- Development

- Initiation

- Expansion

A brief look at the five major advantages of the mixed method listed above reveals that:

- Triangulation

This will help to test the consistency of findings obtained through different instruments. In this study, triangulation will increase chances to assess the capacity of the Nigerian mass media (namely; the electronic and print media, as well as the new media) to deliver messages that could counteract negative state of values in other to bring about the social construction of a new reality in Nigeria. This can be achieved by comparing the results or data obtained using the different methods for consistency. The style of data presentation in chapter five and six exemplifies triangulation.

- Complementarity

Complementarity will help to clarify and illustrate results obtained from one method with the use of another method. In our case, in-depth interviews will add information about the problems facing journalists in the field as well as highlight the issues of media ownership and the hindrances arising from current media ownership patterns in Nigeria. Results derived from the survey questionnaire will corroborate findings pertaining to media ownership pattern and its hindrances. It will also deal with the problems of media believability and access to media information in Nigeria. In-depth interviews will help to determine whether Nigerian media practitioners allow ethnic consideration to influence reportage of topical national issues. Complementarity is also exemplified in chapters five and six.

- Development

In this instance, results from one method can shape subsequent methods or steps in the research process. In our case, partial results from the questionnaire suggests that further

data should be collected. In addition, issues arising from in-depth interviews also assisted in the structuring of the survey questionnaire or in directing the focus of data collection. It helps the researcher in the planning and delivery of the research project.

- Initiation

This stimulates new research questions or challenges results obtained through one method. In our case, in-depth interviews with media practitioners and public officers provided new insights into how government values reorientation programs have been perceived and rated by various groups across Nigeria. Survey questionnaire on its part provided data that revealed the perception of the various groups surveyed towards government values reorientation programs. On the whole in-depth interviews also brought an insight into media perception of the same issue.

- Expansion

It provides richness and detail in the study by exploring specific features of each method. The adoption of the different methods in this study is expected to enrich the result of the study and provide useful details.

The integration of the procedures discussed above will expand the breadth and depth of the study. It is also likely to enlighten the general debate on values reorientation, social change and issues of corruption in Nigeria. More importantly, it is expected to highlight the roles of the media, government and Nigerians in general in the process of values reorientation to ensure the successful reorientation of our national values.

## 6.5.2 In-Depth Interviews

One of the core methods of data collection in this study is in-depth interview. A depth interview is really an extended conversation, but it has a different purpose from that of an ordinary conversation (Berger, 1998). He went further to explain that depth

interviews are conducted to get at particular issues, such as hidden feelings or attitudes and beliefs of which a Respondent may not be aware or that are only dimly in his or her consciousness. An in-depth interview is a qualitative research technique that allows for person to person discussion Obiajulu (2007). It can lead to increased insight into people's thoughts, feelings, and behavior on important issues. This type of interview is often unstructured and therefore permits the interviewer to encourage an informant (Respondent) to talk at length about the topic of interest.

In-depth interview uses a flexible interview approach. It aims to ask questions to explain the reasons underlying a problem or practice in a target group. The technique can be used to gather ideas or information about any social phenomenon in this case values reorientation. In-depth interview was adopted as one of the methods in this study because according to Nnonyelu (2006) it can help:

- Provide a history of behavior

When conducted more than once or when conducted with someone who has been in the community for a long time, interviews can show if any change has occurred over time.

- Highlight individual versus group concerns

Topics that may not arise in a group situation can be addressed in individual interviews.

- Reveal divergent experiences and 'outlier' attitudes

Groups often do not allow you to see that experiences may vary from person to person. This is easily achievable when dealing with individuals.

- Provide a shortcut to community norms

Interviewing key stakeholders (journalists, teachers, media scholars, media consumers and media managers) can give a fast overview of general public perception, its opinion and concerns regarding the issue under discussion.

- Develop other research tools

Results from an interview can be used to generate questions for survey questionnaires or help form questions for focus group questions.

- Easier

It is often easier to speak to one person and keep his/her attention than to address a group. You can also avoid major scheduling hassles with only one person (although this was not necessarily the case with our experience).

- More detailed

In an interview there is the chance to follow-up on questions and probe for meaning and details.

It is important to note that often interviews are the best way to engage low-literacy populations of which Nigeria is one. Consequently, 2 sets of interviews were conducted.

- *To generate issues that formed part of the questions included in the survey questionnaire.*

- *To clarify issues that arose from previous interviews with other Respondents or interviewees.*

Given the core focus of this study, in-depth interviews were used as the primary data collection method and results from these interviews informed other elements of the study for example the survey questionnaire.

## 6.5.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire as a research instrument was invented by Sir Francis Galton (Irvine, 1986). It is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from Respondents. Although they are often designed for statistical analysis of the responses, this is however not always the case.

Questionnaires have advantages over some other types of survey based data collection methods in that they are cheap, do not require as much effort from the questioner as verbal or telephone surveys, and often have standardized answers that make it simple to compile data. However, such standardized answers may frustrate users. Questionnaires are also sharply limited by the fact that Respondents must be able to read the questions and respond to them. Thus, for some demographic groups conducting a survey by questionnaire may not be practical.

Usually, a questionnaire consists of a number of questions that the Respondents have to answer in a set format. A distinction is made between open-ended and closed-ended questions. An open-ended question asks the Respondents to formulate their own answer, whereas a closed-ended question asks the Respondents to pick an answer from a given number of options. The response options for a closed-ended question should be exhaustive and mutually exclusive.

This research is designed to use both the open ended and closed ended questionnaire. The open ended questions were designed to provide further qualitative data and make it possible for Respondents to further clarify their views.

The closed questions were designed to help elicit clearly the views of Respondents and at the same time eliminate misrepresentations and misinterpretations during analysis.

Most of the questions in the questionnaire were derived from issues raised during the in-depth interviews with media stakeholders.

Since all key media players and stakeholders could not be captured during in-depth interviews, the questionnaire method was employed to secure data from additional sources such as:

1. Civil society organizations

2. Practicing Journalists

3. Anti-corruption agencies

4. Media organizations

5. National orientation agency

6. Ministry of information

7. National parents-teacher forum

8. National council of women societies

9. Religious leaders

The different groups listed above constitute part of the identified media stake holders whose views are vital in arriving at viable conclusions in this study. In-depth interviews have already been conducted with some members of some groups listed above but logistics challenges, limited resources, and time made it impossible to interview representatives of all the groups. Survey questionnaires were therefore employed to gather necessary data from as much groups and as much members as possible.

Fundamentally, data from the media is one of the core data required in this study and in-depth interviews and survey questionnaire have been adopted to elicit data from media practitioners.

In addition, the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS for Windows) was used in this study. However, the SPSS for Windows was only used to analyze the quantitative data generated through the structured questions in the survey questionnaire.

## 6.6 SAMPLE DESIGN
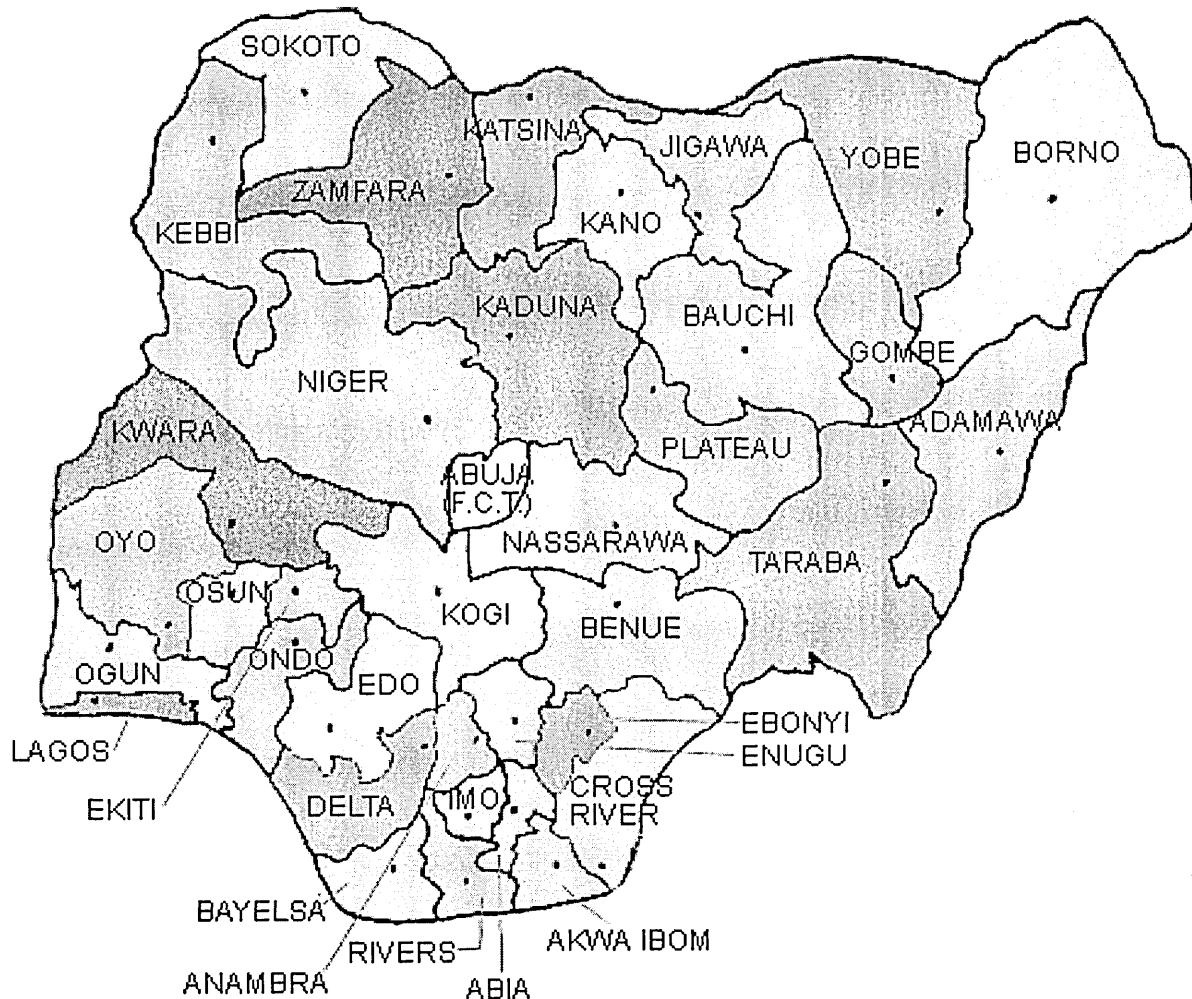


Fig 6.1 Map of Nigeria showing 36 state and Abuja.

The map of Nigeria above indicates the 36 states, their capital cities and the Federal capital of Abuja. Lagos and Ogun states in the southwest, Kano and Kaduna states in

the north, Enugu and Anambra states in the southeast and Rivers, in the south-south are the main business areas.

It is always true that the entire population of a country is rarely studied apart from during national census Okafor (2006). This assertion is true for most countries and can be said to be completely true for a country as large and as complex as Nigeria. Aside from Nigeria's huge landmass, population, as well as its complex social, cultural, religious, ethnic, linguistic and political characteristics, there are a host of other equally serious factors that are bound to confront any researcher attempting to study the whole country.

Commenting on sampling a population, Infante etal (1990) are of the view that:

> "A part of the population is examined in the hope that what is found will be valid for the whole" (p.409).

It follows that most often only a sample of the population is studied on behalf of the entire population. Describing a sample Wimmer & Dominick (1987) explains that:

> "A sqmple is a subset of the population that is taken to be a representative of the entire population" (p.69).

In Nigeria the last official census figures show that the country has a population of about 120 million people but current population estimates puts the total population figure at above 150 million people. This massive population with its accompanying diversity and differences is divided into 36 states plus Abuja and 774 local government areas or councils.

Additionally, the 36 states are further grouped into geo-political zones made up of states with similar demographic attributes or characteristics. There are six geo-political zones namely: North Central, North East, North West, South East, South- South and South West. Presently, Nigeria has predominantly Muslim communities in the north, while

communities in the south are predominantly Christians. However, there are pockets of Christian minority communities in Northern Nigeria while similarly minority Muslim communities exist in the South particularly in the South West of Nigeria.

The sample design adopted for this research therefore is the cluster sampling method, and the simple random sampling technique. This sampling decision is predicated on the existence of geo-political zones which are treated as clusters from where samples were randomly drawn. Discussing cluster sampling Onwe (1998) opines that it enables the researcher to randomly select a geographical area. He says:

> *"Cluster sampling can be applied in research situations where the population subjects are distributed in clusters of geographical or ethnic settlements"* (p.17).

This assertion is true of Nigeria because as Onwe (1998) further comments, Nigeria's population is distributed in clusters of geographic and ethnic settlements. This type of sampling design is effectively useful especially if the researcher aims at ethnic or geographic representations of the study population.

The criteria for choosing geographic locations for this study is the country's geo-political zones representing the demographic features of religion, language and ethnicity since the grouping of Nigerian states into geo-political zones was based on demographic similarities. Much of the three geo-political zones from the northern part of Nigeria namely: North Central, North East and North West share common demographic features. For instance they share similarities of religion, language, culture and ethnicity although there are few minority groups in some of the areas with negligible demographic differences. Therefore data from any of the three zones can represent the other two zones.

The reason for the choice of geographic locations from the geo-political zones is to enable us ascertain or at least attempt to confirm whether:

- There is a common acceptance in Nigerian about the need for values reorientation.

- The established structures of the Nigerian media has the capacity to deliver messages that could counteract current state of values in the country irrespective of social, religious, cultural and other differences.

However, the initial objective of this research to study Nigeria's six geo-political zones could not be met because of ethno-religious conflicts and killings going on in parts of northern Nigeria during the two phases of data collection. For instance, in 2008 there were politically motivated ethno-religious riots in Jos plateau state culminating in the killing of hundreds of people. Unfortunately, the riots also spread to other northern cities thereby making it extremely dangerous to travel to any northern city at that time since the researcher is a Christian from the south east. The same insecurity problem resulting from another ethno-religious riot this time in Maiduguri, Borno state repeated yet again in 2009 making it impossible to collect data from that part of northern Nigeria.

The option adopted in the study to compensate for the inability to obtain data from core northern cities in all the geo-political zones was to concentrate data collection efforts for the northern geo-political zones in Abuja which though Nigeria's capital is also a northern city and is predominantly inhabited by northerners. Technically therefore, carefully collected data from Abuja can effectively represent northern zones of Nigeria since geographically Abuja is also in the north and much of its inhabitants are indigenes of states that make up the different northern geo-political zones.

## 6.6.1 Sampling For In-Depth Interviews

Data collection for this study also took into account our knowledge of the Nigerian media landscape. There was a "snowballed" sample of opinion leaders, media practitioners, media scholars, private and public servants, including past and present

public office holders. Though essentially it was a purposive rather than a probability sample since as much cognizance as possible was taken of location, geography, role and ethnicity of Respondents.

39 in-depth interviews were conducted in the course of this study. A demographic breakdown of the roles of the interviewees is below:

- Eight former political or public office holders

- Three serving public office holders

- Eight journalists representing privately owned newspapers, public newspapers, privately owned radio/TV, public radio/TV as well as privately owned news magazines

- Four media executives or head of media organizations

- Five media scholars

- Six senior academics of other disciplines

- One former national director at the national orientation agency

- One state director of the national orientation agency

- Two senior staff members of the national orientation agency

- Five junior staff members at the national orientation agency

## 6.6.2 Key Sources of Data

In order to understand how the key media stakeholders view the media's role in Nigeria 39 in-depth interviews were conducted with key individuals.

| Groups interviewed | Nos. |
|---|---|
| Media practitioners | 9 |
| Media consumers | 10 |
| Targeted individuals | 11 |
| Social and political commentators | 5 |
| Media scholars | 4 |

Table 6.2 indicating groups interviewed and their numbers

The list above shows different categories of key media stakeholders and the number of Respondents from each category for in-depth interviews in this study. A breakdown of the list shows as follows:

- **Media practitioners**

This refers to (journalists, editors, media executives and publishers) for example, Ethel Obiakor of the *AIT,* Obini Onuchukwu of the *News Agency of Nigeria,* Mr Amaobi Adirika, Managing Director, Anambra Broadcasting Service, Chief Obi Nwude, Managing Director National Light Newspapers, Mr. Ikenna Ekenugo, Director Progammes National Television Authority, Abuja, Deji Bademosi, Channels Television, Lagos, amongst others, and some highly respected political commentators – Uche Nworah, Prof. Emeka Ezeonu, Dimej Bankole, etc.

- **Media consumers and political leaders**

Here, besides the sampling of the opinion of some media consumers, we also spoke to some political leaders like former and serving political office holders such as Honorable

Sunday Nwafili, former member House of Assembly, Chairman, Dunukofia Local Government Area during Nigeria's third republic (1999-2002), Barrister Clement Ezika, former Commissioner and Chairman, Awka-South Local Government Area (2002), Dr. Augustine Nnonyelu, former Chairman, Dunukofia Local Government Area (2003), Dr Harry Obi-Nwosu, former Chairman, Awka-North Local Government Area (1999-2002) Chief Ngene, former Chairman, Awka-South Local Government Area and currently the state chairman of Action Congress Party (AC), Chief Ndubuisi Nwobu, former Chairman Aniocha Local Government Area Barrister Ken Nworgu, Prof. Stella Okunna, the first female Professor of Mass Communication in West Africa and a serving commissioner of information, Honorable, Vitalis Okafor serving member of the House of Representative, a Vice Presidential candidate for one of the top political parties in the (2007) presidential election who requested anonymity and a serving Speaker of a state house of assembly who also requested anonymity, etc.

- **Media scholars**

A cross section of media scholars and professors from Nnamdi Azikiwe University, University of Lagos, Anambra State University, Uli and Universities of Abuja.

- **Targeted individuals**

This refers to individuals who have held important positions in strategic government establishments relevant to this study. For example Prof Elochukwu Amaucheazi former National Director, National Orientation Agency, Prof Benjamin Osisioma former Director, Chike Okoli Centre for Entrepreneurial Studies, Prof Gab Unachukwu former State Director National Orientation Agency, Dr Ekemezie Head of Research and Publicity National Orientation Agency, Mr. Ogbalu serving State Director, National Orientation Agency, Venerable Prof Israel Okoye, Director, Sir Alex Ekwueme Centre for Multi-Disciplinary Research, Prof Gaius Igboeli, serving Vice Chancellor, Paul's

University Awka, Dr Ndy Okafor, Chairman Nigerian Medical Association and Chief Medical Director, Urban Hospital Abagana, etc.

- **Social and Political commentators**

This refers to social critics and human rights activist like Uche Nworah, Prof Emeka Ezeonu, Dimej Bankole, Prof IC Okoye, etc.

# 6.7 SURVEY SAMPLE

The questionnaire survey used a cluster sampling method based on geography, location and ethnic group, augmented by stakeholder role within region and group. Lists of stakeholders were used to randomly select Respondents.

During the survey, 541 questionnaires were distributed and 411 questionnaires where returned but only 300 questionnaires were found useable because 111 questionnaires were improperly completed therefore were not useable. Generally, survey questionnaires were distributed to individuals in Abuja, Awka area, Enugu, Port Harcourt and Lagos. Abuja is Nigeria's new capital city and it is by location a predominantly northern/Muslim territory, Awka and Enugu represents the South East, Lagos is in the South West geo-political zone while Port Harcourt represents the south-south geo-political zone.

To arrive at the specific individuals targeted for the survey in this study, the lists of all the members within the different civic groups were obtained and individuals were randomly selected from these lists using a simple probability method. The different groups or categories surveyed are recognized by law in Nigeria therefore accessing the list of members of these groups was not very difficult since they have offices in some states and Abuja.

For example the lists of the members of the groups listed below were accessed.

- Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ)

- Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE) for media executives

- National Parents Teachers Association (NPTA) for parents.

- National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) for students in higher educational institutions.

- Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) for Nigerian workers

- Different Political Parties

- National Youth Service Corp. (NYSC) for Nigerian youths.

- Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) for university academic

- Non-academic Staff Union of Universities (NASU) for administrative staff

- Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)

- Muslim League or Arewa Consultative Forum for Muslim Clerics

- Nigerian Civil Service Union for policy makers

- State Council of Chiefs for traditional Rulers

- Radio, TV and Theater Worker Union

- National Council of Women Society

- Amalgamated Traders Association

Assisted by the list of members of the groups surveyed in each geo-political zone, individuals within the groups were then randomly surveyed thereby giving every individual equal opportunity of being surveyed.

As far as possible, 36 potential Respondents by geo-political region were randomly selected from membership lists and as some organizations do not operate in all regions, a total of 541 potential Respondents were identified.

The sample therefore addressed as best it could three variables:

- Geographic location

- Ethnicity

- Stakeholder role

Given the considerable practical difficulties encountered whilst conducting fieldwork (see section 6.9) and time constraints, a larger sample or over sampling were not possible.

The major targets for this study were the three most populous ethnic groups in Nigeria located the in North (Hausas), South East (Ibos) and South Western regions (Yoruba's) of Nigeria. But for purposes of relatedness, comparative analysis or "correlational data", the views and opinions of important stakeholders such as policy makers, media owners, politicians etc across all ethnic groups were also sampled. These stakeholders represent organizations, groups and individuals whose roles and activities directly or indirectly impact on the ability or inability of the Nigerian mass media to successfully or otherwise engage in the reorientation of civic values.

Our primary sources of data therefore are as follows.

- Media practitioners

- Media Executives

- Media Scholars

- Media consumers

- Political leaders

- Targeted individuals or Stakeholders

- Social and Political commentators.

## 6.7.1 Media Practitioners

Here the media practitioners are classified into broadcast journalists and print media journalists. They were then further subdivided into whether they are employed by private media organizations or public owned media organizations. The reason for subdividing this category is that media consumers in Nigeria have differential access to electronic media and print media according to their economic and educational status. For example, most illiterate members of the Nigerian society tend to rely more on radio because news or programs are presented in local languages.

Most Nigerians tend to perceive or sense news or information that originate from government or public media differently from information or news that originated from private media. This is because they prefer to believe or accept news or information from privately owned media organization as true. They assume that privately owned media organizations run independently outside the control and influence of the government. According to Okunna (2008):

> *"Media believability in Nigeria has to do with the media. That is the radio or the television station or newspaper that is saying what. Nigerians believe more the information they receive through the independent television or radio stations"* (p.3).

On the other hand, information or news originating from public media organizations are perceived and treated as half truth and is seen as always doctored to serve the interest of

public office holders or the government in power. This perception is in line with Kasoma (1999) who insists that *"the media is not free of the social ties of owners"*.

Consequently, the data collected from this group focused on the themes embedded in the questions below:

- *What is the capacity of existing Media to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through values reorientation in Nigeria?*

- *What is the extent of media believability and accessibility in Nigeria and what are the factors that affect them.*

## 6.7.2 Media Executives

These individuals occupy top management and policy making positions in media organizations. They are regarded as important to this study because they represent the media owner's interests, philosophy and aspirations in the day to day running of their media organizations.

Furthermore, the exercise of any form of control over the media by the owners is usually through its management who directly run the media organization by seeing to the successful implementation of policies, as well as guaranteeing that the interests of owners (which cut across commercial, social, political and business) are protected and maintained.

Consequently, the nature of relationship between media owners and its management determines the way media organizations are run, as well as the disposition of the media outfit.

We therefore focused on the question:

- *Do you think that the current pattern of media ownership in Nigeria can hinder the mass media from playing a leading role in the values reorientation effort?*

## 6.7.3 Media Scholars

Media scholars are academics and independent researchers who dedicate their work to all aspects of the media. In Nigeria media scholars can be found mainly in Universities, Polytechnics, independent researchers, institutes of journalism, public relations and broadcasting, as well as in well established advertising and public relations agencies.

They understand the history of the media in Nigeria both past and contemporary, they understand current trends in media practice and performance, they also hold a large reservoir of knowledge that qualifies them to make predictions about the future and the capacity of the mass media (namely, the electronic and print media, as well as the new media) to deliver messages that could counteract negative state of values in the socio-cultural history of Nigeria.

The research then focused the question to this group on:

- *What role can media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of media practitioners play in the media effort at values reorientation in Nigeria?*

## 6.7.4 Media Consumers

The term media consumer is an umbrella concept that refers to every Nigerian male, female, young, old, educated, uneducated, rich, poor, urban based or rural based students, teachers, artisans etc who listen to radio, read newspapers or magazines, watch Television, log on the internet or use the mobile phone.

These are the people for whom the media sets the agenda, and their discussion of media generated issues ensure that the media retained its relevance as well as that activities go on in the public sphere.

Their positive response towards the media and its agenda guarantees that media information remains relevant in the Nigerian society. Consequently, there can be no successful media inspired values reorientation if media messages, news and information are not accessed, consumed, discussed and acted upon by media consumers.

Therefore this research asked:

- *What is the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to discuss issues raised in the media, as well as other issues perceived as topical in the country?*

## 6.7.5 Political Leaders

These are individuals who aspire to occupy, are currently occupying or had occupied high ranking policy making positions in the three tiers of government (local, state and federal) in the three arms of government (legislature, judiciary, executive) and their agencies, departments and parastatals.

As established by data in this study, political leadership in Nigeria is very corrupt and corruption is known to be endemic in the public sector, so political leaders are perceived by Nigerians in public, media and academic discourse as the most culpable who will oppose such social changes such as values reorientation.

This research therefore asked:

- *Do you think that Nigeria has any problem with its value system?*

- *Do you think that Nigeria and Nigerians require values reorientation?*

## 6.7.6 Targeted Individuals or Stakeholders

Targeted individuals or stakeholders referred to in this study are those whose activities by law are supposed to engineer the reorientation of the Nigerian society particularly staff of the national orientation agency.

These individuals both former and serving staff of the agency were targeted to ascertain the extent to which they partnered with the media in the discharge of their duties as well as the success or otherwise of their reorientation efforts and the factors militating against them if any.

Realizing the need for the reorientation of Nigerians, the Nigerian government in August 1993 set up the national orientation agency for that purpose. Among other questions the research asked:

- *Is values reorientation possible in Nigeria?*

- *Are there factors militating against the media at values reorientation in Nigeria?*

## 6.7.7 Social and Political Commentators

Social and political commentators are experts who study, analyze and comment on sociopolitical issues in Nigeria both locally and internationally and their views are well respected and sought after by a wide range of people with varying interests including researchers.

Among other questions these people were asked:

- *Does Nigeria and Nigerians require values reorientation?*

- *Considering ethnic, religious, tribal and other differences in Nigeria, is values reorientation possible in Nigeria?*

- *How best can values reorientation succeed in Nigeria?*

- *Does the mass media have any role in the values reorientation of Nigeria?*

# 6.8 ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

In-depth interviews were generally conducted between researcher and interviewee but in some cases two researchers were present made up of the researcher and a research assistant. Interviews with Media practitioners and staff of the National Orientation Agency were carried out at the following locations:

- Abuja in Northern Nigeria

- Awka and Enugu in South Eastern Nigeria

- Lagos in South Western Nigeria

- Abuja in Northern Nigeria:

This group consisted of this researcher, Mr. Emma Ugorji of the news agency of Nigeria and Miss Stella Mogbo, a youth corp. member (NYCS) with the Nigerian Television Authority Abuja. Mr. Ugorji utilized the visibility of his offices to facilitate access to individuals and media organizations during this period in Abuja.

- Awka and Enugu in South Eastern Nigeria:

Mrs. Christy Odimegwu (a postgraduate student in education at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka), Miss Ogechukwu Okoye (a final year student of Music at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka) and Mr. Obinni Onuchukwu of the news agency of Nigeria, Awka assisted with data collection in the areas.

- Lagos in South Western Nigeria:

The duo of Mr. Abayo of Tell Magazine Lagos and Barr Ifenna Okeke a long time friend participated with three others research assistants for the administration of questionnaire in the area.

## 6.8.1 Survey Language

The language for the conduct of the survey in all the research areas is English because all the individuals surveyed could read and write. Interviews and Survey questionnaires were used to sample the opinion of the Respondents and the survey was conducted between March 2008 and April 2009.

## 6.9 FIELDWORK PRACTICALITIES

This study met with peculiar fieldwork practicalities or factors which presented many difficulties during the data collection phase. These difficulties include among other things inadequate and/or nonexistent infrastructure particularly road network, nonexistent railway system and inland waterways, as well as unreliable domestic airways. For example, during the second phase of data collection for this study in 2009, it took a nightmarish 19 hours on one occasion to commute by road from Abuja to Enugu in South Eastern Nigeria without any vehicular breakdown. This is a journey that would otherwise be made in less than 6 hours.

The situation came about because most of the tarred roads have become dilapidated and potholes have turned to outright gullies thereby making it extremely difficult for vehicles to ply normally. (Pictures showing the state of some of these roads are included in the appendices).

Another factor worthy of mention here is the danger to life and property on the roads and elsewhere. The extremely bad condition of the roads makes it impossible for vehicles to navigate normally. As a result vehicles often go in circles in an attempt to avoid or minimize vehicle damage, as well as avoid getting stuck. This state of the roads slows down vehicular movement thereby making commuters easy pray to armed bandits, who often lay in wait for vehicles and their passengers at the worst spots on the road.

During the first phase of data collection for this study in 2008, we had to disembark twice from our vehicle to escape from armed robbers on the Abuja road molesting commuters. In one instance the unfortunate victims were physically and sexually assaulted during the robbery at gun point. I had to donate some of the clothing I was travelling with to the victims as the passengers in the vehicles that had been attacked were left unclothed.

In addition, kidnappings were taking place across the country almost on a daily basis. Consequently, security and safety issues unfortunately but necessarily limited the locations and populations available for study.

Politically and administratively, Nigeria is divided into six geo-political zones namely North Central, North East, North West, South East, South- South and South West. There are also thirty-six states and 774 Local Government Areas. The country has a predominantly Muslim community in the north, while the south is predominantly Christians. Given the sheer size of the country, logistical constraints and its political

complexities, it would be very ambitious to try studying in detail even one of the thirty-six states.

Throughout the period of data collection for this study, there were ethno-religious conflicts and killings going on in parts of northern Nigeria. It is also true that these ethno-religious killings have still not stopped to this date.

# 6.10 ACCESS

The word "access" as operationalized in this study means the right of an individual or group to obtain or enter or make use of or take advantage of something in this case information. Access to sources of information during this study was quite challenging mainly due to long standing history of secrecy and suspicion in both the public and private sectors. This situation has further been exacerbated by high levels of corruption in Nigeria. Most people in positions of authority are usually very reluctant and even afraid to provide vital documents or grant unarranged interviews because of fear of exposure.

At the beginning of this study it was very difficult to get most public officers to agree to be interviewed because the core of the study has to do with values reorientation which implies that issues of corruption and failures of leadership must be mentioned at some point. Secondly, the fact that the researcher is based in an overseas university made the matter worse because they perceived it to be outside their sphere of influence and authority.

It became obvious that to avert failure and proceed successfully with data collection required increased advocacy and rapport to explain the motive of the research. We also came to the conclusion that advocacy and rapport will only be created successfully if well known and trusted individuals were engaged to assist us in the effort.

Consequently, I quickly activated and began reaching out to some of the contacts I established during my four year tenure as Public Relations Officer (PRO) of Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka to help resolve the problem. Mr. Emma Ugorji a childhood friend and state house correspondent with the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), Abuja was very helpful. His position as state house correspondent for (NAN) gave him easy access to most offices and made it possible for us to be granted audience. He also made it possible for us to obtain the phone numbers of some of these people which helped in follow-up advocacy calls and texts. Mr. Ugorji also personally participated in the interview sessions in Abuja.

However, in spite of the advocacy visits, texts and calls, getting some of the Respondents to keep to both interview date and time was another major problem. Often times the interview team will arrive at the appointed venue waiting for the interviewee only to be told after several hours of waiting that he/she has travelled, or is in an important meeting or has something very important to do and will not be able to see us. So this resulted in multiple rescheduling and postponements. As a result it took repeated visits, calls and texts to get one interview off the Rota. This meant that far more time and resources than budgeted were expended on transportation, feeding, accommodation and communication.

Mr Bayo Ojo of 'Tell Magazine' Lagos who is a close friend and assistant editor in his organization was our facilitator in Lagos, south western Nigeria. Mr Ojo just like Mr Ugorji facilitated access to our Respondents both for advocacy and data collection purposes. He equally participated as a member of the interview team for this study in Lagos.

Mr Mike Mbaonye and Obini Onuchukwu also facilitated access during data collection in the south-south and south-east geopolitical zones of Nigeria. They helped in the

distribution and collection of survey questionnaire in Port Harcourt, Enugu and Awka areas. Miss Stella Mogbo of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Abuja and Mr. Chinkata of Radio Nigeria Abuja facilitated access to various media organizations for the successful distribution and collection of survey questionnaire to media organizations and civil society in the Abuja area.

The problem of access led to two separate field work visits to Nigeria for data collection in late 2008 and early 2009. The first field work visit in 2008 yielded few data and was therefore used for more advocacy, contact with stakeholders and establishing rapport preparatory to the next field trip 2009. Constant contact with some of the already identified stakeholders and individuals continued even after returning to campus here in the UK. On the other hand, the second field work visit in 2009 was much more successful and wielded the required data for this study in spite of the usual issue of postponements and rescheduling.

# 6.11 DATA ANALYSIS

## 6.11.1 Grounded Theory

The phrase "grounded theory" refers to theory that is developed inductively from a corpus of data. If properly done, this means that the resulting theory at least fits one dataset perfectly. This contrasts with theory derived deductively from grand theory, without the help of data, and which could therefore turn out to fit no data at all.

Grounded theory takes a case rather than variable perspective, although the distinction is nearly impossible to draw. This means in part that the researcher takes different cases to be wholes, in which the variables interact as a unit to produce certain outcomes. A case-oriented perspective tends to assume that variables interact in complex ways, and is suspicious of simple statistical methods.

Part and parcel of the case-orientation is a comparative orientation. Cases similar on many variables but with different outcomes are compared to see where the key causal differences may lie. This is based on John Stuart Mills' method of differences which essentially is the use of (natural) experimental design. Similarly, cases that have the same outcome are examined to see which conditions they all have in common, thereby revealing necessary causes.

The grounded theory approach consists of a set of steps whose careful execution is thought to "guarantee" a good theory as the outcome. Strauss would say that the quality of a theory can be evaluated by the process by which a theory is constructed. This however, contrasts with the scientific perspective which claims that how you generate a theory, whether through dreams, analogies or dumb luck, is irrelevant: the quality of a theory is determined by its ability to explain new data.

## 6.11.2 Methods

The basic idea of the grounded theory approach is to read (and re-read) a textual database (such as an interview transcript and "discover" or label variables (called categories, concepts and properties) and their interrelationships. The ability to perceive variables and relationships is termed "theoretical sensitivity" and is affected by a number of things including the reading of the literature and the use of techniques designed to enhance sensitivity. Of course, the data do not have to be literally textual. They could be observations of behavior, such as interactions and events in a pub. Often they are in the form of field notes or interview transcripts which are like diary entries.

## 6.11.3 Open Coding

Open coding is the part of the analysis concerned with identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomena found in the text. Essentially, each line, sentence, paragraph

etc. is read in search of the answer to the repeated question "what is this about? What is being referenced here?" These labels refer to things in this case like corruption, values reorientation, orientation, national image, etc. They are the nouns and verbs of a conceptual world. Part of the analytic process is to identify the more general categories that these things are instances of, such as social values, leadership, national wealth, corruption, economics, etc.

We also seek out the adjectives and adverbs that are the properties of these categories. For example, when looking at corruption we might ask about its benefit and its consequences, and its importance to each party. Whether these properties or dimensions come from the data itself, from Respondents, or from the mind of the researcher depends on the goals of the research. It is important to have fairly abstract categories in addition to very concrete ones, as the abstract ones help to generate general theory.

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Values reorientation will be of great advantage and benefit to Nigeria as a nation. If we can clean up our image and reorient ourselves, economically we will become a wealthier country because corruption is siphoning a lot of money out of this country and our people's lives will also be improved.

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The main issue discussed in the boxed text above is VALUES REORIENTATION. Implied in the text is that the speaker views values reorientation as having certain properties, one of which is that it has BENEFITS FOR NIGERIA which varies from good image to a bad image. (That is when Nigeria's image is good and when Nigeria's image is bad?). When national image is bad, there are consequences, economically Nigeria will not improve and the living condition of its citizens will be poor. In order to solve this problem, Nigeria needs VALUES REORIENTATION. One AGENT OF VALUES REORIENTATION is the media (what are other members of this category?).

VALUES REORIENTATION through the media can eliminate corruption, make Nigeria WEALTHIER and improve the lives of NIGERIANS. One can see that this sort of analysis has a very emic cast to it, even though most grounded theorists believe they are theorizing about how the world is rather than how Respondents see it.

## 6.11.4 Coding

The process of naming or labeling things, categories, and properties is known as coding. Coding can be done very formally and systematically or quite informally. In grounded theory, it is normally done quite informally. For example, if after coding much text, some new categories are invented grounded theorists do not normally go back to the earlier text to code for that category.

However, maintaining an inventory of codes with their descriptions by creating a codebook is useful, along with pointers to text that contain them. In addition, as codes are developed, it is useful to write memos known as code notes that discuss the codes. These memos become fodder for later development into reports.

## 6.11.5 Axial Coding

Axial coding is the process of relating codes (categories and properties) to each other, via a combination of inductive and deductive thinking. To simplify this process, rather than look for any and all kind of relations, grounded theorists emphasize causal relationships, and fit things into a basic frame of generic relationships. The frame consists of elements described in the table below:

| Element | Description |
|---|---|
| Phenomenon | This is what in schema theory might be called the name of the schema or frame. It is the concept that holds the bits together. In grounded theory it is sometimes the outcome of interest, or it can be the subject. |
| Causal conditions | These are the events or variables that lead to the occurrence or development of the phenomenon. It is a set of causes and their properties. |
| Context | Hard to distinguish from the causal conditions. It is the specific locations (values) of background variables. A set of conditions influencing the action/strategy. Researchers often make a quaint distinction between active variables (causes) and background variables (context). It has more to do with what the researcher finds interesting (causes) and less interesting (context) than with distinctions out in nature. |
| Intervening conditions | Similar to context. This can identify context with *moderating* variables and intervening conditions with *mediating* variables. But it is not clear that grounded theorists cleanly distinguish between these two. |
| Action strategies | The purposeful, goal-oriented activities that agents perform in response to the phenomenon and intervening conditions. |
| Consequences | These are the consequences of the action strategies, intended and unintended. |

Table 6.3. Elements and their descriptions in grounded theory coding.

In the text segment above, it is obvious that the phenomenon of interest is "values reorientation", the causal conditions are corruption, the action strategy is to eliminate corruption and the consequence is a wealthy nation with improved living conditions for all Nigerians. Note that grounded theorists do not show much interest in the consequences of the phenomenon itself.

It should be noted again that a fallacy of some grounded theory work is that they take the Respondent's understanding of what causes what as truth. That is, they see the informant as an insider expert, and the model created is really the informant's folk model.

## 6.11.6 Selective Coding

Selective coding is the process of choosing one category to be the core category, and relating all other categories to that category. The essential idea is to develop a single storyline around which everything else is draped.

## 6.11.7 Memos

Memos are short documents that one writes to oneself as one proceeds through the analysis of a corpus of data. There are two kinds of memos, the field note and the code note. Equally important is the theoretical note. A theoretical note is anything from a post-it that notes how something in the text or codes relates to the literature, to pages of paper developing the theoretical implications of something. The final theory and report is typically the integration of several theoretical memos. Writing theoretical memos allows the researcher to think theoretically without the pressure of working on "the" paper.

Grounded theory and its methods outlined above therefore form the qualitative data analyses technique employed in this study for all qualitative data generated through in-depth interviews, as well as through the coded open-ended questions of the survey questionnaires.

## 6.12 CONCLUSION

This study takes the critical realist approach using mixed methods for data collection and adopting in particular the in-depth interview and survey questionnaire methods. The qualitative data analysis for this study applied the ground theory approach, while SPSS for Windows was used for the quantitative data.

The next chapter will present and analyze the study data. The chapter will specifically present the qualitative data generated from in-depth interviews and the open-ended part of the survey questionnaire. It will in addition undertake the analyses and presentation of these data in accordance with the indicative research questions earlier presented in this chapter as well as in chapter one.

# CHAPTER SEVEN: DATA PRESENTATION (RESEARCH THEMES)

## 7.1 INTRODUCTION

Previously in Chapter six this study outlined in detail the research methods employed to collect its data. Specifically, the mixed-methods approach was identified as the most appropriate combining in-depth-interviews and questionnaires. Furthermore, the Chapter presented a brief history of the study environment Nigeria. In addition, an attempt was made in the Chapter to highlight some important features and peculiarities in Nigeria that impacted on the objectives of this study.

In this chapter, the qualitative and quantitative data generated from in-depth interviews and survey questionnaire are presented. The chapter also presents an analysis of the same data in accordance with the indicative research questions outlined in chapters one and six. The qualitative data is presented as quotes from Respondents', while the quantitative data is presented in tables.

The in-depth interviews cover a cross section of what the study refers to as "media stakeholders". This includes media practitioners, political leaders, media consumers or media audiences, media scholars, as well as social, political commentators and "targeted individuals". Targeted individuals had occupied or are occupying positions perceived as directly relevant to the main objective of this study. The government positions currently occupied and/or previously occupied by individuals within the "targeted individuals" category include such positions as: director of the national orientation agency; media studies lecturers; anti-corruption agencies; leaders of faith based organizations; serving

and retired journalists; leaders of political parties, as well as former and current public office holders.

Additional data was obtained using a five page questionnaire (see appendix 2) which was initially distributed to 541 potential respondents but 411 questionnaires were eventually returned, out of which 300 useable questionnaires were collated across categories like journalists, public servants, students, national youth corp. service (NYSC) members and news editors. This additional data primarily serves to support and/or explain findings from the in-depth interviews.

As noted in chapter six the study designed two sets of research instruments' namely, an in-depth interview question checklist and a mixed questionnaire of structured and open-ended questions. The questions were drawn to investigate, probe, answer, or authenticate the identified research issues and themes embedded in the research questions restated below:

- *What is the capacity of the Nigerian Media as it exists today to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through values reorientation?*

- *What role can media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of media practitioners play in the media effort at values reorientation in Nigeria?*

- *What is the extent of media believability and accessibility in Nigeria and what are the factors that affect them.*

- *What is the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to discuss issues raised in the media, as well as other issues perceived as topical in the country?*

- *Does ethnic, tribal and religious background of media practitioners affect the manner of coverage and reportage of topical issues in the Media in Nigeria?*

# 7.2 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The study data is presented in accordance with the five research themes or questions repeated above.

Presentation and analysis of the research data have been undertaken as follows:

- Codes were designed to help establish the identity of Respondents' and their peculiar characteristics.

- Data is presented according to research themes or questions.

- Each research question or theme raised specific survey or interview questions and examples of responses to these questions are presented below.

- Responses to survey or interview questions by Respondents' are presented as quotes and evidence of data.

- Data analyses, discussion of findings and conclusion for this study were undertaken based on the information from the study data.

# 7.3 RESPONDENTS' IDENTIFICATION CODES

In other to identify the characteristics of each Respondent, the codes in the table below were designed to show sex, occupation and present position or status of each Respondent.

| M = Male | D = Director | NOA = National Orientation Agency |
|---|---|---|
| Fe = Female | CE = Chief Executive | GMd = Government Media |
| Prof = Professor | Aca = Academician | PuOH = Public Office Holder |
| MdSts = Media Studies | J = Journalist | PMd = Private Media |
| Fo = Former | Con = Consultant | CRA = Civil Rights Activist |
| Pol = Politician | O = Office | Pas = Pastor |
| Acc = Accountancy | EFCC = Economic and Financial Crimes Commission | |

Table 7.1 showing respondent's identification codes.

# 7.4 RESEARCH QUESTION ONE: CAPACITY OF THE NIGERIAN MEDIA

- *What is the capacity of the Nigerian Media as it exists today to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through values reorientation?*

In addressing the issue of the capacity of the Nigerian Media to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development, the study looked at the history, nature and structure of the existing mass media in Nigeria. It also attempted to ascertain whether there are inherent institutional or structural difficulties that hinder the media from taking a stand against corruption and other social vices in Nigeria including the individuals that perpetuate them.

This theme also seeks to explain whether there are difficulties encountered by the Nigerian media in investigating and exposing corrupt practices, as well as explaining

the negative consequences to Nigeria and Nigerians. Consequently, specific interview questions were raised for specific issues in this theme and responses are presented as quotes following each interview question.

|  | Yes | | No | | Total | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Radio | 245 | 82 | 55 | 18 | 300 | 100 |
| Television | 274 | 91 | 26 | 9 | 300 | 100 |
| Newspaper | 231 | 77 | 69 | 23 | 300 | 100 |
| Magazines | 187 | 62 | 113 | 38 | 300 | 100 |
| Internet | 221 | 74 | 79 | 26 | 300 | 100 |
| Other People | 148 | 49 | 152 | 51 | 300 | 100 |
| Mobile Phone | 98 | 33 | 202 | 67 | 300 | 100 |
| Books | 188 | 63 | 112 | 37 | 300 | 100 |
| Others | 69 | 23 | 231 | 77 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.2 Percentage Responses on Sources of Information

Data in table 7.2 above indicates the extent to which Respondents use different media in Nigeria as source of information. Besides the mobile phone, all the traditional mass media and the new media serve as sources of information to Nigerians. Radio and TV are the most widely used 82% and 91% respectively but TV appears to have a slight edge over the radio with a 9% margin. The newspaper then follows with 77%, internet 74%, books 63%. This result points to the high extent to which Nigerians rely on TV, radio, and print media. This extensive use of the Nigerian media as a major source of information also points to high media believability in Nigeria. The Nigerian media would not remain a major source of information if the information obtained from it is not believed by those that seek such information. This potential high media believability therefore suggests that the Nigerian media could ride on the back of this high level of

trust to set the public agenda. Such agenda setting (see 5.3) is only possible where media use is high and media messages are believed.

To orient values implies to change, modify or redirect an already acquired set of attitudes and beliefs. It follows therefore that the media through its education function has the potential to reorient values. The question then is whether the Nigerian media has the capacity to successfully carry through the reorientation of values in Nigeria.

## 7.4.1 Current State Of Values In Nigeria

- *How would you describe the state of values in Nigeria today?*

The views expressed by some African scholars in the study literature correspond with the views expressed by Respondents in this study. For example Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 36-37 says:

> *"My rating for Nigeria is less than 20% because the country has completely lost what we use to see as our value system and this may be as a result of the get-rich-quick syndrome. Nothing outside crime and corruption is working in Nigeria today".*

Furthermore, Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 17-18 is of the view that:

> *"Nowadays the issue of get-rich-quick syndrome and other negative issues like corruption have so damaged the society that one may even be tempted to say that Nigeria has no value system presently".*

Additionally Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 35 argues that:

> *"If you watch Nigeria as of now, you will find that the problem is that we have poor value system in our country now".*

The data indicates that Respondents are unanimous in their belief that Nigeria has a problem with its value system. They also specifically identify crime, corruption and the get-rich-quick-syndrome as having the biggest negative effect on the value system in

Nigeria. The data therefore provides evidence that there is a problem with current value system in Nigeria.

It is clear that the Respondents hold the view that many Nigerians believe that the quickest and easiest means to riches is to engage in corrupt practices. They note such examples as: to join a political party and rig yourself into public office where public coffers are looted; to establish your own church; to write scam letters; to deal on fake and adulterated drugs or in the extreme to engage in serious organized crime.

The Respondents indicate that public, private and media discourse in Nigeria highlight the claim that crime, corruption and the get-rich-quick-syndrome has eaten deep into the Nigerian society. Such views general echo the arguments of Nonyelu (200), Ayokunnu (2003), and Okunna (2003) discussed in chapter 4. Responses from in-depth interviews again reflect the broad public discourse described by these authors, which argues that to restore her battered image and economy, Nigeria needs a redefinition of its national values. This situation is seen to justify the growing number of government anti-corruption agencies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) among others (see 2.2).

## 7.4.2 Reasons For Lack Of Development

The next interview question directed its attention at understanding:

- *Why social and infrastructural development in Nigeria appear stunted?*

|  | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Availability of Electricity | 109 | 36 | 191 | 64 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of Pipe born water | 41 | 14 | 259 | 86 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of Road network | 39 | 13 | 261 | 87 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of Housing | 64 | 21 | 236 | 79 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of Transportation | 52 | 17 | 248 | 83 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of employment | 83 | 28 | 217 | 72 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of Communication facilities | 48 | 16 | 252 | 84 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of Education facilities | 73 | 24 | 227 | 76 | 300 | 100 |
| Availability of Health facilities | 57 | 19 | 243 | 81 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.3 Percentage Response on Availability of Infrastructure or Social amenities

Table 7.3 above shows percentage response on the availability of infrastructure or social amenities in Nigeria. On nearly all the measures in Table 7.3 more than 75% of questionnaire Respondents experienced a lack of the identified amenities. The entire Respondents interviewed identified "corruption" as the singular most important factor responsible for the lack of development in Nigeria. The views of the Respondents were close to those expressed by Transparency International in their Corruption Index Report, TICIR (2000) (For detail see 1.2).

Such a discourse linking corruption to underdevelopment has important consequences. The military coups in Nigeria over its history have been justified, by those involved, through the claim that they seized power to save Nigeria from rampant corruption. All over Nigeria, there are discussions, comments and complaints in media, academic, government and private discussions about the prevalence of corruption and its damaging effect on Nigeria.

Research data indicates that all Respondents believe that social amenities are lacking in Nigeria. Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 72-74 reveals that:

> *"Central to the issue of underdevelopment in Nigeria is the issue of corruption very clearly".*

A similar type of opinion came from the same Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 53 who says that:

> ***"Corruption** is key or central to lack of progress or development in Nigeria".*

In addition, Respondent 8 (M/J/PMd) in line 91-95 explains that:

> *"If corruption is curtailed, there is no reason why this country should remain at this low level of economic, social and infrastructural development. That is when the resources God has blessed us with can be applied meaningfully and reasonably into developing this country".*

All Respondents in the study identified corruption as the singular most important factor responsible for the stunted social, economic and infrastructural development in Nigeria since national independence.   Given the historical antecedents of the Nigerian media (see chapter 4), as well as the high levels of media use in Nigeria, the question needs to be posed as whether the Nigerian media can perform its socialization and education function in relation to reorienting values.

## 7.4.3 The Nigerian Media, Values Reorientation And Corruption In Nigeria

Having identified from data that corruption is seen by Respondents as a major hindrance to development in Nigeria the next interview question sought to ascertain whether:

- *The Nigerian media has any role to play in the fight against corruption and the reorientation of values in Nigeria?*

All Respondents agree that the media is central to any effort at campaigning against corruption and reorienting civic values in Nigerian. However, data also shows that Respondents' believe that there is the need for the Nigerian media to reorient and reposition itself if it is to succeed in the task of civic values reorientation. Examples of quotes from Respondents' indicate that:

Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 300-302 is of the view that:

> *"The media can greatly facilitate the fight against corruption in this country but the media itself needs to internalize this need for change and re-orientation. That is the only means that they can do it perfectly".*

Responding to the same issue, Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 103-111 expresses the view that:

> *"Values reorientation is germane, it is central to development. That is why the media is not only important but central to reorientation and the fight against corruption because now whatever that comes from the media is accepted as the gospel truth".*

The same Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 111-115 further insists that:

> *"We need ethical value reorientation in Nigeria, we need a change of our values, we need a change of our mind set, we need a change of our attitude to life and we need complete wholesale change both in values and in norms and it is only through the media that this can be achieved".*

The historical antecedents of the Nigerian media discussed in (chapter 4) and its high believability levels among Nigerians discussed later in (8.9.6) are presented by Respondents as the main reasons why the Nigerian media is perceived as central to values reorientation. All Respondents indicate that it is the function of the mass media to educate the public on state affairs, disseminate information about activities of government, expose wrongdoing, including corrupt practices that waste scarce resources of state. However, the media will have difficulty fulfilling this role if the media itself is also corrupt. General public discourse in Nigeria points to an acceptance that the

Nigerian media is important in any genuine effort at values reorientation or any campaign against corruption. But there is also the view that the Nigerian media needs to be strengthened in order to successfully fulfill its role as the watchdog of society since a corrupt media can undermine the ability to perform this role. This argument ties nicely with the views of Edie (2001); Ojo (1999a, 2000c); Ojo (2000) and Ogbonda (1997) discussed in (1.1).

## 7.4.4 Nigerian Media And Ability To Motivate Nigerians

Since research data show that Respondents generally believe that the Nigerian media is important to any values reorientation effort in Nigeria, the next interview question consequently shifts attention to identifying:

- *Anything the media can do to motivate Nigerians to re-evaluate current societal values and norms?*

The views expressed by Respondents closely match those indentified in the existing literature. For example, Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 83-88 argues that:

> *"People need to be taught about national image in relation to their behavior. Citizens should be made to understand that some type of action and/or inaction by them can affect our national image either positively or negatively. At times they don't even know that what they are doing is the wrong thing. The media therefore has a big responsibility if this is to happen".*

Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 158-161 explains that:

> *"The media is a mobilizer, the media is a teacher, the media should be all kind of things and in every society the media galvanize public opinion, the media also are in the fore front of value reorientation and they have a core role to play there".*

In addition, there is the 'propaganda' ramification introduced by Respondent 7 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 302-307 who insists that:

*"Propaganda in all its ramifications have been very powerful in molding people's character all over the world and who is better placed to carry out this propaganda than the media. Because they can name and shame, that is a very powerful instrument they can be deployed to bring about change in our society".*

The data from interviews reveal that Respondents agree that there are ways the Nigerian media can motivate Nigerians to evaluate their current way of life. Some Respondents also points out that the ability of the Nigerian media to publicly name and shame those involved in corrupt practices is a powerful tool which the media can deploy in its campaign against corruption. In addition, they identify propaganda as another important tool which the media can use for the same purpose.

The basic assumption of the agenda setting theory is that the media can set the agenda of public discussion, and in part determine what people will think and talk about. This therefore gives the Nigerian media the opportunity to elevate discussions about corruption in the public mind by legitimizing its status in the eyes of Nigerians. By constantly drawing the attention of Nigerians to the issue of corruption and its negative consequences, as well as exposing, naming, shaming and condemning its perpetuators while celebrating honest and hard working individuals and groups, the Nigerian media can mobilize public opinion in Nigerians through discussions in the public sphere to reject and/or abhor corruption and those involved in it.

| Different types of popular actions | TV | Radio | Newspaper | Internet | Other People | Magazine |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vote against certain public office seeker(s) | 187 | 194 | 149 | 82 | 78 | 132 |
| Demonstrate against Govt. Policy | 151 | 148 | 135 | 70 | 78 | 96 |
| Demonstrate in support of Govt. Policy | 120 | 125 | 96 | 63 | 80 | 90 |
| Demand that certain public officer(s) should resign | 130 | 121 | 126 | 71 | 64 | 103 |
| Demonstrate against the action of public officer(s) | 165 | 126 | 146 | 62 | 91 | 115 |
| % Average | 150 | 143 | 130 | 70 | 78 | 107 |

Table 7.4 Types of influence by different medium on Nigerians

An examination of data on the issue of influence by different media in Nigeria on Nigerians shows that Respondents believe that there are ways the Nigerian media can motivate Nigerians socially to transform practices. Table 7.4 above indicates that radio and TV have almost equal capacity to motivate Nigerians into different kinds of action. Magazines and newspapers also show similar capacity, though less so than radio and TV. The outcome from table 7.4 shows that TV, radio, newspaper and magazines can motivate Nigerians to take actions like:

- Vote against certain public office seeker(s)

- Demonstrate against a government policy

- Demonstrate in support of a government policy

- Demand that certain public officer(s) should resign

- Demonstrate against the action of public officer(s)

This validates earlier view that the Nigerian media can set public agenda and has a high level of believability among Nigerians. Furthermore this matches similar opinion expressed by those interviewed and discussed above in this section.

## 7.4.5 Nigerian Media And Successful Values Re-Orientation

Since evidence from the research data indicates that Respondents agree that there are ways the Nigerian media can motivate Nigerians, the next interview question tries to ascertain whether:

- *The Nigeria media can lead successful values re-orientation in Nigeria?*

The views of the Respondents on the issue are exemplified in the quotes presented below. For example Respondent 12 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 95-112 was of the opinion that:

> *"The media is greatly important if we are to succeed in the reorientation of our society. If the media in their program content goes out of their way to consciously see that they do not give to the public things that would negatively affect the value system it goes a long way in helping people's orientation".*

Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 122-125 agree that the Nigerian media can lead a successful values reorientation effort particularly because of its past exploits. The Respondent insists that:

> *"If you go down the memory lane, you find out that many of our rulers who had come to entrench themselves in power had been, will I use the word pushed out or forced out or cajoled into leaving office and all these were done through the media".*

However, although Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 102-104 agree that the Nigerian media can play a role in the reorientation of Nigerians, but identifies other institutions of society that can assist the media play that role more effectively. The Respondent therefore notes that:

*"To reorient our value system, the media, the NGO's, the church and in fact we have an organization referred to as the National Orientation Agency (NOA) in Nigeria that is part of the job they do, they all need to play a role".*

Research data on the issue demonstrates that most Respondents hold the belief that the Nigerian media can lead a successful values reorientation in Nigeria. The data in addition indicates that Respondents believe that the high level of illiteracy in Nigeria makes it important for the Nigerian media to assume the role of informer and educator of the Nigerian people. For example Nigerian media practitioners exemplified this belief in 1998 when journalists organized an "agenda-setting" seminar for themselves following the release of the transition program by General Abdusalami Abubakar with the aim of holding the administration to its word or promise on hand-over of power to a civilian administration the following year.

In summary, research data for the first research question indicate that Respondents identified some social institutions for example NGO's, the church and National Orientation Agency (NOA) as potential partners with the media for a successful reorientation of civic values in Nigeria. Most Respondents again believe that the Nigerian media is in a unique position and this uniqueness gives it the power and prestige to determine for its audiences the important things to think about. The evidence reveals that all Respondents agree that the Nigerian media can lead a successful values re-orientation in Nigeria. Data from the first research question show that all Respondents believe that the Nigerian media as it exists today has the capacity to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria.

# 7.5 RESEARCH QUESTION TWO: MEDIA OWNERSHIP, PRESS FREEDOM, TRAINING AND REMUNERATION

- *What role can media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of media practitioners play in the media effort at values reorientation in Nigeria?*

In the effort to generate interview questions that would provide data for the issues raised by the second research question, questions were generated and directed to address the following issues:

- Patterns of media ownership

- Press freedom

- Training of media practitioners

- Remuneration of media practitioners.

## 7.5.1 Media Ownership Pattern In Nigeria

The opening interview question in this multidimensional theme was directed to ascertain:

- *What the current pattern of media ownership is in Nigeria.*

Responses on the issue show that Respondent 7 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 234-235 agrees that the:

> "*Media ownership in Nigeria is a mixture of government and private ownership and I believe that this mixture is good enough because it is what happens everywhere in the world*".

Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 77-78 also says that *"there are two worlds in media business in Nigeria one private, one public and public means government"*.

Evidence in the research data show that two major media ownership patterns were identified by Respondents:

- Government or public media ownership

- Private media ownership

The pattern of media ownership and control described by Respondents in the study data is in line with the existing reality in the Nigerian media industry. Basically the government has considerable power in the Nigerian media industry. For privately owned media organizations to operate in Nigeria, they have to secure operating licenses through the Nigerian Media Council (NMC) for the print media or the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) for the electronic media. These two media regulatory bodies are under government control. This situation gives the government a measure of controlling influence over the industry as the government can withdraw the operating license of any media organization it chooses. Government control of the media in Nigeria goes beyond just issuing of operating licenses. For example radio stations in Nigeria usually broadcasts on either Frequency Modulated Band (FM), Medium Wave (MW/AM) and/or Short wave (SW). The allocation of frequencies for radio and TV broadcasts is also the responsibility of government regulatory organizations. So all private radio stations in Nigeria broadcast on FM, state government owned radios broadcasts on FM and AM or MW, while all federal government radio stations can broadcast on FM, AM/MW or SW bands. This way the federal government controls the reach of these radio stations.

Similarly all private and state government TV stations transmit on Ultra High Frequency (UHF) which limits their coverage, while federal government TV stations transmit on either UHF or Very High Frequency (VHF). Again this is another means of controlling the reach and coverage of the TV stations.

Study data reveals that Respondents believe that the patterns of media ownership in Nigeria defined by a split between government or public media ownership and private media ownership where individuals and private institutions own media. This pattern of ownership gives the federal government the opportunity to control the Nigerian media industry through the issuance of operating licenses and the allocation of operating frequencies.

## 7.5.2 Effect Of Current Media Ownership Pattern In Nigeria

The next interview question in this theme explores whether the current media ownership pattern in Nigeria affects the performance of the Nigerian media. Specifically, the interview question says:

- *Do you think that the current pattern of media ownership have any effect on media performance?*

Quotes from responses presented below exemplify the views expressed by Respondents on the issue of patterns of media ownership and nature of media performance in Nigeria.

For Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 172-177 argues that:

> *"Ownership is very important. If the media is private sector driven it will serve Nigerians better. Therefore, there should be a change in the character of media ownership in this country".*

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 154-158 reveals that:

*"You risk losing your job if you give out unfavorable information about government activities, while the reporter in public media that makes use of such unfavorable information also runs the risk of losing their job. However, private media organizations that come across such information normally use them but at times the reporter could be compromised".*

In addition Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 349-353 explains that:

*"There are institutional problems with media operations and ownership in Nigeria. The guys who are stealing the money are the ones rich enough to set up newspapers in Nigeria. And who will pay the piper would dictate the tune. Look at all the newspapers in Nigeria. Tell me which one is not being bank-rolled by these bad guys".*

Respondents indicates that the current media ownership pattern in Nigeria has a number of limitations with regards to the media taking a fully critical role. This can be observed in the support which media organizations give to the government of the day regardless of the performance of the government.

Respondents argues that proprietary and ownership influence is another hindrance in the attempt of the mass media in Nigeria to serve as the watchdog of the people. Most often those rich enough to set up media outfits also have a lot of political, social, business and/or economic interests to protect. They at times bring these interests to bear on the day-to-day running of their media organizations. Some proprietors have been known to demand self-censorship from their editors and expect those working in their media organization to understand and to protect their interests.

The Respondents notes that public and private discourse in Nigeria tends to support the argument that the control of the mass media by the ruling class in Nigeria is one of the means through which it influenced people's ideas and thoughts. These private media owners in Nigeria are not only major capitalists in their own right but are also closely linked to the ruling circles.

Respondents agree that the current media ownership pattern in Nigeria negatively affects the ability of the media to perform without hindrance. This is exemplified by the situation where media practitioners working in both private and public media organizations must make sure that their reports are not perceived as 'unfavorable' by the government. The reality is that the public media which are financed with public funds and controlled by public officials cannot and does not criticize government actions or inactions because of the fear of sanctions. Many media executives in the public media have been known to lose their jobs because they disagreed with government officials. Even some private media outfits established by associates of public officials influence directly the running of the outfits in a bid to protect their interests. Evidence from research data show that Respondents agree that current media ownership pattern is making it difficult for the media in Nigeria to function effectively and efficiently for the overall good of society.

## 7.5.3 Media Ownership And Values Reorientation In Nigeria

The next interview question in this theme seeks to know if the:

- *Current media ownership pattern in Nigeria can hinder the media from effectively playing a leading role in the fight against corruption as well as in values reorientation.*

The study data in this theme exemplified by responses from some Respondents represented below provides answers to the question - *Is the current pattern of media ownership in Nigeria inimical to effective media performance?*

In response, Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 195-199 indicate that:

> *"Privately owned media houses owe government no apology but mind you the government of the day can still use their law and order their closure. You remember during Obasanjo era when they closed AIT because they aired something about air*

*mishap when they had plane crash and recently Channels Television was closed so private media organs still trade with caution".*

Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 190-194 argues that:

*"Publicly owned media outfits receive subvention from government and like the saying goes 'he who pays the piper dictates the tune' as the person that pays the subvention he may strangulate you with funds or will not give you fund to function and you know everything will then be in a state of disrepair and it will fold up and to continue being on air, transmitting, doing your job you have to be loyal to those in government".*

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 175-178 further adds that although:

*"AIT is independent that is no government is supposed to influence its activities but I am telling you the independence is not total. At times they influence the private media because most of those government functionaries are also friends to the owners of the private media establishments. I am telling you some of them even commit their money there. They work hand in hand so the independence is not even total".*

It is important at this point to state that media ownership is crucial to this study. This is because media ownership is often associated with media control as evidenced by the data. The study data indicates that Respondents perceive journalism in Nigeria to be shifting from mirroring the society to protecting the people in power as a result of the existing media ownership pattern. Different levels of government in Nigeria (that is state and federal governments), serving and retired high level public and private officials, politicians, as well as influential businessmen and women, own most of the media organizations in Nigeria because they can overcome the difficulty of securing operational license and the huge resources required. Most of all, they are the core of the people largely accused of corruption in the country.

The study data therefore shows that Respondents believe that current media ownership pattern in Nigeria can hinder the media from effectively playing a leading role in the fight against corruption, as well as in civic values reorientation.

## 7.5.4 Press Freedom in Nigeria

The next interview question explored in this theme looks at press freedom in Nigeria. The question specifically seeks to ascertain whether:

- *There is press freedom in Nigeria?*

Data show that Respondents identify media laws, decrees and government perception among the factors that hinder press freedom in Nigeria and consequently prevent the media from effectively fulfilling its functions in the Nigerian society. In June 2011, years of public and media agitations in Nigeria for a free media with free access to all information including government information, have resulted in the passage and signing into law of the freedom of information act. The new law will enables Nigerians including the media access to all information once it is not against national interest. The freedom of information law still needs to be tested in court against such laws as the official secret act and defining what constitutes national interest.

Some media practitioners, scholars and researchers in Nigeria agree that some oppressive media laws and decrees lingering in the statue books were deliberately preserved by the ruling elite for self protection. These laws and decrees gave government officials the legal backing to persecute, fine, detain and imprison journalists, as well as close down media houses. This opinion broadly echoes the views expressed by Ojo (2007) and Uche (1989).

Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 164-172 believes that:

> *"He who calls the piper will pay for the time that he plays. If a publisher dines and wines with the government officials, maybe he is not with the government but his friends are in the government, do you think that he will allow his medium to expose his friends"?*

Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 7 reveals that:

*"Government will always give you their code written or unwritten and that is how they hire and fire media workers at will".*

Consequently, in addition to regulatory and direct control of the media, laws and decrees promulgated in Nigeria for the purpose of controlling the media and curtailing press freedom exist. For example, decree No. 4 of 1984 criminalizes press reports and proscribes written statements that expose an officer of the military government to ridicule. Then, the Offensive Publications (Proscription) Decree 35 1993, made it possible for the government to clamp down on six media houses across the nation. Under the said Decree 35 of 1993 the Nigerian government in July 1993 closed down 17 newspapers and magazines and one broadcasting station in one day.

Respondents agree that aside from government direct and legal control of the media, other subtle forms of control which obstructs freedom of expression still exist. For instance, there is a phenomenon known within media and academic discourse in Nigeria as "Co-opting". This is a situation where critical and outspoken journalists are offered lucrative appointments in government or government agencies for the purpose of shutting up the individual. The "co-opting" of journalists ensures that they are reduced to speaking for government officials. This tactic was rife during the many years of military dictatorship in Nigeria.

|  | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Journalists face laws that make their job difficult | 180 | 60 | 120 | 40 | 300 | 100 |
| Journalists face threats to their lives and properties | 216 | 72 | 84 | 28 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.5 Percentage Responses on Nigerian Journalists and Press Freedom

Indications from the research data show that a majority of Respondents believe that there is limited press freedom in Nigeria when compared with more stable democracies like Britain, Canada, USA and South Africa. Looking at table 7.5 above, 72% of Respondents indicate that Nigerian journalists are likely to face threats to their lives and properties in the cause of performing their duty. In addition 60% agree that journalists in Nigeria face laws and decrees that make it difficult for them to perform their job. The survey data therefore ties in with the views expressed during the in-depth interviews, as well as echo general public discourse of the issue.

## 7.5.5 Training Of Media Practitioners In Nigeria

This theme goes further to examine the adequacy of training available to media practitioners in Nigeria and asks the question:

- *Do you think that Nigerian media practitioners are adequately trained to champion a successful values reorientation effort?*

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 197-102 says that:

> *"Considering the level of infrastructural development in the educational sector I don't think that I would want to say that they are adequately trained. But that is not to say that their level of training is mediocre it is not but then I think we still need to do more".*

Responses on the issue of the performance and adequacy of training of Nigerian media practitioners show that Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 89-96 insists that:

> *"Sufficiency of training is extremely important. We have to lay great emphasis on training our media practitioners because most of them are grossly not well trained. Most of them, their quality and their educational background are inadequate. So their training is very important. If they are better trained they will give better service and since they are very indispensable in leading this fight. I think that makes their training and sophistication of these professionals a condition very imperative to this quest".*

Respondent 2 (M/Fo/D/NOA) in line 126-129 is of the view that:

*"The only thing they (media practitioners) will require more is further training and also having the necessary gadgets that will help them achieve this and then they should also be giving encouragement in other to achieve this".*

Looking at the performance of media practitioners in Nigeria, Respondents argue that many media stories have been tainted by "brown envelopes" (bribes) while some journalists have become identified as "hired political assassins" helping politicians or their pay masters to annihilate their opponents by publishing contentious and potentially inaccurate information.

The Respondents also indicate that the training of media practitioners in Nigeria needs to be overhauled and strengthened for the Nigerian media to be enabled to successfully fulfill its role as the "watchdog for society" effectively.

| | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Nigerian journalists have: Secondary Education | 122 | 41 | 178 | 59 | 300 | 100 |
| NCE/ACE/Diplom | 227 | 76 | 73 | 24 | 300 | 100 |
| HND/BSC/BA | 201 | 67 | 99 | 33 | 300 | 100 |
| Postgraduate degree | 173 | 58 | 127 | 42 | 300 | 100 |
| Training on the job | 144 | 48 | 156 | 52 | 300 | 100 |
| No form of training | 143 | 48 | 157 | 52 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.6 Percentage Response on Education/Training of Nigerian Journalists

Table 7.6 above reveals the response pattern of Respondents on the level of education and training of Nigerian journalists. There is high level literacy among media practitioners in Nigeria. Survey result shows that on the average 67% of those surveyed fall within the National Certificate in Education (NCE) a diploma and postgraduate

degrees. However, public discourse on the issue questions the quality of education obtained and indicates the need to overhaul both curriculum and content of Nigerian education in generally.

Generally, Respondents believe that there are compromises in performance and inadequacy in the training of Nigerian media practitioners. Secondly, they believe that there is need for better training of media practitioners in Nigeria if they are to successfully fulfill their role effectively.

## 7.5.6 Remuneration Of Media Practitioners In Nigeria

While seeking data on the issue of remuneration the study asked:

- *Whether Nigerian media practitioners are adequately remunerated?*

The quotes below exemplify responses from Respondents on the adequacy of remuneration of media practitioners in Nigeria.

Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 226-230 declares that:

> *"Most journalists are not well paid and what do you expect? They go into unethical practices to make up. They go into the brown envelop syndrome. They are no longer objective. They go into sycophancy to make ends meet".*

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 117-122 says that:

> *"Some of our journalists are hungry and you know that a hungry man is an angry man, so you don't expect a hungry man to say the truth all the time. At times he compromises. But when he is paid well, I think that we still have people even if you pay them billions they will still derail, they will still compromise but I believe that when a good number of them are well paid, they will play according to the rules of the game".*

Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 190-194 believes that:

> *"Things are improving but there is still a lot of room for improvement. Media practitioners must be equipped properly and paid properly. That is the only way to also elevate them above corruption because if they succumb to corruption, how can they then crusade against corruption and poor values in society"?*

While Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 268-270 adds that:

*"Remuneration has a lot to do with journalists' conscientiousness towards his or her work. The more you are paid, the more you put in your best".*

Evidence from those interviewed indicates that Respondents' agree with the view that remuneration of media practitioners in Nigeria is inadequate.

| | Less than N200, 000 (£800) Per annum | | Between N200, 000 (£800) - N350, 000 (£1,400) Per annum | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Average Earning of Nigerian Journalists | 112 | 37 | 188 | 63 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.7 Percentage Response on Average Earning of Nigerian Journalists

Survey data presented in table 7.7 above shows that Nigerian media practitioners are not adequately remunerated. 63% of those surveyed indicate that the average annual earning of Nigerian journalists is about £1400 per annum, while 37% believe it's about £800. Whatever the case the picture is not encouraging because £1,400 per annum translates to £117 per month or £2.5 per day. This situation therefore explains why there is corruption in the Nigerian media industry. It stands to reason that for the Nigerian media to be enabled to become ethically responsible, issues of remuneration must be addressed to strengthen the media to use its identified capacity and ability in the campaign against corruption and values reorientation in Nigeria.

The remuneration of media practitioners in Nigeria has remained at the centre of public discourse over the years. This is primarily because of the obvious disparity that exists between what some private media outfits pay as against what is paid by the public media. Media workers in government or public media establishments are paid as civil

servants, while some journalists in privately owned media organizations are paid as professionals. Generally, opinion is divided on this issue because there are people who believe that journalists are well remunerated while others insist that they are poorly paid, using the brown-envelope-syndrome as evidence.

## 7.5.7 Adequacy Of Media Work Equipment In Nigeria

Finally on this theme, the study considered the nature or adequacy of equipment available to most media practitioners in Nigeria and posed the question:

- Do *you think that Nigerian media practitioners are adequately equipped to champion a successful values reorientation effort?*

The quotes below exemplify Respondents comments drawn from research data on the adequacy of equipment at the disposal of media practitioners in Nigeria.

In the opinion of Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 184-186:

> *"The media environment needs overhauling itself to empower the media practitioners to do their work better through up-to-date equipments and through proper remuneration".*

Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 173-177 posits that:

> *"We do our best to give as much voice as possible to the media to have the independence to work and if you come to the environment of the media for performance many media houses particularly government owned media are working with very obsolete equipments, they are working with even sometimes no equipment at all".*

Evidence from the research data on this issue indicates that Respondents believe that Nigerian media practitioners are not adequately equipped. Those interviewed agree that the Nigerian media needs to be better equipped if they are to successfully play an effective role in society. However, most of the obsolete equipment in the Nigerian media can be found in the public media, while the more recently established private media organizations tend to have up to date equipment and better work environment.

# 7.6 RESEARCH QUESTION THREE: MEDIA BELIEVABILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY

- *What is the extent of media believability and accessibility in Nigeria? And what are the factors that affect them?*

This theme examines the extent to which information, news or messages disseminated by the Nigerian media are believed or disbelieved by Nigerians. Over the years some Nigerians tend to react negatively to Nigerian media messages perceiving it as doctored government information and/or propaganda. This category of people believes that information in the Nigerian media particularly public media are the bits and pieces the government wants the citizens to have.

This perception may have arisen from the total dominance of the mass media in Nigeria by successive military governments particularly the electronic media and the strict control of the Nigerian mass media in general through laws and decrees, as well as many years of government propaganda. However, a lot has changed in the current Nigerian media landscape. For instance, privately owned electronic media houses now dot the landscape and democracy has brought with it relative freedom when compared with former military regimes in the country and the case with other third world and African countries. This theme in general will address the issues raised by research question three presented above.

# 7.6.1 Attitude Of Nigerians To Media Content

- *What was the attitude of Nigerians towards media content?*

|  | YES | | NO | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Internet | 111 | 37 | 189 | 63 | 300 | 100 |
| Radio | 233 | 78 | 67 | 22 | 300 | 100 |
| Newspaper | 212 | 71 | 88 | 29 | 300 | 100 |
| Television | 210 | 70 | 90 | 30 | 300 | 100 |
| Magazines | 215 | 72 | 85 | 28 | 300 | 100 |
| Home movie | 132 | 44 | 168 | 56 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.8 Percentage response on the media as source of information.

Examples of responses on the issue of sources of information, as well as citizens' attitude to media content are presented in table 7.8 above and in the quotes below.

Table 7.8 indicates that 78%, 72%, 71% and 70% of those surveyed believe the information they receive from radio, magazines, newspaper and television respectively. This result confirms the views of interview Respondents' which indicate that there is a high level of media believability in Nigeria. This belief is not unconnected with past history and activities of the Nigeria media. For instance, public, media and academic discourse in Nigeria confirm that the Nigerian media literally led the "peoples' army" that fought the military to a standstill leaving them with no choice but to hand over to elected civilians in 1999. It is also indicate that high level media believability affords the media in Nigeria the credibility it requires to set public agendas, impact public opinion, and influence public sphere discourse which in turn can enable the Nigerian media to promote and pursue the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria.

Interview results show that Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 245-246 insists *that:*

> "*Nigerians believe whatever they hear from the radio and whatever they read from the newspapers is taken as the gospel truth*".

Respondent 11 ((M/Aca/MdSts) in line 79-81 reiterates that:

> "*Definitely Nigerians believe information from the media in Nigeria. When we look at the functions of the media for instance you talk about the media helping to facilitate the transmission of values and as a major carrier of culture*".

According to Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 241-244 explains that:

> "*In terms of media believability Nigerians are just like zombies. Anything the media tells us we believe, anything we read in the newspapers we take it as coming from the Bible, from radio the same thing so in terms of believability we are the worst*".

While Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 169-171 adds that:

> "*It depends on the particular media you are talking about, let me give an instance in Nigeria today we have NTA (National Television Authority) owned by government and we have AIT (African Independent Television) were I work. Nigerians believe information from privately owned media more*".

Evidence from research data reveals that Respondents agree that Nigerians believe information, news or messages they get from the Nigerian media. The data also show that Respondents agree that some media organizations particularly private media organizations are believed more than government or public media organs. Once again this has to do with peoples' perception of past Nigerian media activities and history which earlier on increase media credibility and consequently its believability.

## 7.6.2 Nigerian Media And Mobilizing Nigerians To Challenge Government Policies

The follow-up question to the one above directs attention to understand whether:

- *The Nigerian media has ever successfully mobilized Nigerians to challenge any government policies or actions in the past.*

Response on the issue is exemplified by Respondent 8 (M/J/PMd) in line 25-30:

*"Can recall that even within the military era we had periods that marked very dark moments in the history of this country. When you talk about the era of Babangida's structural adjustment program, the political problems during that period and from that period we entered the era of late General Sani Abacha. The media consistently opposed these dictators even at the risk of their lives".*

Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 290-299 also declares that:

*"When I watched the issue of the third tenure, I was impressed by the commitment displayed by Nigerians not necessarily media men. The media did not fight it because they wanted to. It was because majority of the politicians, especially those from the north were against it. They therefore used the media, sponsored them and paid them heavily to fight against this third term agenda. If the northern politicians had supported the third term agenda, believe me, the media would have supported it because the same media reporters would have been bought over by the same politicians".*

According to Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 122-124:

*"If we can recall what happened during the third term saga, you will find that the media raised the consciousness of Nigerians. The nation rose up with one voice and that is a clear manifestation of media power in Nigeria".*

Research data on the issue shows that Respondents believe that the Nigerian media has successfully mobilized Nigerians to challenge for example colonialism and the third term agenda of Nigeria's former president Mr. Obasanjo. They credit the Nigerian media for standing up against the oppressive rule of the military and argue that this was a key part of the struggle that removed the military from power.

The data also reveal that some Respondents' believe that the Nigerian media was not the only social actor that mobilized Nigerians in the campaign against the "third term agenda". These Respondents insist that the media was a tool used by politicians and

other social groups to fight against the agenda. However, whatever happened during the "third term agenda" debate, public and academic discourse in Nigeria is unanimous in their agreement that the involvement of the Nigerian media in the campaign against the agenda brought the issue to the knowledge of Nigerians and helped defeat the agenda. This argument broadly agrees with the view expressed by Oduyela (2006).

## 7.6.3 Nigerian Media And Mobilizing Nigerians

The next direct follow-up interview question was to ascertain:

- *How the Nigerian mass media mobilized Nigerians?*

The study data on the issue of media mobilization of Nigerians show that Respondents believe that the Nigerian media can raise the consciousness of Nigerians through various means including investigative reporting.

While Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 135-137 insists that:

> *"It was these media men that investigated some of these people that got into important public positions with forged qualifications and come up with fact that were used to remove them from office".*

Respondents argue that the media in Nigeria is supposed to be the watch-dog of society that uncovers corruption and other wrong doing in government and in society at large. They insist that the media should monitor governance and make the other three estates accountable to the people at all time. It is generally agreed that the Nigerian media has been performing these functions since 1859 when the first newspaper (mass medium) Iwe Irohin, was published. However, the nature of this performance has remained inconsistent for a long time and Respondents' attribute this to a host of problems within the Nigerian media industry already discussed in (7.5) above.

## 7.6.4 Access To The Mass Media In Nigeria

This theme explores the extent to which Nigerians have access to the mass media and subsequently asks the question:

- *Do Nigerians have access to the mass media were ever they may be in the country?*

Research data exemplified by the responses below show that Respondents believe that there is access to the mass media in Nigeria.

For example Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 252-257 agrees that:

> *"Everywhere you go in Nigeria you will notice that the use of satellite television has become very popular. Most average homes are very media sophisticated and you can also visibly see the effect of movies on dressing styles and general mannerisms".*

Furthermore, Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 225-230 adds:

> *"Like I said before I can't think of any Nigerian who doesn't have access to radio even amongst the cattle herdsmen in the north where illiteracy rate is very high you see them even in the field rearing their cattle they carry their radio around even among our people here who are traders you see them listening to radio in their stales every time".*

Study data show that Respondents believe that Nigerians apparently have unhindered access to the mass media in Nigeria. They also agree that this is true only when government does not arrest and detain news reporters before they file their story, close down radio/TV station and/or confiscate media publications before their circulation.

|  | Yes | | No | | Total | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Nigerians have access to TV, Radio and Newspaper | 203 | 68 | 97 | 32 | 300 | 100 |
| Nigerians find it difficult to have access media information | 143 | 48 | 157 | 52 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.9 Access to the Nigerian media and media Information.

Survey data presented in table 7.9 above shows that 68% of those surveyed said yes in response to the question: Do you think that Nigerians have unhindered access to TV, Radio and Newspaper? And 32% answered no to the same question. On whether Nigerians find it difficult to have access to media information, 52% again replied no, while 48% said yes. It is clear from data that those surveyed believe that Nigerians have access to the media but possibly not enough access to media information. Access to media information in Nigeria can be hampered by factors like lack of electricity to power the television or radio set, poverty which makes it difficult to own and/or run a radio or TV set or even buy a magazine or newspaper and illiteracy which makes it difficult to read the newspaper or magazine.

However, all Nigerians regardless of location and status have unhindered access to the mass media in Nigeria. There are federal, state government and privately owned radio and TV stations in all the 36 states of Nigeria and Abuja. There are also scores of national, regional, state, community periodical newspapers plus news and specialized magazines published in Nigeria. In addition, there are dozens of online newspapers, blogs and publications about Nigeria freely available on the net. All these therefore make media access in Nigeria easy since there are currently no restrictions, laws or hindrances preventing Nigerians from accessing available media. Yet some

Respondents' indicate that full, detailed and varied access to media and information is not true for all in the society.

It can be said that free media access and high levels of media believability in Nigeria affords the Nigerian media the needed opportunity to set public agenda, influence public sphere discourse and possibly help in telling Nigerians what to think about but this opportunity is greater for some sectors and areas of society than others.

## 7.6.5 Nigerians And The Cost Of Owning Radio Or TV Sets

The follow-up interview question in the light of data evidence that Nigerians have access to the mass media intends to find out:

- *How easily Nigerians can afford the cost of owning a Radio or TV set?*

Respondents' indicate that most Nigerians can now afford to buy radio and TV sets. According to Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 105-109:

> *"Yes Nigerians have access to the media to a very appreciable level. China has made it so easy for people to acquire colored TV which is now within the reach of most Nigerians".*

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 113-117 explains that:

> *"If you are talking about accessibility to the media in Nigeria, it is not so much of a problem anymore. If you go to the slum areas in Nigeria, you will find people hoisting satellite discs and in addition the importation of used TV sets has also made access to TV sets much more affordable".*

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in lines 14-15 states,

> *"I know that majority of Nigerians families have access to TV, radio and newspapers".*

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 109-110 also adds that:

> *"It is radio particularly. I believe that Nigerians generally have access to radio sets because it also serves as a kind of companion".*

Research data on the issue of affordability of TV or radio set and the media in general shows that Respondents believe that most Nigerians can afford the cost of owning television and/or radio sets. Some Respondents notes that the importation of electronic gadgets into Nigeria from China has made it relatively affordable for Nigerians to acquire and own radio and TV sets. Media messages and information can only reach people with access to one form of media or another. Therefore for Nigerian media information or messages on values reorientation or media campaign against corruption to reach Nigerians, they should have access to at least radio, TV or newspaper. Access to other media such as the internet, newspapers and magazines require them to be literate enough to read them or computer literate.

## 7.6.6 Media Language In Nigeria

The next interview question in this theme wants to know whether:

- *Media programs are produced and presented in the language(s) that Nigerians understand.*

Research data show that Respondents believe that movies and other media programs in the Nigerian media affect the dressing style and general mannerism of Nigerians. According to Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 255-257:

> *"Most homes particularly the average ones are very media sophisticated and you can see the effect of movies and TV programs on dressing styles and personal mannerisms".*

It is not surprising to find that Nigerians understand the language of its media production and presentation because the production of radio and TV programs which are the most commonly used medium in Nigeria often occur in the language of the targeted audiences. Usually, programs are both produced and presented in vernacular, pigeon or English language depending on the perception of the levels of literacy of the audience targeted by the program. Respondents argue that a good indication that

Nigerians are influenced by the media is evident in the way the media affect their dressing styles, sense of fashion and mannerisms.

## 7.6.7 Corruption And Media Access

Finally in this third theme, the interview question addresses the issue of factors that hinder Nigerians from free access to the media and wants to know if any hindrance exists. The basic interview question is therefore whether:

- *There are other issues that hinder access to the mass media in Nigeria?*

Access to the media remains a critical issue in this study because it is only when Nigerians have access to the mass media that media messages can get to them and/or have impact on them whether positively or otherwise. There are factors that tend to hinder access to the media that were identified in the study. For instance, Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in lines 232-236 opines that:

> *"Even television sets which we say is an expensive elitist medium, I think access to TV is growing more and more now even though there are handicaps like inadequate electricity supply".*

The study data show that Respondents believe that there are factors that can hinder access to the mass media in Nigeria. They also indicate that public and academic discourse unanimously agree that religion, ethnicity and corruption within the media and in the society at large and pressures from media owners remain serious issues that can hinder access to honest and unbiased information in the Nigerian media. Okunna (2003) supports this view.

# 7.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOUR: THE PUBLIC SPHERE

- *What is the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to discuss issues raised in the media, as well as other issues perceived as topical in the country?*

The 'public sphere' is a forum or arena that mediates between state and society; a forum in which private individuals can debate public affairs, criticize the authority of the state and call on those in power to justify their positions before an informed and reasoning public (Webster, 1995).

This theme therefore looks at whether Nigerians are free to publicly discuss with one another issues of corruption, development, security, politics, governance, economic, social, leadership and any other topical issues raised in the Nigerian media. The essence here is to ascertain the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to freely and publicly discuss issues highlighted by the media.

Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 272-274 says:

> *"I think the media are beginning to identify crucial issues in society and presenting them as a platform for public discuss. Everywhere you go Nigerians are talking. They are discussing about the hardship in the country, about lack of progress, no electricity, no housing, unemployment, hunger, no roads and most of all the corruption. They talk about these things because everybody is affected".*

| | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Diversion of public funds by public office holders | 136 | 45 | 164 | 55 | 300 | 100 |
| Rigging of elections | 251 | 84 | 49 | 16 | 300 | 100 |
| Unemployment | 267 | 89 | 33 | 11 | 300 | 100 |
| Lack of electricity | 262 | 87 | 38 | 13 | 300 | 100 |
| Lack of good road networks | 254 | 85 | 46 | 15 | 300 | 100 |
| Inflation of contracts | 267 | 89 | 33 | 11 | 300 | 100 |
| High cost of living | 250 | 83 | 50 | 17 | 300 | 100 |
| Inadequate health care | 247 | 82 | 53 | 18 | 300 | 100 |
| Corruption | 257 | 86 | 43 | 14 | 300 | 100 |
| Lack of good health facilities | 251 | 84 | 49 | 16 | 300 | 100 |
| Lack of portable water | 250 | 83 | 50 | 17 | 300 | 100 |
| Absence of good transportation system | 253 | 84 | 47 | 16 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.11 Likely issues of discussion by Nigerians

Survey data on the type of issues discussed in the Nigerian public sphere indicate that Nigerians freely discuss all topics including topical issues brought to their attention by the Nigerian media. As shown in table 7.11 above, aside from the issue of "diversion of public funds by public office holders" which 55% of those surveyed indicated that they did not discuss, average percentage response on discussion of eleven other issues listed in the same table is about 85%. In other words, 85% of those surveyed discuss all eleven issues listed in table 7.11. This result indicates that those surveyed believe that Nigerians freely discuss topical media issues among themselves. It could therefore be argued that if the Nigerian media gives the issues of values reorientation and corruption prominence by bringing them into the public domain as part of public agenda, the public sphere may most likely adopt the same issues for discussion and possible action because

the study data clearly shows that Nigerians discuss topical media issues among themselves without hindrance.

## 7.7.1 Free Discussion Of Media Issues In Nigeria

The theme therefore asks:

- *If Nigerians can freely discuss issues raised by the media as well as where such discussions can take place?*

The study data indicates that the public sphere is alive and well in Nigeria. Respondent 12 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 155-159 points out that:

> *"If you go to newspaper stands, you will find that every major issue is discussed and analyzed. And people are speaking their mind and stating their views but the other point is whether whatever is written in the newspaper is true or false".*

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 229-232 agrees that:

> *"Nigerians discuss issues raised in the media because it is something that concerns them daily, bad road it concerns them, hash economy it concerns them, poor health care delivery it confronts them daily, so it is something they can't shy away from, it's something they can't run away from, it is a daily discussion everyone is involved".*

While Respondent 7 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 337-339 explains that:

> *"Nigerians will discuss in beer parlors, restaurants, offices, everywhere and all that but I think that Nigerians are now becoming so disgruntled and disenchanted with the whole thing".*

Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 420-425 argues that:

> *"Nigerians should grow beyond mere discussions of media issues into action and that is where we expect the media to play a major role. Because some of these discussions can be harvested and made popular when people know that these things are being discussed, you stimulate people's action. This is how we can bring about changes in our society".*

| | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Educated Nigerians only discuss these issues | 61 | 20 | 239 | 80 | 300 | 100 |
| Non literate Nigerians only discuss these issues | 49 | 16 | 251 | 84 | 300 | 100 |
| Literate and Non literate Nigerians discuss these issues | 192 | 64 | 108 | 36 | 300 | 100 |
| Urban Resident Nigerians only discuss these issues | 44 | 15 | 256 | 85 | 300 | 100 |
| Rural Resident Nigerians only discuss these issues | 43 | 14 | 257 | 86 | 300 | 100 |
| Urban and Rural Resident Nigerians discuss these issues | 128 | 43 | 172 | 57 | 300 | 100 |
| Young Nigerians only discuss these issues | 40 | 13 | 260 | 87 | 300 | 100 |
| Young and Elderly Nigerians discuss these issues | 106 | 35 | 194 | 65 | 300 | 100 |
| Any Interested Nigerian discuss these issues | 153 | 51 | 147 | 49 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.12 Category of Nigerians who discuss the Listed Issues

The study data generally shows that Respondents agree that Nigerians freely discuss issues raised by the media. Table 7.12 for example shows that those surveyed believe that interested Nigerians young and old, urban, rural, literate or the non literate freely discuss topical issues in the Nigerian public sphere. Respondents point out that such discussions take place daily at newspaper stands, beer parlors, restaurants, offices, markets and everywhere, and it involves everyone. Some of the Respondents also suggests that the Nigerian media should harvest interesting discussions in the Nigerian public sphere and make them popular in other to stimulate collective action.

Respondents generally believe that what is central to the operation of the public sphere is the free flow of information and communication, and media institutions are essential to its effective working. The media provides news and sets the agenda for political,

social and cultural discourse. Consequently, it can be argued that the Nigerian media could provide for Nigerians the topical issues to discuss in the Nigerian public sphere.

## 7.7.2 Civil Society Organizations In Nigeria

The next interview question in this research wants to ascertain whether the:

- *Civil society organizations in Nigeria play any role whatsoever during the various military regimes and/or during the third saga?*

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 133-134 says:

*"You find that even the civil societies at times draw some of their idea from the media so the two working in tandem but you find that the media seem to have this edge of setting the agenda".*

Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 319-326 reveals that:

*"It is not just the media; there were other powers that contributed immensely towards that fight. The media did not fight it alone. Even the people again spoke out, politicians spoke out, it was clear in the House of Senate and Reps. The majority which is two-thirds of the House of Representatives was against it, all human rights and civil society organizations opposed it. So the media was in jeopardy. They wouldn't have done otherwise. So, the media was used to fight the third tern agenda. That's what I'm saying. They executed the fight others initiated and financed".*

The views of Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Fo/Con/EFCC) in line 247-250 insist that:

*"When it comes to major national issues, the media and the civil society have stood their grounds in spite of it all but when it comes to who took money, who didn't take money and nobody is sure whether you have taken or not".*

Respondents highlights the role of key actors within civil society and asserts that civil society in Nigeria is populated by organizations such as registered charities, development and non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group.

General media and public discourse reveals that during the various struggles of the Nigerian media in history, media practitioners in Nigeria came up with ways to outwit state security agents which were used by government to subdue the media in Nigeria. It was explained that the press and other components of civil society drew upon their tradition of activism, dating back to the colonial days, and invented new strategies for reporting and disseminating news and opinion. It follows therefore that the Nigerian media has the capacity to support strategies that can mobilize Nigerians against negative values and support the campaign against corruption in Nigeria.

Evidence from the study data reveals that Respondents agree that the media collaborated with human rights and civil society organizations, politicians, the Senate, House of Representatives and Nigerians in general during the campaign against various military regimes as well as the "third term" saga.

## 7.7.3 NIGERIAN MEDIA AS IMPORTANT SOURCE OF INFORMATION

- *How important is the Nigerian media seen as a source of information to the citizens?*

In-depth interviews and survey data presented below exemplify the study data on the issue of important sources of information by Nigerians.

Qualitative data results show that Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 175-177 is of the opinion that:

> *"The media in Nigeria still serves as the breakers of news, they hit the populace with news and they breakup and begin to discuss these issues and analysis them among themselves".*

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 78-81 adds that:

*"Definitely Nigerians believe information from the Nigerian media. When we look at the functions of the media for instance you talk about the media helping to facilitate the transmission of values and as a major carrier of culture".*

| | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Radio | 245 | 82 | 55 | 18 | 300 | 100 |
| Television | 274 | 91 | 26 | 9 | 300 | 100 |
| Newspaper | 231 | 77 | 69 | 23 | 300 | 100 |
| Magazines | 187 | 62 | 113 | 38 | 300 | 100 |
| Internet | 221 | 74 | 79 | 26 | 300 | 100 |
| Other People | 148 | 49 | 152 | 51 | 300 | 100 |
| Mobile Phone | 98 | 33 | 202 | 67 | 300 | 100 |
| Books | 188 | 63 | 112 | 37 | 300 | 100 |
| Others | 69 | 23 | 231 | 77 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.13 Percentage Responses on Sources of Information.

Table 7.13 above indicates the sources of media information among those surveyed. Survey data indicate that 91% use TV as source of information, 82% source information from radio, 77% from newspaper 74% internet, 63% from books while 62% source their information from magazines. This high percentage use of the media in Nigeria as information source(s) agree with our earlier finding in (7.6.1) that "Nigerians believe information, news or messages they get from the Nigerian media".

In summary, most Respondents are of the view that Nigerians believe information obtained through the Nigerian media, but there are some who question the truthfulness of some information emanating from the Nigerian media particularly from the public media. They insist that governments at all level in Nigeria through the media tell Nigerians only the things they want the citizens to know. For instance Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 1106-1110 reveals that:

*"Two levels of information exist in Nigeria, to create a façade and avoid public scrutiny. Political actors give us two stories, the official story and the unofficial story. And the Nigerian press goes with the official story. They are part and parcel of the official".*

However, general public discourse believe that the mass media have changed the balance between the public and the private in our lives, bringing more into the public domain than before, and often leading to debate and controversy since the media provides news and sets the agenda for political, social and cultural discourse. The study data shows that Respondents indicate that Nigerians perceive the Nigerian mass media as the most important source of information.

# 7.8 RESEARCH QUESTIONS FIVE: ISSUES OF ETHNICITY, TRIBE AND RELIGION

- *Does ethnic, tribal and religious background of media practitioners affect the manner of coverage and reportage of topical issues in the Media in Nigeria?*

This study examines in this final theme:

- The extent to which ethnic, tribal and religious differences in Nigeria affect the manner of media reportage and coverage of corruption and other important national issues.

- Whether there are other factors that influence Nigerian media practitioners in the discharge of their duties.

The issue of ethnic, tribal and religious differences in Nigeria is another crucial issue in this study because there have been occasions when one segment of the Nigerian media exposed the corrupt practices of some Nigerians only for another segment of the same

Nigerian media to turn around to extol the "virtues" and "exemplary conducts" of the same individual(s) so exposed in a bid to defend them.

## 7.8.1 Ethnicity, Tribe Or Religion And Values Reorientation

The first research question in this theme therefore seeks to ascertain whether:

- *Ethnic, religious and tribal differences can hinder successful values reorientation in Nigeria?*

Study data on this issue is exemplified by the responses presented below. Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 448-451 agrees that:

> "Ethnicity can be a hindrance unless we understand that there should be no nepotism; there should be no god-fatherism. That everybody belongs to this country and should be treated equally. Nobody is above the law".

Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 187-197 insists that:

> "The populace are not enlightened or informed but if our people were to be enlightened, informed, educated enough to realize that these sentiments actually mean nothing that these people only come and weep it up when they want use it to get what they want and after that the sentiments disappear until they need once again. Therefore, until we begin to realize the truth about these things this society will not get anywhere".

Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 432-433 argues that:

> "Ethnic differences, religious differences, tribal differences and so on are merely being exploited by politicians. Albert said that an empty stomach is a bad political adviser and hunger is a common language".

While Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 434-438 further adds that:

> "Hunger does not understand ethnicity and poverty does not understand any religion of any kind. The few occasions that Nigerians reacted and rose up against the government, it was not along ethnic, religious or tribal lines. They were just rising against the oppressive power".

With the ethnic nature of the Nigerian media, one can safely question the capability of the Nigerian media to structure sensitive national issues without bias. Respondents indicates that the role played by the Nigerian media in the months leading to the Nigerian civil war 1967 - 1970 is a clear example. The ethnically motivated views disseminated in the Nigerian media during that period exacerbated the ethnic animosity that eventually boiled over to a civil war. Respondents argue that the situation came about because the responsibility of the press to expose systematic abuses had been eroded by ethnic and religious considerations. For instance, Respondents indicate that the newspaper that sets out to expose corrupt public officials may find other newspapers vigorously defending the officials for no reason other than, that, the embattled officials are from the same ethnic group.

The study data show that there is divided opinion on the issue of whether ethnic, religious and tribal loyalty can hinder successful values reorientation in Nigeria. Research data reveals that some Respondents believe that ethnic, tribal and religious loyalties can hinder the media from undertaking successful values reorientation. On the other hand, some Respondents believe that these divisions cannot hinder the reorientation effort because according to them, these divisions and/or loyalties are mere sentiments propagated and exploited by politicians and the ruling elite when it benefits them.

## 7.8.2 Ethnicity, Tribe Or Religion And Media Practitioners

The final interview question on the fifth theme directs attention at understanding if:

- *The Nigerian media has ever been partial towards public office holders of particular ethnic group or colluded with public holders on account of their ethnic, tribal or religious origin?*

The table below presents survey data no the specific survey question: "Do Nigerian Journalists do the following?"

|  | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Cover wrong doings because of ethnic and religious reasons | 152 | 51 | 148 | 49 | 300 | 100 |
| Cover up wrong doings because they have been bribed | 188 | 63 | 112 | 37 | 300 | 100 |
| Stand up to the truth regardless of who is involved | 104 | 35 | 196 | 65 | 300 | 100 |
| Cover up wrong doings because of pressure from their employers | 225 | 75 | 75 | 25 | 300 | 100 |

Table 7.14 Attitude of Nigerian journalists

Looking at whether religious and sectional sentiments can hinder the Nigerian media from championing a successful values reorientation, survey data presented in table 7.14 indicates that there is divided opinion on whether ethnicity and religion affects media reports. 51% of those surveyed indicate that the Nigerian media cover up wrong doings in society because of ethnic and religious reasons while 49% say they do not.

However, survey data reveals that bribe taking and pressures from employers influence media reports. Covering up of wrong doings because of pressure from employers by media practitioners came up as the most influencing factor because 75% of survey Respondents agrees that it happens. Those surveyed also agree that the Nigerian media does not stand up for the truth at all times. This result is similar to the issue of unethical conduct in the Nigerian media which was found to negatively affect the effective functioning of media.

Data from in-depth interviews on the same issue show that Respondent 12 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 196-198 is of the opinion that religion and ethnicity cannot hinder the Nigerian media. He says:

*"I do not think that any of those, be it ethnicity or religion in any way can hinder the values re-orientation rather they can even help to enhance the ability of personality".*

Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 193-196 agrees and adds that:

*"The sentiments are there, the religious sentiments are there but they are really issue at the back of the minds of the people who use them. They use it (the sentiments) to play up divisive tendencies so they can capitalize on it to achieve their personal goals against the gullible populace".*

However Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 213 - 215 differs, insisting that:

*"Ethnicity, tribalism and religion are very big problems in Nigeria and we are yet to know what to do to it, these differences affect our value system and our social norms. In fact, it is not something easy".*

Respondents' provided this example of a former Minister of Mines and Power "the late Chief Bola Ige" who was accused of illegally depositing the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA)'s monies in a commercial bank at an interest rate lower than the official rate at the time. A public outcry followed, to discover which pocket had benefited from the deal. The mass media did not consider it worthwhile to go further. Reason, the personality involved was from the south-west, which is the dominant ethnic group in the Nigerian media industry

Evidence from study data agree in part with academic and public discourse in Nigeria that ethnic, religious and sectional sentiments does exist but on the other hand, majority of the Respondents do not believe that these sentiments negatively affect the ability of the Nigerian media to function effectively particularly in the reorientation of values.

The study data shows that Respondents agree that there exist very strong ethnic, religious and sectional sentiments in Nigeria. However, opinions are divided as to whether these sentiments lead to biased media coverage of public office holders in line with ethnic origin. There is also divided opinion among Respondents on whether Nigerian media practitioners collude with public office holders on account of their ethnic and tribal background or religious persuasions.

## 7.9 CONCLUSION

The research themes, issues and/or questions which produced the data presented above were based on the general research themes already presented in chapters 1.4, 6.4, 7.1 and 9.1 respectively.

The list below indicates the extent to which each research theme was a major component of Respondents answers.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Media History | Values reorientation | Media ownership |
| Press freedom | Training | Media believability |
| Media accessibility | Public sphere | Ethnicity |
| Tribalism | Religion | Media control |
| Remuneration | Adequacy of equipment | Corruption |
| Civic/Social values | Problems of Nigerian media | Institutional response |
| Development | Infrastructural development | Agenda setting |
| Civil society | Social concerns | Social justice |

From all the data presented above, we can conclude that Respondents believe as follows, that:

- There is a problem with the value system in Nigeria.

- Corruption is the singular most important factor responsible for lack of development in Nigeria.

- The Nigerian media is central in the fight against corruption and indeed in any genuine values reorientation effort in Nigeria. It also reveals the need for the Nigerian media to first reorient itself for it to be in a position to successful reorient the Nigerian society.

- There are ways the Nigerian media can motivate Nigerians to evaluate their values with regards to socioeconomic development.

- The Nigerian media can lead a successful values reorientation in Nigeria and adduces reasons for this stand. It believes that the high level of illiteracy in Nigeria makes it important for the Nigerian media to assume the role of informer and educator of the Nigerian people. It also identifies some social institutions for example NGO's, the church and National Orientation Agency (NOA) as potential partners that can work with the Nigerian media for a successful values reorientation.

- The Nigerian Media as it exists today has the capacity to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through values reorientation in Nigeria.

- The pattern of media ownership in Nigeria is government or public media ownership and private media ownership where individuals and private institutions own media.

- Current media ownership pattern makes it difficult for the media in Nigeria to function effectively and efficiently for the overall good of society.

- Current media ownership pattern in Nigeria can hinder the media from effectively playing a leading role in the fight against corruption as well as in values reorientation.

- There is limited press freedom in Nigeria when compared with more stable democracies like Britain, Canada and South Africa.

- There are compromises in performance and inadequacies in the training of Nigerian media practitioners. Secondly, there is a need for better training for media practitioners in Nigeria if they are to successfully fulfill their role as watchdog of society more effectively.

- Nigerian media practitioners are not adequately remunerated.

- Nigerian media practitioners are not adequately equipped. Consequently, they require better equipping if they are to successfully play an effective role in values reorientation.

- Nigerians are of the opinion that news items or messages they get from private media organizations are more believable than corresponding government owned media stations.

- The Nigerian media has successfully mobilized Nigerians to challenge for example colonialism, military rule and the 2007 "third term agenda" of Nigeria's former president Mr. Obasanjo.

- Nigerian media was not the major force that mobilized the fight against the third term agenda. They insist that the media was only a tool in the hands of politicians fighting against the agenda.

- The Nigerian media raise the consciousness of Nigerians through various means including investigative reporting.

- Nigerians have unhindered access to the mass media in Nigeria so long as the government does not arrest and/or detain the news reporter before they file their story, close down the radio/TV station and/or confiscate newspaper or magazine publications.

- Nigerians can afford the cost of a TV and/or a radio set.

- Nigerians understand the language of its media production and presentation which is evident in the way the media affect their dressing styles and mannerisms.

- There are factors that tend to hinder access to the mass media in Nigeria.

- Nigerians freely discuss issues raised by the media and points out that discussions take place daily at newspaper stands, beer parlors, restaurants, offices, markets or indeed everywhere and it involves everyone.

- The media should harvest some of the discussions in the Nigerian public sphere and make them popular in other to stimulate people's action.

- The media collaborated with human rights and civil society organizations, politicians, The Senate, House of Representatives and Nigerians in general during the fight against various military regimes including the third term saga.

- Nigerians perceive the Nigerian mass media as an important source of information.

- There is divided opinion on the issue of whether ethnic, religious and tribal loyalty can hinder successful values reorientation in Nigeria. Research data

reveals that some opinion believes that ethnic, tribal and religious loyalties can hinder the media from undertaking successful values reorientation while others believe that it cannot hinder the effort because the loyalties are mere sentiments propagated and exploited by politicians when it benefits them.

- There exist very strong ethnic, religious and sectional sentiments in Nigeria. But opinions are divided as to whether these sentiments lead to biased media coverage or reportage of public office holders in line with their ethnic origin.

- There is divided opinion on whether Nigerian media practitioners collude with public office holders on account of their ethnic and tribal background and/or religious persuasions.

Additional qualitative data presentation and analysis will be undertaken in the next chapter on the bases of "data themes" as against "research themes" which formed the bases of the presentation in this chapter.

The "data themes" are derived from research data and are themes that were identified as possessing the capacity to enhance a better understanding of the issues raised in the study. These themes will be presented and analyzed using quotes from some Respondents to exemplify data evidence(s). Respondents quotes will form the unit of data and/or findings for both the "research theme" and "data theme" from where analyses, discussions and conclusions will be drawn for this study.

# CHAPTER EIGHT: DATA PRESENTATION (DATA THEMES)

## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents what the study calls "data themes" findings in continuation of qualitative data presentation. These are themes that emerged from across the study data and were identified using the grounded theory qualitative data analysis approach.

The Chapter presents and analyzes the "data themes" individually and uses quotes from Respondents to exemplify research data evidence. Results from the analyses are intended to provide additional information that will facilitate a clearer understanding of issues raised by the research questions.

Some "data themes" were very close to "research themes" already enunciated in the research questions presented, analyzed and discussed in chapter seven. Therefore only relevant additional themes will be presented here. Each "data theme's" perceived level of relevance to the objectives of this study will be explored.

The main objective of this study as stated in chapters 1, 6 and 7 above remains to understand the role of the mass media in the social construction and reorientation of societal (civic) values in Nigeria. The underpinning sociological construct as stated is one of social action hinged on the capacity of the Nigerian mass media to deliver messages that could counteract values that have proved damaging to the socio-cultural history of Nigeria.

## 8.2 THEMES FROM DATA

The application of the grounded theory in the analysis of the qualitative data generated for this study through in-depth interviews and the open-ended sections of the survey

questionnaire threw up some interesting themes from the data. These themes in turn address issues relevant to achieving the overall objective of this study. A list of the themes and issues are presented in the table below.

| THEMES FROM DATA | RESEARCH ISSUES |
| --- | --- |
| SOCIAL JUSTICE | 1. *Social System Reward* |
| VALUES | 1. *Social values* |
| | 2. *State of national values* |
| | 3. *Subversion of values* |
| | 4. *Need for values reorientation* |
| | 5. *Benefits of values reorientation* |
| ECONOMIC FACTORS | 1. *Poverty* |
| CORRUPTION | 1. *Social validation of corruption* |
| | 2. *Consequences of corruption* |
| MEDIA THEORY ISSUES | 1. *Agenda setting* |
| | 2. *Public sphere* |
| | 3. *Civil society* |
| STATUS OF NIGERIAN MEDIA | 1. *Nigerian media* |
| | 2. *Media and military rule* |
| | 3. *Media excellence* |
| | 4. *Media prominence* |
| | 5. *Media manipulation* |
| | 6. *Media believability* |
| | 7. *Media corruption* |
| | 8. *Media and third term agenda* |
| INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE 1. *ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCIES* | |
| | a. *Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC)* |
| | b. *Independent Corruption Practices Commission (ICPC)* |
| | c. *National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA)* |
| | d. *National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC)* |
| | e. *Code of Conduct Bureau (COCB)* |
| PROBLEMS OF THE NIG. MEDIA | 1. *Political interests* |
| | 2. *Insecurity of media practitioners* |
| | 3. *Brown envelop syndrome* |
| | 4. *Unethical conducts* |
| | 5. *Ownership pattern* |
| | 6. *Work environment and equipment* |
| | 7. *Ethnicity* |

|  | 8. *Remuneration* |
|  | 9. *Media control* |
|  | 10. *Access* |
| DEVELOPMENT | 1. *Reasons for lack of development in Nigeria.* |
|  | 2. *The get-rich quick syndrome* |

Table 8.1 "Data themes" and research issues arising from data.

The table above presents ten themes that emerged from the study data, as well as the research issues arising from each theme. A comprehensive analysis and discussion of each "data theme" and the research issues arising from each "data theme" will be undertaken in the sections below. Presentation and analysis of the "data themes" undertaken in this chapter has been done as in chapter seven using:

- Codes designed to establish the identity of Respondents'.

- Data presented according to relevant data themes.

- Responses by Respondents' directed at specific data themes are presented as quotes.

- Issues raised by the Respondents' in this chapter are links to study literature or theory.

## 8.3 SOCIAL CONCERNS

Social concerns are those issues in society which both governments and ordinary members of society worry about because they have implications for the society as a whole. Some of these social concerns include such issues like the socialization process, socialization agents, leadership, social justice system, social reward system, social values and norms, ignorance, poverty, corruption and institutional response. Each of the issues identified as social concerns in Nigeria will be addressed separately.

## 8.3.1 Socialization

Socialization emerged from the data as one of the positive indicators to values reorientation. This is because socialization is said to be the process that facilitates the formation and adjustment of human behavior throughout life.

Describing the state of socialization of children in Nigeria today, Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 110-114 explains that:

> *"Part of the problem is that parents no longer have time to bring up their children properly. Child upbringing is now left completely in the hands of house helps because everybody is running after money and there is virtually no moral foundation laid down for the children".*

On the need and importance of socialization in society, Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 128 – 133 admonishes that:

> *"Anybody who is in a position to influence young people even adults must be like a candle lit in your own small corner, even if you are not a governor or a commissioner even in your own small corner as a father in your home, even as a child you can shine brightly for everybody beginning from your family, your children, those who are living with you to the wider society".*

Public and academic discourse in Nigeria indicates that the media is an agent of socialization and the socialization of individuals into the culture, values and norms of society is an important media role. This view ties nicely with the opinion expressed by Tapper (1995) and Rokeach (1973) in (5.11.1) above.

Research data on the issue of socialization indicates that:

- There is something wrong with the socialization process in Nigeria.

- Respondents link the internalization of culture, norms and values to socialization. They also assert that parents in Nigeria should internalize sound

values to have proper moral foundation for the upbringing of their children since human behaviors are socially constructed.

- Respondents argue that socialization is a form of orientation and/or reorientation since the process shapes and/or modifies behavior throughout life. They also believe that it is possible to reassess and/or revaluate behaviors, as well as take steps to change some of them.

- The Nigerian media can educate Nigerians about the socialization process and the media have been involved in reorientation without necessarily referring to it as reorientation.

- Internalized social values and norms are important determinants of social actions.

It is generally believed that socialization is relevant to values re-orientation since it has the capacity to stimulate members of society to re-evaluate and possibly change some of their behaviors. Finally, the assertion that internalized values are a key determinant of social actions is central to public discourse on values reorientation in Nigeria.

## 8.3.2 Agents of Socialization

Since Respondents identifies socialization as important to values reorientation, it becomes important to highlight other social institutions identified by Respondents' as equally important in the socialization process.

Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 75-77 admits that the: *"agents of socialization include the church, the school, parents and teachers,* [but] *all have been subverted"*.

Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 54-57 again identifies some agents of socialization and reveals that:

*"The churches talk about good values but nobody is listening, some parents talk about good values but nobody is listening so the foundation of transferring sound social values, norms and ethic to the people has also been subverted".*

Additionally Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 75-76 specifically declares that the *"agents of socialization include the church, school, parents and teachers".*

Those interviewed agree that there are other agents of socialization outside the family and the media. They specifically identify the church, school and teachers as key examples. The opinion that social institutions are responsible for regulating human activities and making sure that individuals are perpetually socialized into the society align with views of Nonyelu (2002) discussed in (5.11.1). Belief in the link between social institutions (family, church, school, media etc) and the socialization of citizens in relation to civic values is core to the discourse on values reorientation.

## 8.3.3 Leadership

General academic discourse on leadership indicates that leadership is the ability to lead followers and organization effectively and successfully while maintaining valid principles and ideals. Leaders must have followers and must know how to treat them to be successful. A leader should have values that are consistent with high moral and ethical standards, and should know how to motivate others effectively.

Research data exemplified by quotes from Respondents indicate that Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 46-48 believes that:

*"The primary function of leaders to is organize the society and give policies that will give us the direction as to where we are going, how we are going to get there and what we are to expect".*

In another opinion, Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 30-33 argues that:

*"The first problem of leadership in Nigeria is carelessness, inadequate planning and mismanagement of the public funds. The people at the helm of affairs are not interested in the dream of the country. They are just after their selfish ends, let me say".*

Introducing another dimension to the leadership issue in Nigeria, Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 124-127 insists that:

*"Nigerians have shown over time that if the leadership is right that Nigerians can get things done properly".*

The above data can draw example and/or analogy from the "Buhari-Idiagbon" military regime which introduced a forceful national reorientation program called "war-against-indiscipline" that forced Nigerians to behave "properly" both in their homes and in public proving that Nigeria is indeed in want of good and exemplary leadership.

Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) insists in line 946-947 that:

*"There is no leadership in Nigeria* [arguing that Nigeria] *is an organized chaotic place* [and urged Nigerians to] *push for a complete reorganization of the country".*

Media, public and academic discourse in Nigeria reveals that Nigerians completely took over the reins of political leadership at independence in 1960 but unfortunately, what resulted from the new leadership was corruption which seems to grow with time. For instance, the frequent dissolution of the Federal Executive Councils (FEC) in Nigeria both during military and democratic rule have been blamed on constant allegations of corrupt practices. Discussions in the Nigerian public sphere which echo the views of Ojo (2001) reveal that when media campaigns against corrupt practices extended investigations to (state and local governments) it was discovered that the performance of their functionaries were full of corrupt practices.

Evidence from the study indicates that those interviewed believe that Nigerians are aware of the features and characteristics of "good leadership" and are unanimous in agreeing that leadership in Nigeria is not good. Respondents argue that Nigerians have

shown over time that they can do things aright if the leadership is right. Events during the "Buhari-Idiagbon" military regime were cited by many Respondents as an example of when good political leadership supported Nigerians in developing good, orderly, disciplined and honest civic behaviors.

## 8.3.4 Ignorance

Nigeria's population is currently estimated at between 150 and 170 million and about 42 percent of that population are illiterate (UNESCO report (2000)). Inadequate funding of the Nigerian education sector is the result of consistently budgeting below 5% of annual budget against the 25% prescribed by United Nations by successive governments in Nigeria. Public and media discourse about the state of education in Nigeria agree that poor funding has severely limited access to qualitative education at all levels. Poor funding has led to months of industrial action by primary and secondary school teachers, including university lecturers.

In 1996 all university lecturers in Nigeria went on industrial strike for more than 6 months in protest over education funding. In 1999 university lecturers in Nigeria again went on strike for over 4 months. This is in addition to many other occasions when Nigerian university lecturers went on strike for 6, 7 and 8 weeks or more. In 2010, lecturers in state owned Nigerian universities were on strike for more than 6 months because of agitations for better funding of educating and working conditions.

As a result of the state of the educational sector in Nigeria, the quality of products and producers in the sector has become questionable and incomparable with most countries around the world. The recent Webometrics ranking of universities in the world show that the best university in Nigeria is ranked 5682 in the world on the Webometrics table.

Evidence from data on the issue of high levels of ignorance in Nigeria show that Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 128 - 130 believes that part of the problem with Nigeria is that:

> "People are not knowledgeable enough. If they were knowledgeable they will compel the politicians to account for their stewardship".

Also contributing to the discussion on the issue of ignorance in Nigeria, Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 149-151 advises *that:*

> "The print and the electronic media have a lot of work to do because most Nigerians are gullible and ignorant. Nigerians are simply too gullible and you know it".

Respondents believe that part of the problem with Nigeria is that many Nigerians are ignorant because of lack of basic education resulting from poor funding of education which manifests in:

- Near absence of teaching aids and relevant equipment

- Near empty libraries with outdated reading materials

- Empty laboratories

- Unqualified teachers and lecturers

- Poorly trained and unemployable graduates

- Glorified educational institutions

The reasons for ignorance in Nigeria which Respondents identifies also have some implications for the Nigerian media. These implications include that:

- Access to the print media is limited because the absence of proper literacy

- The electronic media becomes very important because everybody's language is accommodated.

- The mass media in general remains a key source of information in Nigeria.

# 8.4 SOCIAL JUSTICE

This "data theme" looks at the relationship between Nigerians and the existing social justice system in the country.

Data on the issue of social justice in Nigeria show that Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 247-250 insists that:

> *"Until corrupt Nigerians are treated as criminal whether they are ministers, or they are named if they have their names because they stole money to go and buy those titles. Stripe them of all those titles, curb them in public, humiliate and the system is doing that now only it is a little slow but it will build up it is slowly building up".*

Continuing, the same Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 41-44 explains that:

> *"Because values are violated without penalty everybody now thinks that it is ok to violate those values because those people who have violated it instead of society penalizing them, they have celebrated them and they are still being celebrated".*

Media, academic and public discourse in Nigerian about the social justice system indicate that top government officials and business elite enjoy the protection of the law and law enforcement agencies, while millions of poor Nigerians on the other hand suffer maltreatment and lack of protection by the law and law enforcement agencies. The view expressed above broadly reflects the stand of Nworgu (2004) and 234next.com (2010).

In 2010, the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) warned that if the warnings on the issue of corruption in the Nigerian judiciary are not heeded, jurisdiction may one day be taken away from regular courts.

Respondents believe that existing social justice system in Nigeria is corrupt, weak and discriminatory. They argue for a stronger and fairer social justice system where everybody will be brought to justice without discrimination when they commit crime or go against the laws of the land.

## 8.4.1 Reward System

The social reward system in Nigeria has remained the subject of intense debate both within and outside the country over the years. Recently a BBC documentary compared the minimum wage paid in countries across the globe. It revealed that UK pays £5.80 an hour while America pays $9 per hour as minimum wage, but Nigeria currently pays less than £70 per month as minimum wage.

Respondents generally agree that the reward system in Nigeria is unjust. Quotes from Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 189-190 shows the Respondent was of the view that:

> *"The society (Nigeria) itself is unjust and they pretend to be just and they want justice in an unjust environment. So for you to correct it first of all the system first has to self correct itself first".*

The same Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 141-144 further adds that:

> *"Teachers the other day were fighting to be paid 27,000 Naira (about £110) they went on strike for almost eight weeks to get that 27,000. Call it $200 a month. Whereas that is probably the entertainment allowance for anybody in the private sector but these are people who are holding our trillion Naira budget every year and they are looking at it".*

Making his own contribution, Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 965-967 insists that:

*"Most of the guys in the Nigerian media are hungry. How much do they pay them? Once you lose your job that's it".*

Respondents agree that the reward system in Nigeria needs to be corrected because it is unjust. Media and public discourse in Nigeria about the social reward system point to many industrial protests and strikes taking place in all sectors of the Nigerian economy. It is common in Nigeria for schools, hospitals, as well as government and private offices to close for months because of agitations for payment of salaries and/or better working conditions. In the first quarter of 2011, the federal government of Nigeria in response to years of agitations by workers approved a new minimum wage of 18,000 Naira (£70.00) per month.

## 8.5 VALUES

Evidence from study data indicate that those interviewed have a clear understanding of what they perceive values to mean. For example, Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 278-282 describes values as:

> *"Those things which we use to measure a society in terms of whether the people are living up to the standards of that society or not. In other words, social values are the mass of success, desirability and acceptability in every society".*

Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 38-40 on another hand believes that:

> *"The discipline a person manifests is a reflection of his values and the value of the society, and a person's values are predominantly influenced by that of the society".*

The views of those interviewed fits with Nigerian academic, public and media discourse about values. Values have been described as a belief about the desirability of a mode, means, or end of action. This view broadly agrees with the opinions of Kluckhohn (1951) and Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) discussed in (5.11). General public discourse presents Nigeria as a country of people with skills and talents but yet unsuccessful because the country lacks good values. It is not surprising that the Daily Sun newspaper

of 29th September, 2006 expressed similar opinion. Respondents associate values with society and conclude that values are shared and influenced by society. Socialization discussed in (8.3.1) addresses the issue of values and social action indicating that internalized social values and norms are important determinants of social actions. It is important to note that this strong link between values and practices and the understanding of practice through a system of values is core to public and government policy discussions in Nigeria. Importantly, they underpin the policies of and government agencies directed at values reorientation.

## 8.5.1 Social Values

In response to the interview question, "what are social values"? Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 14-16 explains that:

> *"Social values could include both religious like Christian, Islamic or traditional values. Whether you call them Christian values, Islamic values or traditional values, they all boil down to the same thing. Good and bad".*

Responding to the same question, Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 7-10 indicates that:

> *"Social values are things social groups consider as acceptable ways of doing things whether you look at it in terms of behavior or something that is attitudinal it is something that doesn't cause anybody to feel out of place because in the society it is acceptable".*

Additionally, Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) reveals in line 282-286 that:

> *"In every society, social values are those things that are the dos and don'ts of the society which are desirable and which society aspires to perpetuate, as well as transmit from one generation to another. They are those peculiar aspects of a society which it aspires to retain for the survival of that society".*

Respondents explain that social values are those qualities, traits and beliefs that are shared within a specific culture or group of people. Traits, qualities and beliefs can be

religious, economic, political, cultural or civic. This view of social values echoes the positions of Maureen (2009) and Alwin (1994) on social values discussed in (5.11.1). In summary, Respondents agree that social values are the acceptable ways of behavior within a given society transmitted from generation to generation. They also agree that values cut across social institutions (religion, economy, politics and culture) in society.

## 8.5.2 State of National Values

Reacting to the issue of the state of values in Nigeria Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 18-21 asserts that:

> *"Countries or nations or communities with very strong social values and norms thrive better compared to societies with very, very weak norms. I think that is why in social values there is always this instrument of compliance".*

Additionally, Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 43-45 believes that:

> *"Our current values are predominantly the greatest setback to our developmental strides and I think that it kind of encourages corruption".*

Concerns over the state of national values in Nigeria are manifest within academic, media and public sphere discourse. In Nigeria both government and citizens agree that something is wrong with the value system. The federal government of Nigeria manifested this belief when it set up the National Orientation Agency (NOA) with offices in the 36 state capitals, Local government headquarters and the federal capital Abuja. The establishment of the National Orientation Agency (NOA) in 1993 is clearly a pointer that Nigeria is aware that something is wrong with its social values. The views expressed by Unachukwu (2008) and Obiajulu (2004) echo this opinion. Respondents agree that social values in Nigeria are weak and tend to support corruption. They also believe that the negative state of values in Nigeria contributes to the lack of national development.

## 8.5.3 Subversion of Values

This "data theme" concerns belief held by Respondents that some members of the Nigerian society engage themselves in the subversion of national values for personal gain. Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 55 agrees that *"the rich subvert the values of society"* in Nigeria.

The same Respondent 1(M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 61-64 believes that:

> *"There are good values in Nigeria but the problem is that the values are subverted. It is the subversion that is the problem and those who subvert it get celebrated in a very big way. So people now question the need to conform to good values".*

Respondents agree that values are subverted in Nigeria without consequences by the elite. They believe that subversion of values manifests in several forms including as corruption, general indiscipline, disregard for the rule of law and crime. Subversion of values is possible because the existing social justice system in Nigeria is corrupt, weak and discriminatory. (See 8.4). They also argue that subversion of values have negatively affected Nigeria's effort at national development adding that current values in Nigeria encourages corruption.

## 8.5.4 Need for Values Reorientation

Research data indicate that all Respondents agree with the view that there is need for values reorientation in Nigeria. Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line argues that:

> *"We need ethical value reorientation in Nigeria, we need a change of our values, we need a change of our mind set, we need a change of our attitude to life, we need complete wholesale change both in values and in norms".*

Again the same Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 87-92 also adds that:

> *"Nigeria definitely needs the reorientation of values but not re-branding, the type the Minister of Information is talking about. Because if you get a bottle of Gordon gin or*

*Johnny Walker and you put the label of star beer on it, you have rebranded but the content is still the same. Immediately you drink it you will know that this is Johnny Walker or Gordon gin and not star beer".*

This study in (8.5.2) above considered the state of values in Nigeria and found that Respondents believe that values in Nigeria are weak and supports corruption. It is therefore not surprising that Nigeria's development document (2004) agrees with this view and adds that:

- There should be values re-orientation in Nigeria to enthrone the ethics of hard work and transparency

- Effort should be directed towards encouraging greater service to Nigeria

- Wealth creation in Nigeria should be through productive effort

- Engagement in government should be for service rather than for self enrichment.

## 8.5.5 Benefits of Values Reorientation

The benefits of values re-orientation in Nigeria are well known to both the government and Nigerian citizens alike. Study data on benefits of values reorientation to Nigeria is exemplified by quotes from Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) who explains in line 303-308 that:

*"Internationally because of our desire to amass dirty wealth as I call it, we traffic drugs, we traffic young people, we cut corners, we do all kinds of things all over the world and that has tarnished Nigeria's image drastically so if we begin to regenerate our values, it will clean-up our international image and begin to attract confidence in Nigeria and Nigerians again".*

Secondly, the same Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 311-316 admits that:

*"Values reorientation will be of great benefit to Nigeria as a nation. If we can clean up our image and reorient ourselves, economically we will become a wealthier country*

*because corruption is siphoning a lot of money out of this country and our people's lives will also be improved".*

Commenting further on the same issue, the Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 318-321 argues that a successful values reorientation can make:

*"Our people become better, our quality of life will rise, the children, our future generation will also be brought up aright and once we are gone, the next generation, children who are coming up after us will have a better Nigeria than we had".*

Respondents are unanimous in agreeing that there are lots of benefits that will accrue to Nigeria if the country successfully undertakes the reorientation of its current values. General public discourse in Nigeria on this issue echo the claims of the National Orientation Agency (NOA) discussed in (2.3). The overall opinion on the benefits of reorienting values in Nigeria includes that it will:

- Consistently raise the awareness of Nigerians

- Provide timely and credible feedback

- Positively change attitudes, values and behaviors

- Adequately and accurately inform and sufficiently mobilize citizens to act in ways that will promote peace, social harmony and National development

It is clear that there are benefits that will accrue to Nigeria and Nigerians if the government and citizens will subjects themselves to a well planned and honest effort at reorientation of values in Nigeria

## 8.6 ECONOMIC FACTORS

The economic factor has been singled out as the main precursor to most problems facing Nigeria and its people. However, it is well known both within and outside Nigeria that over the years the country has been faced with problems of religion,

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ethnicity and tribalism. There is also political, leadership, developmental, as well as a host of other problems facing the country.

Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 246-251 who argues that:

*"These factors cannot be divorced from the material needs of society. Whether we are talking of religion, ethnicity and tribalism, they are all fallouts from the economic problems, poverty and lack of means of livelihood. These issues are factors to the extent that you cannot discuss the character of Nigeria without putting them in perspective".*

Media and academic discourse in Nigeria argue that economic factors could be responsible for most of the problems facing Nigeria since corruption, religious beliefs, ethnicity and tribalism are different ways people struggle for power to control state resources. This argument echoes the view of Nonyelu (2006) discussed in (2.1). There is the belief from data that factors like religion, ethnicity, and tribalism are fallouts from the overriding factor which is economic. The general media and academic discourse indicates that religion, ethnicity, and tribalism only become an issue because the elite use them to selfishly mobilize the gullible, illiterate and unsuspecting masses in their personal struggle for power to control the resources of state.

## 8.6.1 Poverty

Respondent 1(M/Prof/MdSts/Con/EFCC) in line 303 - 308 believes that:

*"There is so much poverty in Nigeria because Nigerians think of their stomach first and that leads to all sorts of corrupt behavior".*

Presenting the issue of poverty in Nigeria in another way, Respondent 7 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 199-200 explains that:

*"In an attempt to justify corruption Nigerians will tell you sorry things are difficult, I want to put food on the table for my family".*

Poverty is another major problem identified in Nigeria by Respondents. National and international opinion on the issue of poverty in Nigerian aligns nicely with views of Transparency International Corruption Index Report (2000). The broad overall opinion about poverty in Nigerian asserts that despite the billions of dollars Nigeria had earned and continues to earn from crude oil sales the country remains classified amongst the poorest nations of the world.

Respondents are of the view that there is high level of poverty in Nigeria which in turn manifests in different forms of corrupt behaviors.

In summary, all Respondents believe that the very high level of illiteracy, coupled with collapsed education infrastructure, added to unjust reward system and the total absence of state welfare program have helped to facilitate and entrench poverty and ignorance in Nigeria.

# 8.7 CORRUPTION

| | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Divert public funds to their personal pockets | 150 | 50 | 150 | 50 | 300 | 100 |
| Inflate the prices of contract | 251 | 84 | 49 | 16 | 300 | 100 |
| Sign contract papers for work not done | 248 | 83 | 52 | 17 | 300 | 100 |
| Rig elections | 264 | 88 | 36 | 12 | 300 | 100 |
| Forge academic certificates | 245 | 82 | 55 | 18 | 300 | 100 |
| Bribe examination officials to give pass grades to their children | 233 | 78 | 67 | 22 | 300 | 100 |

Table 8.2 Different forms of corrupt behavior in Nigerian.

Survey data on corruption in Nigeria shows that on the average, about 70% of those surveyed are aware of the different corrupt practices in Nigeria. This result suggests a high level of awareness about corruption issues among those surveyed and this may not be unconnected with public and media outcry against corruption in recent times.

Corruption has been conceptualized in media, public and academic discourse in Nigeria as the misuse of entrusted power for direct and indirect personal gain. Discussing the issue of corruption in Nigeria, Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 43-48 insists that: *"corruption is key or central to the issue of underdevelopment in Nigeria"*. He also adds that:

> *"Some people have tried to argue that corruption is not necessarily the cause but rather that corruption is the by-product of some malaise, some illness in the society in terms of the character of the state and this must have contributed to fuel up what we call official corruption in this country but I also think that it is not necessarily true".*

Furthermore, Respondent 9 M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 50-55 declares that:

> *"There is no running away from it because corruption has so permeated every strain of the Nigerian society that there is hardly any office that can claim to be free from it. A messenger in the office at that level is corrupt. The boss is corrupt. The middle level management staff they are corrupt".*

Public, academic, and media discourse about corruption in Nigeria suggest that corruption is the reason for the tepid if not brotherly struggle for the market space by the different ethnic groups in Nigeria. It is believed that corruption in Nigeria has over the years metamorphosed through different stages of growth and reforms that it is probably the most democratized industry in the country. The broad debate about corruption in Nigeria ties nicely with views of Igbinadolor (2010) and Catholic Bishops of Nigeria (2010).

It is the general belief that corruption in Nigeria is now a national malaise which has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian society. It is also the general opinion that Nigeria would develop but only when the issue of corruption has been tackled. Indications from public and academic discourse are that campaign against corruption requires effective and efficient judiciary, as well as law enforcement agencies.

All Respondents agree that corruption is endemic and a major problem in Nigeria. They also insist that corruption is singularly the greatest hindrance to development in Nigeria.

## 8.7.1 Social Validation of Corruption

Respondents indicate that corruption is endemic in Nigeria and is now almost accepted as a way of life. Embezzling public fund popularly referred to in Nigerian parlance as "national cake" is now neither perceived as bad nor frowned upon. Friends and family expect any of their member(s) that gets into public office to amass as much wealth as possible and will readily castigate any of them that fail to maximize such "opportunity".

Data demonstrating that the Nigerian society encourages corruption is exemplified by quotes from these Respondents'. For instance Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 51-55 reveals that:

> *"When you go back home after your tenure in public office without huge sums of money, your own immediate family including even extended family will see you as a failure this is because our value system has come to naught".*

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) provides more evidence in line 83-91 which shows that:

> *"When anybody completes his/her tenure in government and does not amass wealth, people will call him names and he will not be welcomed by his/her people. The people will complain that he went there, and came back with nothing so he is a fool and they will call him names. So even if you want to be an exception, if you wants to remain loyal and abide by the constitution and do things correctly, people will still see you as stupid ... So this pushes a lot of people to dance to the tune of their family or friends".*

Furthermore, Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 68-77 explains that:

> *"The social validation theory of corruption is a situation where you find people taking to corruption because they need to satisfy the weaning and aspirations of their kin's men. This is because the country has been built in such a way that public offices now rotate round people and when it gets to your turn you try as much as possible to deep your hand into the public treasury for your own people at that time so that when next it goes to the other people they will do the same. That is the understanding and to that extent you see that it is like we are moving in circles a vicious circle for that matter".*

The behavior of Nigerians towards wealth acquisition and the source of wealth seem to indicate that what matters is acquiring the wealth not its source or manner of acquisition.

It is the general belief of Respondents that all tribes and tongues in Nigeria joined together in unity and oneness to defend the rule of the corrupt and defeat the anti-corruption. It is further argued that if corruption had been limited to any of the tribes it might have been easier to tackle. But since over four hundred tribes are actively involved, it might just be a difficult mission. The broad public argument about the social validation of corruption agrees with views of Igbinadolor (2010)

Respondents' indicate that the Nigerian society encourages its citizens to engage in corrupt behaviors. They argue that high social expectations and behaviors like social recognition and increased social relevance encourage or compel some individuals to engage in corrupt or illegal activities.

## 8.7.2 Consequences of Corruption

Evidence from research data on the issue of consequences of corruption is exemplified by Respondent 8 (M/J/PMd) who argues in line 91- 95 that:

> *"If corruption is curtailed, there is no reason why this country should remain at this low level of economic, social and infrastructural development. That is when the resources*

*God has blessed us with can be applied meaningfully and reasonably into developing this country".*

Also contributing to the discussion on the consequences of corruption, Respondent 9 (M/Prof/Acc/Fo/PuOH) in line 28-31 laments that:

*"Our leaders cannot provide electricity, cannot finance our educational institutions, we cannot provide basic infrastructure. Just because of corruption the fundamentals for industrial development are not there".*

Research outcome in (8.7) above reveals that Respondents view corruption as *"singularly the greatest hindrance to development in Nigeria".* Consequently, one of the consequences of corruption has been identified by Respondents. Public, media and academic discourse in Nigeria on the consequences of corruption are unanimous in their view that corruption is a hindrance to development in Nigeria. They argue that leadership and followership in Nigeria is reckless, irresponsible and dishonest, insisting that this have resulted in the destruction of national infrastructure, societal values and ethos. This broad view aligns with the argument of Oranye (2005). Respondents' assert that corruption is responsible for the inability of Nigerian leaders to provide basic infrastructure that will engender national development.

# 8.8 MEDIA THEORY ISSUES

Three mass media theory issues were raised in the study data by Respondents and they are:

- Agenda Setting

- Public Sphere

- Civil Society

## 8.8.1 Agenda Setting

Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 252-255 believes that:

*"Quite often media agenda becomes public agenda. People are talking about these issues everywhere and that is the way public opinion is formed".*

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) also argues in line 133-136 that:

*"Even the civil society at times draw some of their idea from the media so the two working in tandem but the media seems to have this edge of setting the agenda like the issue of the Niger delta talking about hostage taking assuming they were silent nothing will be heard"*

Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 583-586 believes that:

*"The role of the media extends beyond agenda-setting and gate-keeping or merely informing, educating or entertaining the people. What I saw and discovered was that in any military regime, the press do not only have to become adversarial, we also have to play advocacy role".*

The central hypothesis of the agenda-setting theory is that an audience member will adjust his or her perception of the importance of issues in accordance with the amount and type of attention devoted to those issues in the medium used (McLeod *et* al (1974)). See agenda-setting theory discussed in (5.7). Agenda-setting refers to media audiences' acceptance as important those issues, events and people because the media has made it so for people to think and talk about. The media, by simply paying attention to some issues while neglecting others, will effect on public opinion. The broad academic discourse about agenda setting echoes the views expressed by Ngoa (2006) and McQuail & Windahl (1981).

## 8.8.2 Public Sphere

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 154-159 agrees that:

*"The typical thing that happens in Nigeria is that people freely discuss topical issue. Just go to any newspaper stand this morning you will see both commercial motorcycle riders (Okada riders) both artisans they gather there discussing issues raised by newspaper headlines".*

In addition Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 259-263 points out:

> *"That is what you find everywhere. Nigerians discuss topical issues everywhere and everyday even in the buses ..."*

Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 159-160 concurs that:

> *"Nigerians discuss topical media issues because it is something that concerns them daily ... it is a daily discussion everyone is involved".*

For extensive survey data on the Nigerian public sphere please see 7.7.1

Academic and media discourse of the public sphere reveal that it is a forum or arena that mediates between state and society a forum in which private individuals can debate public affairs, criticize the authority of the state and call on those in power to justify their positions before an informed and reasoning public. The public sphere is usually independent of government, partisan economic forces and dedicated to rational debate accessible to all citizens who form public opinion. It is generally argued that what is central to the operation of the public sphere is the free flow of information and communication, and media institutions are essential to its effective working. This view ties nicely with the overall arguments of Webster (1995) and Williams (2003) discussed in (5.8) above.

## 8.8.3 Civil Society

Respondents views on the issue of civil society indicate that the civil society is visible and properly recognized in Nigeria. Demonstrating the level of public trust and recognition, of the civil society in Nigeria, Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 187-191 argues that:

> *"If the civil society own some of those media institutions, I think it will go a long way in presenting a new vista more or less for the nation rather than what we have had over the years".*

The same Respondent in line 197-201 suggests that:

*"There should be private media owned by people who are not in government or their cronies but by civil society because when these private people come and own these things they are also in government as governors, ministers etc, and so no change. He who pays the pipe dictates the tune".*

Respondents believe that there are viable and publicly accepted civil societies in Nigeria that enjoy the confidence of Nigerians.

Media and academic discuss of civil societies in Nigeria point to the history of civil societies and media activities in Nigeria which explains how they drew upon their tradition of activism to outwit state security agents. In addition they invented new strategies for reporting and disseminating news and opinion during the difficult days of military rule in Nigerian. This view mirrors the opinion of Olukotun (2002).

Historically, it was the Nigerian media, in collaboration with civil society in Nigeria that pressured former military President Ibrahim Babangida to "step aside" after he annulled the June 12, 1993 general elections. The Nigerian civil society and media again pressured former military leader, General Sani Abacha to begin a transition to civil rule program. Despite General Abacha's repressive disposition, he was continuously confronted by the Nigerian media and civil society until he died in 1997.

# 8.9 NIGERIAN MEDIA ISSUES

Many issues concerning the Nigerian mass media emerged from the study data which the Respondents perceive as important.

## 8.9.1 The Nigerian Media

The views expressed by those interviewed about the Nigerian media are quite revealing. For example, Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 135-137 indicates that:

*"It was these media men that investigated some of these people that got into important public positions with forged qualifications and come up with fact that were used to remove them from office".*

Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 95-97 also believes that:

*"It will take a lot of will power for the Nigerian media to really play a leading role in values reorientation; it will take a lot of will power because the media is working under very difficult conditions. What is required is telling government that this is wrong and that certain steps are wrong".*

Going by the historical antecedents of the Nigerian media, Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 301-303 firmly asserts that:

*"The media is primary to any values reorientation effort. The media is primary if you want to reorient the society successfully".*

The overall academic and public discourse on the Nigerian media points to the argument that it has been in the forefront of Nigeria's struggle for political independence, enthronement of democracy and the return of Nigeria to civil democratic governance. It is the belief that while other countries in Africa fought for their independence on the battlefield, that of Nigeria was fought for, and won on the pages of newspapers expending millions of words, instead of ammunitions, in the process.

However, the Nigerian media has remained one of the most vilified and also acclaimed institutions in the country in recent time. While it has been commended by some, others have seriously condemned it for being irresponsible, reckless, and sensational. There is also the argument that the Nigerian media is responsible for everything bad in the Nigerian polity. It is further argued that the Nigerian media is responsible for fuelling many crises in Nigeria because it was characterized by cultural stereotypes and primordialism.

According to one school of thought, the Nigerian media tended from 1960, to destroy that which they labored so hard for so many years to build. Having gained political independence, petty jealousies, occasioned by political and ethnic differences, beclouded the vision of media proprietors and media practitioners. Rather than promoting national integration and national consciousness, the media became sectional and a potent agent of disunity. They promoted inter-ethnic hatred as well as inter-ethnic distrust and acrimony that eventually led to the collapse of the first republic. The overall view in this discourse resonates with the broad arguments of Sobowale (2002); Kalejaiye (2009); Akinfeleye (2003) and Uya (1995). (See extensive discussion on the Nigerian media in chapters three and four). Respondents' believe that Nigerians are confident that the Nigerian media can successfully lead efforts at reorienting values in the country going by its history and antecedents.

## 8.9.2 The Media and Military Rule

Quotes from Respondents exemplify the study data on the relationship that existed between the Nigerian media and military regimes, and are presented as follows. Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 143-146 implores to:

> *"Remember that the media was so to speak the voice of the people in those dark days and they tended to check the excesses of the military and they have done that over the years".*

Furthermore, Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 25-29 indicates that:

> *"Within the military era we had periods that marked very dark moments in the history of not just the media but the country. When you talk about the era of Babangida's structural adjustment program, the political problems during that period and from that period we entered into the era of late General Sani Abacha".*

Media, public and academic discourse aptly captures the situation the Nigerian media found itself during the different military regimes in Nigeria. It has been revealed that the

era of military dictatorships in Nigeria witnessed the worst forms of media emasculation in Nigeria's history. The period witnessed arbitrary arrests and detentions, extrajudicial killings, corruption, excessive use of force, torture of detainees, harassment of journalists and democratic activists, as well as arson attacks on media houses

It is generally believed that during the Second military interregnum (December 31, 1983 – May 29, 1999) and the runoff to the fourth Republic, the Nigerian media had "running battles" with the various Military Juntas. The regime of Generals Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon (December 31, 1983 – August 27, 1993) set the tone for subsequent regimes on how to relate with the press. The regime remained one of the harshest military regimes in the country, for it had no respect for human rights including that of the press. Ojo (2000); Joseph (1997) and Popoola (2003) expressed similar views. (See 4.2).

Respondents believe that although the Nigerian media was subjected to very difficult times by different military regimes in the country, they still confronted the military and remained resolute in checking their excesses.

## 8.9.3 Media Excellence

Study data on this issue show that some Respondents believe that some Nigerian trained media practitioners possess very good quality when compared with media practitioners from other countries.

Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Fo/Con/EFCC) in line 129-132 believes that:

> *"Some of them (Nigerian media practitioners) are well trained and they join international news agencies so they must be good. Of course all of them will not be good but on the average they are good and when you read what they write, you know they know what they are talking about".*

Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 1204-1205 proudly declares that Nigeria has *"the finest and the best journalists in the world"* but adds that the *"institutional obstacles in media houses in Nigeria are formidable"*.

The Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Fo/Con/EFCC) again in line 127-129 points out that:

> *"If you watch at the awards being given in Africa a lot of Nigeria journalists win awards so they must be good. Recently one Nigerian just won a poetry award"*

Describing the situation, public and media discourse agree that government officials do not hesitate to remove anyone in charge (of any public media station) who fails to offer them "unquestioned support". Such an "erring" official risks being sacked with "immediate effect" and/or may face other forms of punishment.

However, there are suggestions that the Nigerian media have become up and doing since the advent of the 4th Republic on 29 May 1999. They justify this claim by pointing to some top government officials who were discredited and exposed for corrupt practices by the Nigerian media. For instance, the university of Toronto certificate forgery saga that swept Salisu Buhari, the First Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1999 out of office and the embezzlement of public funds involving Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu, former governor of Lagos State, Nigeria. This view echoes the views already expressed by Uche (1989) and Akinfeleye (2003). It is the general belief that the Nigerian media has exhibited journalistic excellence in recent past which has endeared them to many Nigerians. Unfortunately, this cannot be said to be the hallmark of all media organs in the country particularly the public media as some top public officials have turned some of them to praise singers.

## 8.9.4 Media Prominence

Respondents believe that the media is very prominent in Nigeria and serves as a dependable source of information for most Nigerians and the emergence of privately

owned radio and TV outfits in the country has increased media prominence. There is a recent but popular saying among Nigerian politicians, "that the fear of the Nigerian media is the beginning of wisdom". The opinion of those interviewed is exemplified by Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 148-152 who explains that:

> *"One of the primary functions of the media is to check, correct and point out not only faults but praise when you should praise and point out faults or errors when you should. It should not be a media house to condone corruption but it should be to expose corruption so that society can be put on the right track. Point out errors and praise when occasion demands".*

Media, public and academic discourse of the "third term agenda" indicate that the coverage of that event, particularly the live broadcast of the constitutional amendment debate at the Senate chambers by the African Independent Television (AIT), led to the "untimely death" of the political carriers of some parliamentarians. It is also widely agreed that media involvement in the "third term agenda" debate brought the issue into the public domain and made it one of the most discussed issues of the last decade in the Nigerian public sphere. The broad overall argument here fits the views of Unachukwu (2002). Those interviewed believe that there is journalistic excellence in a section of the Nigerian media particularly privately the owned ones.

## 8.9.5 Media Manipulation

It is an open secret that the high and mighty in the Nigerian society manipulates the Nigerian mass media. Data on the issue is exemplified by quotes from some Respondents' and are presented below. Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 234-238 believes that:

> *"The media in Nigeria is seriously manipulated. That is why any time anybody wants to kill headline from a paper they don't go to one media. They call the editors in chief to a dinner party and address them and make them happy and it disappears uniformly across the board".*

Respondent 2 (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 191-193 adds that:

> "The media in most cases have been used as tools or as weapons to fight some personal wars, partisan wars by people in public offices".

Additionally, Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 356-357 reveals that:

> "Nigerian newspapers are owned by the same set of people who are causing the problems; they have control over all the newspapers".

Public and academic debate on manipulating media practitioners in Nigeria indicate that Nigerians believe that the ruling elite and their associates are the ones most likely to have access to the type of capital required to set up such organizations. Most often, proprietor's interests are very influential in how they position their media outfits to relate to the government. Nowadays it is becoming a common practice in the Nigerian media industry for editors and publishers to alert Ministers, Governors, business executives and top public office holders to negative stories about them and the possibility of killing such stories. Uche (1989) and Oduyela (2006) expressed opinions similar to the broad overall argument. Respondents' generally believe that some people in Nigeria manipulate the Nigerian media for their personal gain or advantage.

## 8.9.6 Media Believability

This "data theme" directs attention towards ascertaining whether Nigerians believe information or news they receive from the Nigerian media since it is the views of most Respondents that: *"some people in Nigeria manipulate the Nigerian media for their personal gain"*. Study data is presented below as quotes from Respondents'. According to the view expressed by Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 84-86:

> "There is this implicit trust in the media. The people have trust in the media that is why they will tell you 'I heard it from the media' or 'I heard it on NTA' because they believe that what they have heard is true".

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 169-171 again concurs that but explains that:

> *"It depends on the particular media you are talking about, let me give an instance in Nigeria today we have NTA (National Television Authority) owned by government and we have AIT (African Independent Television) were I work. When the average Nigerian watches NTA, they don't believe their stories, they feel that they give priority to government or colour the news, they don't tell them the truth. Once they said AIT said this, they believe it whole and sinker. They believe that AIT is independent, that no government can influence it".*

Respondents agree that generally Nigerians believe information and/or news they get from the Nigerian mass media. However, some Respondents indicate that Nigerians believe the information received through privately owned independent media more than public media. For a detailed discussion on media believability (see 7.6.1).

## 8.9.7 Media and Fight Against Corruption

Respondents' opinion on Nigerian media campaign against corruption is exemplified by the view expressed by Respondent 8 (M/J/PMd) in line 207-211 who insists that:

> *"In fact, the media has the highest task, the highest contribution to make if we can get our value system right because the campaign is within the huddle of the media. If you don't say it, if you don't expose these corrupt officers they will get away with it".*

Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 1016-1019 declares that:

> *"Nigerian journalists are stupid".* He went further to add that *"they cannot fight for anything. They are only interested in money. That's all. No one of them is interested in fighting for honest leadership in Nigeria".*

Respondent 8 (M/J/PMd) again in line 173-176 explains that:

> *"When we talk about fight against corruption, you find that corruption cannot be effectively fought without the media because it is the media that will expose all these public officers who are corrupted".*

It has been nationally and international agreed that a free and independent media is one of the principal vehicles for informing the public about corrupt activity. General public discourse in Nigeria indicates that by investigating and reporting on corruption and by highlighting the wrongdoings of public officials and corporate executives the media provides an important counterpoint to the abuse of entrusted power for private gains. In this way, the media significantly contributes to the basis of knowledge with which citizens can hold both public and private institutions to account. Both local and international opinion about media and corruption echoes the views expressed by Transparency International (TI) anti-corruption handbook (2008). Respondents' believe that the Nigeria media is important in any effort to campaign against corruption in Nigeria. They point to the ability of the Nigerian media to expose, name and shame individuals involved in corrupt practices as an important aspect of that campaign.

## 8.9.8 Media and Third Term Agenda

The "third term agenda" was the attempt by the former President of Nigeria Mr. Obasanjo to manipulate the amendment of the Nigerian constitution to enable him remain in office for a third four year tenure after the expiration of the constitutionally allowed two four year tenures of 8 years.

Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 122-125 points out that:

> *"If we can recall what happened during the third term saga, you will find that the media raised the consciousness of Nigerians. The nation rose up with one voice and that is a clear manifestation of media power in the Nigerian".*

In addition, Respondent 16 (M/O/NOA) in line 383-387 argues that:

> *"The third term saga was one of the most widely published government activities in recent times. And of course even in the market places, the market women knew about third tenor, Obasanjo's attempt to get a third term".*

Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 319-326 adds another dimension to the story and reveals that:

> *"It was not just the media alone that fought against third term agenda. There were other powers that contributed immensely towards that fight. The media did not fight it alone. Even the people again spoke out, politicians spoke out, and it was clear in the House of Senate and Representatives. The majority, two-thirds of the House was against it. And again the media was in jeopardy. They couldn't have done otherwise. So, politicians used the media to fight the third tern agenda. That is what I am saying. They executed the fight others initiated and financed".*

The views expressed by those interviewed are similar to the opinion held in public, academic and media circles in Nigeria about the role played by Nigerian media in the "third term agenda" drama. The overall opinion on the issue points to the prominence which the Nigerian media gave the "third term bid" of former Nigerian President, Mr. Obasanjo which popularized the issue in the public domain. It is believed that African Independent Television (AIT) live broadcast of the constitution amendment debate at the national assembly made it possible for Nigerians to know where their representatives stood on the issue. Okunna (2002) expressed similar view which aligns nicely with the overall broad opinion. Respondents are of the view that although the Nigeria media was prominent during the third term drama, there are other stakeholders like politicians and the civil society that facilitated and supported in the campaign.

## 8.10 PROBLEMS OF THE NIGERIAN MEDIA

The media in Nigeria has on occasions manifested its mobilization and agenda-setting ability with astonishing results. However, in reality there are factors that tend to hinder the Nigerian media from consistently functioning in the interest of Nigerians. Some of these factors identified by Respondents are presented and discussed below.

## 8.10.1 Political Interest

On the issue of political interest, Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 205-206 believes that:

> '"Political interests affect the clean performance of the media. The media battles with all these factors in their daily assignments".

The same Respondent 3 in line 196-199 adds that:

> "For reasons of some political interest too government will even not be happy with the media doing such nice jobs or populist jobs which the polity would hail because of the government's special but negative interest they will not want to hear it, they will just dump the result or report instead of using it to act".

Political interest emerged from the data as one of the problems of the Nigerian media identified by the Respondents. These interests manifest in different forms but more particularly with the struggle for political power and access to national resources. It is the general view that if the Nigerian media is to be involved in the effort to enthrone a corrupt free society in Nigeria, that same media must also not be encumbered by ownership, cultural, political, business, religious and/or social interests. This argument agrees with opinion of Oyewole (2008).

## 8.10.2 Threat to Media Practitioners

|  | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Journalists face threats to their lives and properties | 216 | 72 | 84 | 28 | 300 | 100 |

Table 8.4 Percentage Response on threats to Nigerian Journalists

Brutality and threats to the lives and property of media practitioners across Nigeria emerged from the survey data as shown in table 8.4 above. This issue surfaced as

another problem which Respondents identify as confronting the Nigerian media and its practitioners. The table shows that 72% of survey Respondents believes that journalists face threats to their lives and properties.

Previous and recent experiences along with media, academic and public discourse agree with survey result on this issue. For example, Mr. Dele Giwa a popular journalist and co-founder of NewsWatch magazine was killed with a letter bomb. Recently the experience of another journalist Mr. Samuelson was widely reported in the Nigerian media and online. He was forcedly abducted from his home in the early hours of the morning in the presence of his and little children and taken to the Imo state government house where the former governor Mr. Ikedi Ohakim was alleged to have personally flogged him with horsewhip because he wrote to a petition that exposed the governor's corrupt activities.

Again, in June 2006 two journalists, Gbenga Aruleba and Rotimi Durojaiye of African Independent Television (AIT) and Daily Independent newspaper respectively, were arrested and arraigned for calling the recently purchased Presidential Jet 'fairly used' or 'Tokunbo' that is a (second-hand) jet while the Federal government claimed the jet is brand-new. The irony is that the journalists were charge under a moribund law, the Sedition Act.

However, there is the assumption in certain quarters that since return to civil rule on May 29, 1999, the Nigerian media has not witnessed too much official harassments though there are still few reported cases of isolated official high-handedness against the media. Ngoa (2006) and Akinfeleye (2003) expressed similar views.

Qualitative research data shows that Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 211-214 believes that:

*"Journalists drop the investigation of corruption allegations or they push it to some other person or the by-line will be anonymous instead of coming out boldly to claim credit for fear of their life or the lives of loved ones".*

The same Respondent 3 in line 217-222 adds that:

*"These corrupt men will just send his boys, 'his boys' to go after you, to go after your interests, so they carry out their fights in so many ways and dimensions. It could be on your children, your siblings, your relations, once they know that you have interest somewhere or on somebody, they will go and deal with you. Business is a certain area and most times you won't even know where some of your personal problems are coming from because of this job".*

Respondents believe that media practitioners in Nigeria face threats to their lives, the lives of their loved ones and threats to their property. They also believe that there are complicated and diverse political interests in Nigeria which regularly seek to manipulate the media and its practitioners. Respondents equally argue that this situation has the capacity to negatively affect the performance of the Nigerian media.

## 8.10.3 Brown Envelope Syndrome

This "data theme" deals with demanding bribe or accepting un-unsolicited bribe by journalists either to write false stories, color a true story to favor a particular individual or organization or kill an unfavorable story on behalf of a patron because bribe money in brown envelope(s) have changed hands. Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 107-109 reveals that:

*"The issue of brown envelops is an issue which I consider very annoying and disrespectful to journalists and I think it has to do with the way our journalists and media practitioners are rated and the way they rate themselves".*

Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Fo/Con/EFCC) in line 111-116 adds that:

*"Media practitioners give the impression they are fighting corruption or exposing it but we also know with our ears on the ground that when the exposition starts and the people they are putting on the guillotine gives them a slice of the bacon or cake they*

*bite into it with anger and smile and go home to go and leak their month with their tongues and after that point it disappears from the front pages and everybody knows that and those who steal money knows that".*

General public discourse on "brown envelope" stories in Nigeria argue that stories written because "brown envelopes" have changed hands do far less damage than the good stories that are suppressed because "brown envelopes" are at play. It is the general opinion in Nigeria that some journalists expect to be induced before they filed news stories for publication and/or broadcast. Ladepo (2007) expressed similar views.

## 8.10.4 Unethical Conduct

The issue of unethical conduct among Nigerian journalists remains a topical issue in both public and academic discourse in Nigeria. Qualitative data on the issue indicates that Respondent 7 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 195-198 criticizes some media practitioners and asserts:

> *"I don't know how many of them that will say I will not say or do this because it is against the ethics of my profession. For instance, say I am not going to praise the governor because I know that he is not worthy of any praise".*

Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 225-226 reminds everyone that:

> *"Some media practitioners through their unethical conduct can also undermine faith in the media".*

Furthermore Respondent 7 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) again in line 228-232 also argues that:

> *"Any journalist that is coming to work for somebody and knowing that all he has to do is sing the masters praise and still goes ahead, he is not worthy to be a journalist at all and he does not suppose to be in the journalism profession in the first place".*

For extensive survey data about unethical conducts in the Nigerian media please see (7.6.7).

Public and academic discourse on unethical conduct among Nigerian media practitioners reveal that shortly after the end of military rule and the emergence of a retired military general, things began to change. A new media began to emerge. What emerged was no longer like the pro-democracy media, but rather a pro-naira (pro-money) media. They point out that media executives began jostling for appointments, contracts and advertisements from those they were supposed to watch.

It was revealed that some journalists have commercialized news gathering and event coverage, as it is now common to see them hovering around venues of events even after the events, hoping that they would be shown "gratitude". These views agree with the opinion expressed by Eselebor (2008) and Oduyela (2006). This theme relates directly to (8.10.3) as the "brown envelope" syndrome it discussed is an aspect of unethical conducts in the Nigerian media.

Respondents agree that some media practitioners in Nigeria engage in unethical conducts in the discharge of their professional responsibilities. They also believe that media practitioner's unethical behaviors can undermine faith in the ability of the Nigerian media to discharge its duties professionally. This "data theme" provides data about some conducts or behaviors exhibited by some media practitioners that go against the ethics of their profession as prescribed by the Nigerian media council.

## 8.10.5 Media Ownership

Ownership of the mass media in Nigeria remains crucial to this study because ownership is often associated with control, while media control is linked to freedom of performance or otherwise. The general public discourse on media ownership in Nigeria agrees that media ownership is not transparent. It was revealed that precise owners of some media organizations are not known and in most cases, the professional journalists serving as directors of such media companies are fronts for unknown investors. This

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view aligns with MSI Africa (2008) which also looked at media ownership issues in Nigeria. Respondents' view on Nigerian media ownership patterns in this study have been exhaustively discussed and analyzed in (7.5.1) above.

## 8.10.6 Work Environment and Equipment

Addressing the issue of work environment and equipment at the disposal of the Nigerian media practitioner, Respondent 6 in line 184-186 argues that:

> *"Media work environment itself in Nigeria needs overhauling to empower media practitioners to do their work better through up-to-date equipment".*

Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 75 - 76 adds that:

> *"The working environment and some circumstances pervading the working environment at times pose as serious bottle necks, serious hindrances towards achieving reasonable goals in the media".*

The study data threw up media work environment, as well as the type of available equipments as another problem facing the Nigerian mass media. Broad discourse on this issue agrees with MSI Africa (2008).

Academic and public discourse reveals that the facilities and equipment available to the Nigerian media for gathering, producing, publishing and disseminating news in Nigeria are inadequate and obsolete. They insist that there are deficiencies in all aspects of equipment used in the media particularly in the Nigerian public media. It is the general belief that these technological deficiencies affect the quality of production and broadcasts particularly audio and visual output. Respondents unanimously agree that media work environment and equipments available to some media organs in Nigeria are inadequate. They insist that inadequate work environment and equipment hinder the media from performing effectively.

## 8.10.7 Ethnicity

The division of Nigeria along ethnic lines, the suppression of national interests against the pursuit and promotion of ethnic interests have become the hallmark of the relationship between different components of the Nigerian nation. Study data on the issue is exemplified by quotes from Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 373-376 who believes that:

> "Ethnicity has a role to play. No Federal Government can ever combine this into one, because the interest is selfish. They tend to protect their own ethnic group more than other groups and as a result Nigeria has different cultural values".

Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 383-384 agrees that:

> "Ethnicity has a role to play in the problems facing Nigeria in that it hinders trust in the country and once there is no trust nothing can work".

The views of those interviewed, as well as media, academic and public discourse echo the opinion expressed by Uche (1989), Abati (2000) and Olukoyun (2003).

The broad debate on the manifestation of ethnicity in overall media activities indicate that the Nigerian media which was nationalistic during the independence struggle and served as to launching pad to attack the colonial masters but suddenly became a parochial, primordial, and tribalistic press at independence. They argue that the firebrand press suddenly became "tribal-brand" press. It was also revealed that the Nigerian media went on to align with political parties which were ethnic and/or tribal based. The Respondents agree that ethnicity is a problem in Nigeria which hinders trust pointing out that lack of trust in turn hinders progress and development.

## 8.10.8 Media Control

Media control in this case deals with the issue of interference by media owners on the ability of the media to freely decide what and when to publish and/or broadcast.

Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 89-91 describes the predicament of his friend and declares as follows:

> *"A friend of mine once lost his job because he used a story repugnant to a leading politician's interest. The politician only had to call the owner of the newspaper".*

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 195-199 also reveals that:

> *"The private media owe government no apology but mind you the government of the day can use their law and order for its closure. You remember during Obasanjo's era when they closed AIT because they aired something about air mishap when they had plane crash or something like that and recently the Channels Television so they still trade with caution".*

An earlier conclusion of this study on this issue drawn from research theme results presented in Chapter 7 indicates that:

> *"Some media owners in Nigeria interfere in publications made by their media organs due to the owner's different interests. Interference can also affect the ability of media organizations to perform ethically and objectively".*

However, public and academic discourse on this issue aligns with the views of Uche (1989) which argues that private media proprietors exert significant control over their media organizations. It is the general belief that proprietors have been known to demand self-censorship by their editors and expects those working in their media organizations to understand and protect their interests. The study data show that Respondents believe that some media organs are manipulated and controlled directly by its owners and indirectly by associates of the owners. They also argue that such control affects the ability of the media to function effectively and professionally.

# 8.10.9 MEDIA ACCESS

| | Yes | | No | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Nigerians have access to TV, Radio and Newspaper | 203 | 68 | 97 | 32 | 300 | 100 |
| Nigerians find it difficult to have access to media information | 143 | 48 | 157 | 52 | 300 | 100 |

Table 8.5 Access to the Nigerian media and Nigerian media Information

This "data theme" deals with the ability of Nigerians to have access to the mass media in Nigeria. Data on table 8.5 above shows that 68% of those surveyed believe that Nigerians have access to TV, Radio and Newspaper. It is not surprising that 48% of survey Respondents indicate that Nigerians find it difficult to have access to media information. There are factors identified by Respondents that militate against unhindered access to media information (See 7.6.4). In addition, quotes below exemplify the views of those interviewed which indicates that Respondent 11 (M/Aca/MdSts) in lines 113-117 is of the opinion that:

*"If you are talking about accessibility to the media in Nigeria, it is not so much of a problem anymore. If you go to the slum areas in Nigeria, you will find people hoisting satellite discs and the importation of used TV sets have also made access to TV set much more affordable".*

Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 128-131 questions that:

*"When we are talking about access to the media, where is the electricity to watch TV or listen to radio? If you have a television or radio and you don't have constant power supply to monitor events with it, you will find that you will not be able to do so. Therefore, all these things are constraints ".*

Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 225-230 reasserts that:

*"Like I said before I can't think of any Nigerian who doesn't have access to radio even amongst the cattle herdsmen in the north where illiteracy rate is very high you see them even in the field rearing their cattle they carry their radio around even among our people here who are traders you see them listening to radio in their stales every time".*

The opinion expressed by those interviewed appears similar to the views by Media Sustainability Index (MSI) Africa (2008) and aligns with the overall view in public, media and academic discourse in Nigeria. It was observed that private media outlets both print and electronic provide local and national coverage, depending on their financial strength. Many media outlets like pay TV are however not readily affordable by ordinary Nigerian citizens. Nigerians living and working in major cities have better access to all forms of media than those in rural areas, who have good access to radio and television but poor access to the print media.

Respondents generally believe that many people in Nigeria have access to the mass media but equally admit that there are challenges. They identified the challenges to include:

- High level of illiteracy

- Lack of constant electricity supply

- Wide spread poverty.

# 8.11 INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE

Looking at the different responses by different governments in Nigeria to social, economic, political and developmental challenges in Nigeria which is referred to as 'institutional response' in this study, Respondent 6 (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 75-79 reveals that:

*"In Anambra the state government is trying to bring about reorientation through celebrating people who have achieved greatness through honest means because before*

*this government came into existence what we saw was the celebration of people who made dubious wealth through dubious means, who had no day time activities yet they were being celebrated because they had money".*

Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) in line 56-59 argues that:

*"The minister of information in Nigeria is talking about rebranding. Rebranding is on the surface the thing we need is actual values reorientation to enable our people to acquire those values that will bring about development and minimize corruption".*

There is an agency of government in Nigeria for reorientation called the National Orientation Agency (NOA) which was established in 1993. To establish the Agency, the enabling decree merged three former organs of government, namely: the Public Enlightenment (PE) and the War Against Indiscipline (WAI), National Orientation Movement (NOM) a division of the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture with the Directorate for Social Mobilization, Self-Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER). Again in 2009 the Nigerian government introduced yet another program directed at attitude change in Nigeria called "Rebranding Nigeria". Generally, Respondents' agree that the leadership and citizens of Nigeria are aware that something is wrong with the value system in Nigeria. They argue that this is the reason why governments at all levels in Nigeria are creating agencies to fight corruption and re-orient civic values which have so far failed. A comprehensive discussion on the National Orientation Agency (NOA) in Nigeria is in (2.2) above.

## 8.11.1 Anti Corruption Agencies

Anti corruption agencies as the name implies are those agencies created by government for the purpose of fighting different corrupt practices in Nigeria. Respondents' views indicate that Respondent 8 (M/J/PMd) in line 46-52 reveals that:

*"First, we had the establishment of the (EFCC) Economic and Financial Crime Commission, then the (ICPC) the Independent Corruption Practices Commission and other related ones like NAFDAC. All these agencies were targeted at eliminating*

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*corruption in the body politics but by the time we will be thinking of 2007, we now started talking seriously on the issue of due processes".*

Respondent 1 (M/Prof/MdSts/Fo/Con/EFCC) in line 355-358 agrees that:

*"It is impressive that operatives working in EFCC have not been charged of corruption and they go after people like that and it must be a unique organization in Nigeria and is standing on its feet and we know they are doing something".*

Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 61-65 adds:

*"Corruption is being tackled now gradually. First of all Obasanjo, well, had to inaugurate EFCC you know they tried to some extent, they tried to see if they could curb corruption, but EFCC was wrongly used, that would have been a very nice condition if it was used judiciously".*

In 2010 the Nigerian media was filled with stories of bank chief executives who were relieved of their positions by the Nigerian Central Bank (CBN) governor and arrested by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) because they corruptly siphoned billions from their banks. In 2011 Mr. Bankole the immediate past speaker of the House of Representatives in Nigeria and his deputy were arrested and are being arraigned for embezzling public funds.

However, public and media debate on the performance of anti corruption agencies in Nigeria is divided in opinion. One school of thought believes that the anti-corruption agencies are ineffective pointing out that crime and corruption continue to multiple and deepen in Nigeria. While the other school of thought believes that the ruling class point to few individuals being prosecuted in court for corrupt practice to argue that the agencies are effective. It is a widely held view within this school of thought that those being prosecuted are the individuals that have fallen out of favor.

Respondents clearly identified some anti corruption agencies in Nigeria. The following agencies were successfully identified just as in (Ojo, (2009)):

- Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC)

- Independent Corruption Practices Commission (ICPC)

- National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA)

- National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC).

However, no Respondent successfully identified the <u>Code of Conduct Bureau (COCB)</u> as an anti corruption agency. The study data also shows that respondents' opinion is divided on the effectiveness of performance or otherwise of the anti corruption agencies identified.

# 8.12 DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

The issue of national development and the provision of basic infrastructure in Nigeria have continued to agitate the minds of well meaning Nigerians since the country gained independence 50 years ago. All Respondents offered their view on aspects of national development which they all perceive as very important.

## 8.12.1 Reasons for Lack of Development in Nigeria

The study data provides information on some reasons why Nigeria has remained underdeveloped many years after the country attained national independence in 1960. Respondents' view on the issue show that Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 41-44 agrees that there is obvious lack of development in Nigeria but insists that:

> *"The reason for lack of national development in Nigeria is both systemic and institutional".* He adds that *"some of us feel that aside from the internal factors, some of our problems are also externally induced".*

Respondent 7 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in lines 45-46 points out that:

*"The problem of lack of development in Nigeria is brought about by corruption, tribalism, laziness, ethnicity, religiosity and ignorance"*

The view in public and media discourse, as well as those expressed by Respondents on reasons for lack of development in Nigeria echo the opinion of Punch Online Newspaper of Tuesday, 14 Sept. 2010, Daily Independent newspaper of 18th August and saharareporters.com of September 19, 2010. It is the general belief in Nigeria that:

- Corruption is a national malaise that has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian society

- Nigeria would develop only when the issue of corruption has been seriously tackled

- The campaign against corruption requires effective judiciary and law enforcement agencies

- No matter the reforms undertaken by government, there will be no meaningful development until values reorientation is vigorously undertaken

- The value system in Nigeria is faulty and there can be no meaningful progress until it is redressed

- Nigeria has derailed from the path of a coherent unified polity and national development owing to corrupt leadership

- The ruling classes of different political, ethnic and religious persuasions are in a "sworn conspiracy" to prevent progress and development in Nigeria

The entire Respondents agree that Nigeria has a problem with national development. Some of the Respondents also point out that Nigeria's problem is both internally and externally induced. They identified some of the internal factors responsible for lack of

development in Nigeria to include corruption, tribalism, laziness, ethnicity, religiosity, ignorance, etc.

## 8.12.2 Get-Rich Quick Syndrome

The "get-rich quick syndrome" is the situation where some Nigerians have shunned hard work and decency, and have openly opted for illegal and criminal means of acquiring wealth without bothering about the consequences of their actions. Respondent 16 (M/O.NOA) in line 151-157 complains about the continuous thriving of this syndrome and insists that:

> *"Parents partially are to blame also. You have a son who dropped out of secondary school, he travels to Lagos or wherever and suddenly he comes back with five cars, start building a house. You are not interested in how this dropout made this money rather you now go around the village and you want people to realize that you are the father of a rich man. This is part of the problem".*

Public discourse on the get-rich-quick syndrome indicate that the Nigerian society has for long been subjected to the habit of acquiring wealth by some citizens with little or no effort. They argue that this habit combined with a "get rich quick" mentality and reliance on government patronage has largely been responsible for the disrespect for efficiency norms in the country. It is generally believed that the emergence of this syndrome brought with it the vicious and mindless attitude to wealth acquisition without recourse to manner of acquisition and consequences of such acquisition which is now prevalent in Nigeria. This opinion ties nicely with the views of Obiajulu (2003) and Nonyelu (2003).

Respondents' unanimously agree that the get-rich-quick syndrome is thriving in Nigeria because Nigerians no longer question the source of sudden wealth. They argue that society now accords recognition and high social status to people of questionable means thereby encouraging others to join.

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# 8.13 SUMMARY OF KEY "DATA THEMES" OUTCOME

A summary of the key outcomes from the research "data themes" reveal that:

1. Respondents agree that there are other agents of socialization outside the family which includes the church, school and teachers.

2. Respondents believe that there is something wrong with the socialization process in Nigeria. They also agree that there is need in Nigeria for the reorientation of both parents and children in other to revitalize the socialization process to play a role in proper child upbringing in Nigerian.

3. Respondents believes that Nigerians know exactly what good leadership is and are unanimous in agreeing that leadership in Nigeria is not good. The study data also reveals that Respondents admit that Nigerians have shown over time that if the leadership is right that Nigerians can do things properly.

4. Respondents believe that part of the problem with Nigeria is that many people in the country are ignorant.

5. Respondents believe that existing social justice system in Nigeria is weak and discriminatory. Respondents are also clamoring for a stronger and fairer social justice system where everybody will be brought to justice without discrimination when they commit crime or go against the laws of the land.

6. Respondents agree that the reward system in Nigeria is unjust and needs to be corrected.

7. Social values according to Respondents are the acceptable ways of behavior within a given society which are transmitted from generation to generation.

They also agree that values cut across institutions of society such as religion, economy, politics, culture, etc.

8. Respondents agree that social values in Nigeria are weak and also tend to support corruption. They also believe that the negative state of values in Nigeria has contributed to the apparent lack of national development.

9. Respondents agree that values are subverted without consequences by the elite in Nigeria. They believe that subversion of values manifests itself in the form of corruption and other social vices. They also reveal that subversion of values have negatively affected Nigeria's effort at development because current civic values in Nigeria encourage corruption.

10. Respondents are unanimous in agreeing that there are lots of benefits that will accrue to Nigeria if the country successfully undertakes the reorientation of its current civic values.

11. All Respondents believe that the very high level of illiteracy, coupled with collapsed education infrastructure, added to the unjust reward system and the total absence of state welfare program have helped to facilitate and entrench ignorance and poverty in Nigeria.

12. Respondents agree that the Nigerian society encourages its citizen to engage in corrupt practices. They also agree that social expectations and behavior within the Nigerian society compel Nigerian citizens to engage in corrupt practices.

13. Respondents agree that corruption is responsible for the inability of Nigeria and its leaders to provide basic infrastructure which is the fundamentals for industrial and economic development.

14. Respondents believe that Nigeria has a viable public sphere and that Nigerians openly participate in the discussion of topical media issues everywhere, everyday and every time.

15. Respondents believe that there is a viable and recognizable civil society in Nigeria which enjoys the confidence of Nigerians.

16. Respondents believe that Nigerians are confident that the Nigerian media can successfully lead any values reorientation effort in the country going by its past activities over the years.

17. Respondents agree that although the Nigerian media was subject to very difficult times by different military regimes in the country, they still confronted the military and remained resolute in checking their excesses.

18. Respondents believe that there is journalistic excellence in the Nigerian media.

19. Respondents believe that some people in Nigeria manipulate the Nigerian media for their personal gain and advantage.

20. Some Respondents are of the view that although the Nigeria media was prominent during the third term drama, there were other stakeholders like politicians that facilitated as well as participated in the fight.

21. Respondents believe that there are complicated and diverse political interests in Nigeria which regularly seek to manipulate the media and its practitioners. They also agree that this has the capacity to negatively affect the performance of the Nigeria media.

22. Respondents believe media practitioners face threats to their lives, the lives of their loved ones and threats to their property. They also insist that this obviously have negative ramifications for media performance.

23. Respondents agree that some media practitioners in Nigeria engage in unethical conducts in the discharge of their professional responsibilities. They also believe that media practitioner's unethical behaviors can undermine faith in the ability of the Nigerian media to discharge its duties professionally.

24. Respondents unanimously agree that media work environment and equipments available to some media organs in Nigeria are inadequate. They insist that inadequate work environment and equipment hinder the media from performing effectively.

25. Respondents agree that ethnicity is a problem in Nigeria. They also believe that ethnicity hinders trust in Nigeria and points out that lack of trust in turn hinders progress and development.

26. Respondents believe that some media organs are manipulated and controlled directly by its owners and indirectly by associates of the owners. They also argue that such control affect the ability of the media to function effectively and professionally.

27. Respondents believe that many people in Nigeria have access to the mass media but equally admit that there are challenges. They identified some of the challenges to include high level of illiteracy, lack of constant electricity supply and wide spread poverty.

28. Respondents agree that the leadership, as well as the citizens of Nigeria are aware that something is wrong with the value system in Nigeria. They indicate

that it explains the reason why governments at all levels in Nigeria are creating agencies to fight corruption and re-orient civic values which have so far failed.

29. Respondents identified some anti corruption agencies in Nigeria to include: the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC); the Independent Corruption Practices Commission (ICPC); the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) and National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). However, no Respondent could identify the Code of Conduct Bureau (COCB) as an anti corruption agency. On the other hand, their opinion are divided on the effective performance of the anti corruption agencies.

30. Respondents agree that Nigeria has problems with national development. They indicate that Nigeria's problems are both internally and externally induced. They also identifies the internal factors responsible for lack of development in Nigeria to include amongst others corruption, tribalism, laziness, ethnicity, religiosity, ignorance, selfishness and greed

The next chapter is the last for this study. Therefore, it will summarize the research process adopted by the study while detailing its findings and their implications. The chapter will also outline the study contribution to knowledge as well as explain its limitations. Finally, it will recommend some areas for further research, as well as make its conclusion.

# CHAPTER NINE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

## 9.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis addresses the *"role the Nigerian Mass Media can play in the process of social and economic development of Nigeria through the re-orientation of societal values"* by focusing on the following five key research questions.

- *What is the capacity of existing Media to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through values reorientation in Nigeria?*

- *What role can media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of media practitioners play in the media effort at values reorientation in Nigeria?*

- *What is the extent of media believability and accessibility in Nigeria and what are the factors that affect them.*

- *What is the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to discuss issues raised in the media, as well as other issues perceived as topical in the country?*

- *Does ethnic, tribal and religious background of media practitioners affect the manner of coverage and reportage of topical issues in the Media in Nigeria?*

In striving to meet its objectives, as well as provide answers its research questions, the thesis was structured into nine chapters. This current chapter which is chapter nine reviews and synthesizes the findings of this research. It equally outlines the study contribution(s) to knowledge, as well as explains the study's limitations. It finally makes some recommendations for further research while concluding the study.

The study began by presenting in chapter one an overview of four decades of mass media activities in Nigerian as discussed in chapter four. These activities started before colonialism culminating with the emergence of "Iwe Irohin" newspaper as Africa's first newspaper in 1859. It continued from Nigeria's first republic, to the first military coup and subsequently to the civil war 1967 - 1970. Additionally, the chapter explained the motivation behind the decision to undertake this study while also presenting an introduction to the research case study. Furthermore, it presented the general research themes and issues in the study.

Chapter two gave a brief history of the study environment, as well as explored institutional responses to the issues raised in this study.

Chapter three centers on the Nigerian media and media related issues in Africa and elsewhere. It also looks at the history of the Nigerian media, as well as its recent development.

Additionally chapter four looks at the different struggles of the Nigerian media, its achievements and failings, as well as its difficulties and/or problems. It also examines its role during various military eras and democratic governance. The chapter explores media ownership patterns and issues of media control.

Chapter five presents the review of literature which discusses media effect theories, media research works and mass communication literature found relevant to this study. It specifically focused on the agenda setting theory and other theoretical models with conceptual convergence with the agenda setting theory like gate-keeping, public sphere, civil society, public opinion, framing and priming.

Chapter six discusses the philosophical position that drove this study which is the critical realism paradigm. It also focused on research design in general by explaining

the importance of an appropriate research design in research. Additionally, the chapter explains the mixed methods approach which is the method adopted by this study.

In chapter seven the study presented and analyzed its data in line with the study "research themes". The chapter specifically presented its qualitative data generated through in-depth interviews and the open-ended sections of the survey questionnaire. The data were presented in response to the indicative research questions raised by the study in chapters one, six, seven and repeated in chapter nine.

More qualitative data were presented and analyzed in chapter eight but this time as "data themes". The "data themes" as earlier explained are those themes that emerged from the research data which were identified as possessing the capacity to facilitate a better understanding of the issues raised in the study. Some of the "data themes" it should be noted corresponded with some of the "research themes" already discussed in chapter seven. However, there are many other themes that emerged specifically from the study data which are relevant to the study main objectives.

The present chapter discusses and interprets the study empirical results. It does this by interpreting and discussing the key findings of the study in relation to its literature. It also makes some recommendations for further research, as well as explains the study limitations.

The implications of chapters one, two, three, four, five, and six plus the research findings presented in chapters seven and eight will now be considered in order to answer the five research questions posed by this study.

In this chapter, conscious effort will be made to show the relationship between the research findings exemplified by Respondents' views presented as "research themes"

and "data themes" in chapters seven and eight in addition to the study literature presented in chapters two, three, four and five respectively.

## 9.2 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF STUDY FINDINGS

This study was conducted as indicated in (6.5.1) using the mixed methods approach as the preferred research method. The study specifically adopted in-depth interviews and survey questionnaire methods for the purpose of data collection.

Qualitative data for this study were obtained from in-depth interviews conducted across Nigeria and the open-ended sections of the survey questionnaire. The resulting data have been presented as quotes from Respondents in chapters seven and eight respectively. The in-depth interviews covered a cross section of what the study referred to as "media stakeholders" and their details are as earlier set out in chapter six.

There is another category which the study referred to as "targeted individuals". Individuals within this category (targeted individuals) are people who had occupied or are occupying positions perceived as directly relevant to the objectives of this study.

This study as indicated in chapters one, six, seven and (9.2.1) raised five research questions all of which also raised specific research issues. Research data presented in chapters five and six clearly shows that all the questions and/or issues raised by the study have been addressed in the data. Consequently, all research results specifically relating to the "research themes" will be discussed and analyzed. The results were presented as indicated through the synthesis of findings and literature around three set of data.

- "Direct Research Theme" Findings Question one, two, three, etc. (DRTFRQ). See chapters three and five.

- "Direct Data Theme" Findings linked to Research Question one, two, three, etc. (DDTFRQ). See chapters three and six.

- Themes that emerged in the data. (DTF). See chapter six.

Discussion of findings and analysis for the second phase of this discussion will direct attention to the themes that emerged straight from the study data called "data themes" which were not covered by the "research themes" earlier discussed.

The "data themes" to be discussed were identified as useful in facilitating a better understanding of the indicative issues raised by this study. In addition, results from their analyses are intended to provide additional information that will facilitate better understanding of issues raised by the research questions. The results will be presented as indicated below.

## 9.2.1 Capacity Of The Nigerian Media

The main objective of this study is to ascertain whether the Nigerian media has the:

> *"Capacity to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through values reorientation".*

### 9.2.1.1 Research Themes' Findings

The study found from "research theme" results that the entire Respondents believe that the Nigerian media can successfully lead a values re-orientation effort as they could identify ways in which the Nigerian media could motivate Nigerians to evaluate their ways of life.

The study also establishes that those interviewed believe that Nigeria has a problem with its value system and specifically identifies crime, corruption and the get-rich-quick-syndrome as the biggest negative factors affecting the value system. Corruption

however, emerged as the singular most identified factor responsible for lack of development in Nigeria.

Another result relevant to this research question is the finding that most Respondents believe that the Nigerian media is central in the fight against corruption and indeed in any genuine values reorientation effort in Nigeria. But the study equally reveals that most Respondents agree that there is need for the Nigerian media to first reorient itself to be in a better position to successful reorient the Nigerian society.

This outcome is not surprising when the evidence of performance by sections of the Nigerian media are assessed against the backdrop of accusations of unethical behaviors leveled against some media practitioners and media organs. It is common knowledge that some media practitioners in Nigeria demand and/or collect bribes from individuals, groups or companies to either kill an unfavorable story or publish outright falsehood in favor of their patrons. This is known in the Nigerian media parlance as the "brown envelope" syndrome.

Respondents, as well as external agencies believe that corruption and other forms of unethical conduct is becoming rampant in the Nigerian media. For example Respondent 3 (M/CE/GMd) reveals in line 143-144 that:

> "When they (journalists) conduct interviews if they are not given something (bribe) they will not publish".

They also indicate that this is beginning to affect media believability, particularly those media organs suspected to be involved in such unethical behaviors. Consequently, Nigerians have now subconsciously started to group media organizations into those they believe out rightly, those whose information needs to be crosschecked and those not to believe at all. This can be exemplified by of Respondent 5 (Fe/J/PMd) in line 178-179 who indicates that:

*"Nigerians believe more the information they receive through the independent television or radio stations".*

Fortunately however, the percentage of media organizations enjoying high believability ratings from Nigerians are far more than those battling with believability challenges. The emergence of many privately owned media organs, online newspapers, blogs and journals have vastly increased sources of authentic news and information available to Nigerians.

## 9.2.1.2 Data Theme Findings

As was with "research theme" findings, study results from the "data themes" also clearly show similar result pattern while considering the first research question. Results from the "data themes" reveal that evidence from the study data show that the Nigerian media should be at the fore front of value reorientation effort because they have a core role to play. Respondents generally agree that the Nigerian media has the required capacity to successfully deliver messages that could bring about change in civic values in Nigeria.

Similarly, corruption also emerged from the "data themes" as not only endemic but also as a major problem in Nigeria. All Respondents identify corruption as the singularly greatest hindrance to development in Nigeria.

Finally the "data themes" concludes that the Nigerian media is important in any effort at fighting corruption in Nigeria. The theme hinged its conclusion on the belief by Respondents that the ability of the Nigerian media to expose, name and shame public officials and others involved in corrupt practices as an important weapon and a major aspect of the fight against corruption in Nigeria.

Looking at the findings from the "research theme" and "data theme", the study concludes that those interviewed believe that the Nigerian media has the capacity to deliver messages that could bring about social and economic development through the reorientation of civic values in Nigeria. But they also add that the Nigerian media has to reorient itself in other to be in a position to successfully reorient the Nigerian society.

## 9.2.2 Media Ownership, Press Freedom, Training And Remuneration Of Media Practitioners

The aim of the second research question is to discover if media ownership, press freedom, training and remuneration of media practitioners can hinder the values reorientation ability of the Nigerian media.

### 9.2.2.1 Research Theme

The study show that all Respondents agree that the pattern of media ownership in Nigeria is government or public media ownership and private media ownership where individuals and private institutions own media

Those interviewed also indicate that:

- Current media ownership pattern in Nigeria negatively affects the ability of the media to perform without hindrance.

- Current media ownership pattern makes it difficult for the media in Nigeria to function effectively and efficiently for the overall good of society.

- Current media ownership pattern in Nigeria can hinder the media from effectively playing a leading role in the fight against corruption as well as in values reorientation.

The same manner of control is also true for some private media organs whose owners are either former public office holders or friends cum business associates of some people currently holding public offices.

It is obvious that establishing a media outfit is very capital intensive and obtaining an operational license is also another major huddle in Nigeria. It is therefore mainly government or wealthy private individuals and groups with access to capital and influence that can venture into the media business in Nigeria. These kinds of owners often come to the media industry with baggage of interests which are usually economic and/or political in nature. Evidence of this is replete all over Nigeria. For example the Punch Newspaper established by late Obafemi Awolowo to propagate the Action Group a political party which he led, the Concord Group of Newspapers set up by late MKO Abiola (who is believed to have won the June 12, 1993 election) to enhance his political career and recently Minaj Television launched by Mike Ajegbo to boost his political popularity among many others.

Interestingly, those who have the wealth and influence required to successfully set up a media outfit in Nigeria are mainly former public office holders and their business associates who have been accused of either diverting or embezzling public funds. Consequently, interests such as these often compel the owners to interfere with the running of the media outfit thereby witling down the effectiveness and/or efficiency of the media organ to perform for the overall good of society.

As presented in chapter seven by Respondent 18 (M/CE/PMd) in line 351-352:

> *"The guys (people) who are stealing the money are the ones rich enough to set up newspapers in Nigeria".*

The study show that those interviewed believe that there is limited press freedom, as well as compromises in the performance of the media in Nigeria. This outcome is not

surprising when you consider the level of media control and the reasons behind such levels of control. For instance, Nigeria is a country where corruption is endemic (see Transparency International Corruption Index 2010) and highly placed individuals engage in illegalities (see Appendix for list of Nigerians facing corruption charges in 2010 by EFCC).

The media and its ability to expose such individuals has become a source of worry to these individuals. This situation therefore explains the eagerness of former public office holders, their business associates and cronies to establish and own media outfits in Nigeria to launder their already battered image.

The next result for this research question show that most Respondents believe that there is inadequacy of training, as well as the need for better training for media practitioners in Nigeria if they are to successfully fulfill their role as watchdog of society more effectively.

This view exemplifies the correct scenario with regards to the current state of training received by those aspiring to work in the media industry in Nigeria as professionals. Training of media professionals cannot be different from what is obtainable in the generally decayed educational sector facing unimaginable difficulties in quality of manpower and overall teaching facilities.

The data in this theme further reveal that those interviewed agree that Nigerian media practitioners are not adequately remunerated and equipped.

Nothing seems to explain the situation better than the assertion that the general economic condition in Nigeria, plus the deliberate ploy by the ruling class to maintain perpetual control over the media in particular and the Nigerian society in general culminate in the state of disrepair found in the media and everywhere in the country.

## 9.2.2.2 Data Theme

The study reveals from the "data themes" that most Respondents believe that media ownership in Nigeria is not transparent. Respondents also agree that some Nigerian media owners interfere with publications/broadcasts of their media organs due to multiple self interests. They equally believe that such interference affect the ability of media organizations to perform ethically, boldly, courageously and objectively.

In addition, most Respondents believe that Nigeria has problems with its overall development. They also reveal that the situation is both internally and externally induced. The Respondents locate the internal factors responsible for Nigeria's lack of development to include corruption, bad leadership, tribalism, laziness, ethnicity, lack of discipline, religiosity, ignorance, etc. While the external factors blamed for the situation include colonialism and its legacies, as well as unequal access to international capital.

Additional significant issues identified by Respondents from the "data themes" relevant to the second research question indicate that:

- Some media practitioners in Nigeria engage in unethical conducts in the discharge of their professional responsibilities.

- Engaging in unethical behaviors can undermine faith in the ability of the Nigerian media to discharge its duties professionally.

- Some in Nigeria are not adequately remunerated.

- Adequate remuneration will encourage some media practitioners to resist the lure of corruption and other unethical conducts which will in turn enable them perform more professionally.

- Media work environment and equipment available to some media organs in Nigeria are inadequate.

- Inadequate work environment and equipment hinder the media and its practitioners from performing effectively and efficiently.

Another important issue from the 'data themes' is the confirmation by Respondents that going by antecedents, the Nigerian media can successfully lead a values reorientation campaign in the country as presented in chapter seven. For instance Respondent 10 (M/Prof/Fo/PuOH) in line 103-111 expresses the view that:

> *"Values reorientation is germane, it is central to development. That is why the media is not only important but central to reorientation and the fight against corruption because now whatever that comes from the media is accepted as the gospel truth".*

This particular result is significant because it shows that despite the high level of corruption and other vices identified by Respondents' in the Nigerian media, Nigerians still retain the confidence that the media in Nigeria can successfully oversee the reorientation of civic values in the country.

## 9.2.3 Media Believability And Accessibility In Nigerian In Nigeria

The third research question seeks to ascertain the extent of media believability and accessibility in Nigerian, as well as whether there are factors that hinder belief in and access to the Nigeria media.

### 9.2.3.1 <u>Research Theme</u>

Outcomes from this research question stated in 9.2.3 above show that those interviewed agree that Nigerians believe information, news or messages they receive from the Nigerian media although information from some media organizations (particularly

private media stations) are believed more than information from government or public media stations.

This outcome will not surprise those conversant with events in the Nigerian media industry because it is common knowledge that public officers who fund and/or control public media organs have almost turned these media organs into their personal public relations units. For instance, if you tune to any public radio or TV station like the Anambra State Broadcasting Service (ABS) funded by the Anambra state government, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) or the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) both funded by the federal government of Nigeria, most news or information from these media outfits will centre on the governor of Anambra state, his wife, state commissioners etc or the president, his wife, ministers, legislators or senior members of the ruling political party as the case may be. The story is the same for all media outfits sponsored by various state governments.

On the other hand, those interviewed agree that it is the private media that give the viewing or listening public the other side of most stories. They are the ones that can question and actually do question government actions and policies, as well as expose corrupt public officials involved in shady deals. There are some notable private media organs whose activities over the years have endeared them to Nigerians and are now perceived as the mouth piece of the people. Examples include African independent Television (AIT), Channels TV, Tell magazine, Tempo magazine, NewsWatch magazine, 234next, SaharaReporters and Nigeria Daily news.

In this theme this study also identifies that the Nigerian media has successfully mobilized Nigerians to challenge for example colonialism, military dictatorships, as well as the "third term agenda" of Nigeria's former president Obasanjo (see chapter

four) and the current zoning issue raging within the ruling political party in Nigeria the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

History has shown that the prominence given by the media to the issues of colonialism, dictatorship and the third term bid of former president Obasanjo elevated the issues in the public mind (see chapter one). It also stirred the passion with which Nigerians reacted to these issues and underpinned the successes achieved while tackling with these sensitive national concerns.

Furthermore, the study data also show that Nigerians have unhindered access to the mass media in the country. However, this is hinged on other intervening factors such as government arrest and/or detention of the news reporter(s), closure of the radio or TV station or confiscation of printed publications.

Other outcomes in this theme also indicate that:

- Nigerians can afford the cost of buying television and/or radio sets.

- Nigerians understand the language of Nigerian media production and presentation because media organs in different localities present their information or news in "Pigeon English" and the native or vernacular languages in addition to the English language.

- There are factors that hinder access to the mass media in Nigeria which includes illiteracy, poverty, lack of infrastructure, ignorance etc.

### 9.2.3.2 Data Theme

Outcomes from this "data theme" are generally similar to the findings from the "research theme" presented above for research question 3. For example, "data theme" results show that:

Nigerians believe information and/or news from the mass media but they believe more the information received through the privately owned independent media.

Many Nigerians have access to the mass media but admit that there are challenges. The challenges include high level of illiteracy, lack of constant electricity supply and wide spread poverty and ignorance.

Some media organs are manipulated and controlled directly by owners and indirectly by associates of owners. This control affects the ability of the Nigerian media to function effectively and professionally.

Historically, the Nigerian media have been subjected to all manner of control by owners or financers and their associates. For example, in 1992 late Moshood Abiola the multi-millionaire politician, ordered the editor of his newspaper the National Concord Mr. Bayo Onanuga to apologize to the then military President, General Ibrahim Babangida for allowing the publication of an article believed to have angered the president. The editor refused to apologize and was immediately sacked. This has been the lot of many reporters and editors working with both public and private media organs in Nigeria. According to the view expressed by Respondent three (M/CE/GMd) in line 88-91:

> *"Even for the private media, there is the same problem to a reasonable extent. I remember a friend who was fired because he used a story repugnant to Abiola's interest and Abiola only had to call Iwuanyanwu the owner of Champion newspaper".*

## 9.2.4 Public Sphere

This research question aims at the capacity of the "public sphere" in Nigeria to provide the forum for citizens to discuss issues raised in the media, as well as other issues perceived as topical in the country.

## 9.2.4.1 Research Theme

Research data in this theme show that the public sphere is alive and well in Nigeria. This outcome is not surprising because everywhere you go in Nigeria, you will find Nigerians discussing issues pertaining to the situation in the country. Such discussions take place all the time and involve practically people of all classes, ages, sex, religious, ethnic and political persuasions.

Evidence from data on this theme show that Nigerians freely discuss issues raised by the media and points out that the discussions take place daily at newspaper stands, beer parlors or pubs, restaurants, offices, markets or indeed everywhere and it involves everyone. The data also suggests that the media should harvest some of these discussions and make them popular in other to stimulate people's action. The study data also reveal that the Nigerian mass media remain an important source of information for most Nigerians.

Additionally, those interviewed believe that the Nigerian media collaborates with human rights and civil society organizations, as well as with politicians. A vivid and recent example is the collaboration between the Nigerian media and the Nigerian Senate, House of Representatives, human rights groups, civil society organizations and Nigerians in general to defeat the third term agenda of former president Obasanjo, as well as past military regimes in the country.

## 9.2.4.2 Data Theme

"Data theme" outcomes align themselves with the outcomes of the "research theme" already discussed above. Data evidence from the "data theme" shows that Respondent 9 (M/Prof/Acc/Fo/PuOH) insists that:

*"Nigeria has a viable public sphere and Nigerians openly participate in the discussion of topical media issues everywhere, everyday and every time".*

There are viable and recognizable civil societies in Nigeria which enjoy the confidence of Nigerians. Nigerians believe that there is journalistic excellence in the Nigerian media and they perceive information from the Nigerian media as important. Consequently, they agree that the Nigerian media is a very important source of credible information in the country.

# 9.2.5 Ethnic, Tribal And Religious Issues

The fifth research question looks at whether ethnic, tribal and religious backgrounds of media practitioners affect the manner of coverage and reportage of topical issues in the Media in Nigeria.

## 9.2.5.1 <u>Research Theme</u>

Opinion is divided among those interviewed on the question of whether ethnic, religious and tribal loyalties can hinder efforts at values reorientation in Nigeria. Research data reveal that some are of the view that ethnic, tribal and religious loyalties can hinder the media from successfully undertaking the reorientation of values in Nigeria, while others differ because they perceive such loyalties as mere sentiments propagated and exploited by selfish politicians for their personal benefits.

Study outcomes show that there exist very strong ethnic, religious and sectional sentiments in Nigeria and that ethnicity is a problem. These outcomes also say that ethnicity hinders trust in Nigeria and that lack of trust in turn hinders progress and development. However, despite these outcomes, opinion remain sharply divided among Respondents as to whether these sentiments can lead to biased media coverage or reportage of public office holders in line with the various divide. There is also no

consensus of opinion among those interviewed on whether Nigerian media practitioners collude with public office holders and other elite to launder their image on account of their ethnic and tribal background or religious persuasions.

9.2.5.2 <u>Data Theme' Findings</u>

Research outcomes under this category emerged on their own from the study data and are relevant in helping to achieve the overall objective of this study. The evidence and issues thrown up by the "data themes" are crucial in many respects particularly because they throw more light on the reasons why certain things are the way they are.

# 9.3 RESEARCH OUTCOMES

The issues discussed below are some of the research outcomes from this study which tend to negatively affect current civil, moral and ethical values in Nigeria, as well as institutional responses to these outcomes.

## 9.3.1 Social Validation of Corruption

One important outcome from the research data is that Respondents believe that the Nigerian society encourages its citizen to engage in corrupt practices. The study data therefore show on the evidence of the views expressed by those interviewed that social expectations and behavior within the Nigerian society compel citizens to engage in corrupt behaviors.

This is exemplifies by the views of Respondent 17 (M/Prof/CRA) in line 38 – 41 who declares that:

> *"We are greatly corrupt. Everybody wants to become rich overnight and part of the problem is because our people unduly eulogize rich men let me not call them wealthy men".*

Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 43-45 also adds:

*"Our values are predominantly the greatest setback to our developmental strides and I think that it kind of encourages corruption".*

## 9.3.2 Consequences of Corruption

Respondents generally believe that corruption is responsible for the inability of Nigeria and its leaders to provide basic infrastructure like electricity which is one of the fundamentals for industrial and economic development. This is exemplified by the views of Respondent six (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 295-298:

*"The state has the potential to be a very wealthy state but we are losing millions or billions every year because people who are either working for government or with government are cornering government revenues and putting them into their pockets".*

## 9.3.3 Brown Envelope - Syndrome

All Respondents believe that some journalists are involved in collecting bribes popularly referred to as the "brown envelope syndrome" in Nigeria. For example Respondent 13 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 112-114 says that:

*"The issue of brown envelope will not be extinguished in a day but I think if they have a better pay but their pay will also be commensurate with their training".*

## 9.3.4 Unethical Conduct

Those interviewed are unanimous in the belief that media practitioners in Nigeria engage in unethical conducts in the discharge of their professional responsibilities. That engaging in unethical behaviors can undermine faith in the ability of the Nigerian media to discharge its duties professionally. For example Respondent one (M/Prof/MdSts/Fo/Con/EFCC) in line 147-152 argues that:

*"The journalists know ... the man just stole a 100 million ... and the man says here is one tenth of it. Do you see any journalist say no? Because he will say after all it is less than one percent of what you took. He runs home quietly and starts writing funny stories..."*

Respondent nine (M/Prof/Acc/Fo/PuOH) in line 199-208 adds:

> *"Someone comes and keeps hovering around you, and you bring out the so-called brown envelope with wads of money, he is ready to publish anything just to satisfy you".*

## 9.3.5 Equipment and Work Environment

All Respondents agree that media work environment and equipments available to some media organs in Nigeria are inadequate. Inadequate work environment and equipments hinder the media from performing effectively.

For example Respondent 14 (M/Aca/MdSts) in line 343-347 believes that:

> *"Journalists are in trouble because freedom is not there. Most of them are sentenced, detained, molested, and even killed".*

In addition, Respondent six (Fe/Prof/MdSts/PuOH) in line 184-186 adds that:

> *"The media environment needs overhauling itself to empower the media practitioners to do their work better through up-to-date equipment and through proper remuneration".*

## 9.3.6 Anti Corruption Agencies

Respondents identify some anti corruption agencies in Nigeria such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) and National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). However, their opinion was divided on the performance or effectiveness of the agencies. For instance Respondent eight (M/J/PMd) in line 86-89 explains:

> *"That is why I said that with all these agencies like ICPC and EFCC the government is trying to reposition them by enabling them through legislations that will help to try to redirect Nigerians away from corruption..."*

Respondent two (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 259-263 adds:

> *"We are now being conscious, the markets are raided by agents of NAFDAC and people with these fake drugs are burnt. It may even be during our children children's time but we know that eventually Nigeria will be good".*

## 9.3.7 Reasons for Lack of Development in Nigeria

All Respondents agree that Nigeria has problems with national development. The problems are both internally and externally induced. Some Respondents believe that the internal factors responsible for lack of development in Nigeria include amongst others corruption, tribalism, laziness, ethnicity, religiosity and ignorance. The view expressed by Respondent 15 (M/Aca/Fo/PuOH) in line 31-33 exemplifies the overall opinion of all Respondents on the issue. Respondent 15 says:

> *"What else can we say other than that corruption, mismanagement of our funds, misdirection of fund and absence of discipline in the management of public funds are the reasons for lack of development in Nigeria".*

## 9.3.8 Get-Rich Quick Syndrome

Among those interviewed, some identifies the get-rich-quick syndrome as a problem in Nigeria. For example, one Respondent was of the view that corruption:

> *"Has led to the emergence of a very destructive syndrome in Nigeria known as the get-rich-quick syndrome".*

For example two (M/Prof/Fo/D/NOA) in line 36-37 insists that:

> *"We have lost what we use to see as our value system completely this may be as a result of get-rich-quick syndrome".*

## 9.4 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

There have been contemporary media studies in Nigeria, Africa and around the world but none looked at the media as a vehicle for values re-orientation. This study is the first

to focus on this phenomenon and the role of the mass media in the re-orientation of societal values while adapting western oriented media theories with a strong empirical base. The study data show that in a society like Nigeria where there is a consensus of opinion about the need for values re-orientation, where there is a high level of media believability, where topical media issues are freely discussed by all classes of people and where media access is unhindered and freely available, the mass media can successfully champion the re-orientation of values in such a society. The study also establishes that certain aspects of the Nigerian culture validate corruption across linguistic, ethnic, tribal and religious boundaries.

## 9.5 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

This study has met with some peculiar difficulties which limited its scope of data. Some of these difficulties include inadequate and/or nonexistent infrastructure particularly inadequate road transportation system and access roads, nonexistent railway system and inland waterways.

For example, during the second phase of data collection for this study in 2009, it took a nightmarish 19 hours to commute by road from Abuja to Enugu in South Eastern Nigeria without any vehicular breakdown. This is a journey that could have been made in less than 6 hours. The long hours of delay was as a result of very dilapidated roads which have gradually turned from being filled with potholes to becoming outright gullies. The state of roads therefore made it impossible for vehicles to ply normally. (Pictures showing the state of some of these roads are included as appendices).

Another factor worthy of mention here is the lack of safety of lives and property both on the roads and elsewhere in Nigeria. The extremely bad condition of the roads makes it possible for commuters fall easy prey to armed bandits, who often lay in wait for

vehicles and their passengers at the worst spots of the roads. During the first phase of data collection for this study in 2008, we had to disembark twice from our vehicle to run for dear life because armed robbers were on the Abuja road robbing commuter.

Even more frightening is the kidnapping going on across the country on daily bases. For more than ten years, kidnapers have emerged everywhere in Nigeria and are operating unchallenged. People are now kidnapped in churches even while church services are going on. Consequently, these factors and many others leaves researchers in Nigeria no other option than to study parts of the population in the hope that what is found will be valid for the entire population.

In Nigeria the last official census figures show that the country has a population of about 120 million people but presently population estimates put the current total population figures at between 120 million and 150 million people. This is therefore a massive population with its accompanying diversity of multiethnic, multi-tribal, multilingual, multicultural, multi-social and multi-religious nature which makes Nigeria a researcher's nightmare.

Politically and administratively, Nigeria is divided into six geo-political zones namely North Central, North East, North West, South East, South- South and South West. There are also thirty-six states and 774 Local Government Areas. The country has predominantly Muslim communities in the north, while the south is predominantly Christians. Although there are pockets of Christian minorities in the North and Muslims in the South particularly in the South West of Nigeria,

Given the sheer size of the country, logistical constraints and its political complexities, it would be very ambitious to try studying in detail even one of the thirty-six states and its local government areas.

Throughout the period of data collection for this study, there were ethno-religious conflicts and killings going on in parts of northern Nigeria. It is also true that these ethno-religious killings are still going on even today in places like Plateau, Bauchi and Zamfara states. For example, in 2008, there were politically motivated ethno-religious riots in Jos, plateau state culminating in the killing of hundreds of people. Unfortunately, the riots also spread to other northern cities thereby making it extremely dangerous to travel to them at that time since the researcher is a Christian from the south east.

Again during the second phase of data collection for this study in 2009, there were yet more ethno-religious riot in the Muslim north this time in the city of Maiduguri in Borno state as well as, in Zamfara state triggered off by a Muslim sect know as the Boko Haram. This is a group of Islamic extremists agitating for the abolition of all forms of western education in Nigeria. The situation again made it impossible to travel to any part of northern Nigeria since southerners resident in the north were fleeing from the area. Normally, this type of study has a completion time scale and this limits the amount of time spent on data collection. This situation makes it impossible for a researcher to collect all the data relevant to the study.

# 9.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There should be comparative studies within Africa to look at the nature of media ownership and control with a view to ascertaining how ownership affects the control of mass media and how media control in turn affects media performance in Africa and specific countries in particular. The key questions being:

- How can media objectivity be achieved and maintained in a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-lingual society faced with the culture of social validation of crime and corruption.

- What are the social and economic benefits of the new media and how does its adoption and usage affect the survival of traditional mass media like newspapers, magazines and radio in Nigeria particularly and Africa in general?

# 9.7 CONCLUSIONS

This study has been conducted in Nigeria, a third world country and adapts theories (agenda setting, priming, framing and gate keeping) that were developed in Europe and America to ascertain the role the Nigerian media can play in the reorientation of values of in Nigeria. This is despite the philosophical, social and other differences that exist between the two worlds. Consequently, a few theoretical, philosophical and other assumptions taken for granted at the conception of these theories may not necessarily be the case in Nigeria.

Historical evidence, as well as data from the study indicates that the Nigerian media have and can act as a strong fourth estate which can play a role in the process of social and economic development of Nigeria through the re-orientation of civic values. Therefore, the roles played by the Nigerian media during Nigeria's quest for political independence, during decades of military dictatorships and during the third term agenda struggle indicate that the Nigerian media has the capacity to influence its audience to accept as important those issues it considers important. In other words, the Nigerian media can set public agenda for its audiences (in this case Nigerians).

The study through its data clearly identifies certain factors that limit the performance of the Nigerian media to include:

- Corruption

- Ownership pattern, particularly government ownership

- Poor remuneration and working conditions

- Inadequate training

- Obsolete equipment

- Ethnicity, tribalism and religion

In addition, the study data reveals that the Nigerian media is not immune from issues of corruption although it shows through its history that it can and has successfully fought against colonialism, military dictatorships and on some occasion's corruption.

The Nigerian media and its ability to structure issues can be said to be limited in part. But this is not because it lacks the capacity or because as some claim, it is an urban phenomenon. No, rather it is because those interviewed believe that there are institutional bottlenecks like prohibitive laws and decrees, existing ownership structure, inadequate work environment and the much talked about multiple diversities in the country. These factors they argue tend to hinder the ability of the Nigerian media to structure topical national issues without bias and/or perform at optimal level.

It is obvious from evidence in the research data that if the Nigerian media restructures itself and sees itself, its functions or role, as well as its operations differently, that its power and influence will manifest more vividly and its influence stronger. In addition, Respondents believe that it will enable the Nigerian media become a media that sets public agenda for the Nigerian society. A media that can perform its surveillance, socialization and education, and other functions better for the good of the Nigerian society. However, although the ability of the Nigerian media to structure issues and set

public agenda for society still remain, the manifestation of its full potential, capacity and ability continues to whittle. The Nigerian media at times gets compromised because of personal, institutional and structural factors Respondents reveal.

As already discussed in Chapters seven and eight, corruption has been implicated by the entire Respondents as the singular most important factor militating against the overall development of Nigeria. They also indicate that aspects of our culture encourage and validate corruption.

Consequently, it becomes imperative that something be done and urgently too, to reorient those identified negative values that impinge on meaningful development in Nigeria. The Nigerian media according to all the people interviewed and surveyed is well positioned to successfully champion any values reorientation effort in Nigeria while collaborating with identified institutions of society such as the educational, religious and family institutions.

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