

AN ANALYSIS OF MASS MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY
TOWARD SOCIAL AND POLITICAL GROWTH
IN NIGERIA

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PREFACE

This study is concerned with the analysis of mass media role in the modernization process in Nigeria. The primary objective is to further research into various aspects of the communication media and their effects on the Nigerian society, to highlight problems of government control of the industry, and to obtain a sampling of attitudes on media issues by Nigerians. An analysis of variance was used to analyze the components of media issues which include surveillance functions, government interference and media education.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The process of modernization has presented the Nigerian mass media with a special challenge to disentangle social and economic progress from the structures of control by and dependency on government and the political neurosis the latter tend to generate. The humanization of the process of modernization calls for social responsibility, political participation, and cultural authenticity.

In Nigeria, as in other Third World countries, institutions of public communication are weak. Scholars of communication theory have found institutions to be talking at people rather than talking to people through the media.¹ One-way communication to a silent majority, buttressed by demagoguery, sensationalism, vulgarization and cheap entertainment, characterize the mass media of Nigeria. This is not the exercising of responsible journalism.

The objective of mass communication in Nigeria is demonstrated by the stated goal of the government, which is to provide the country with "strong and efficient information media" to achieve the ends of fostering national

reconciliation in the aftermath of a civil war, mobilizing public support for the effectiveness of national development, and presenting balanced, unbiased and timely information about conditions in the country.²

Attempts at developing the mass media in most developing countries have not been accompanied by any discernible economic or social development. As Julius Nyerere would say, the "ascent to modernization" has become a terrible adventure. And backed by very little or no relevant data, there have been policy misjudgments of one form or another in establishing the mass media.³

If Nigeria has been spared terrible policy misjudgments, the government must avoid blame for not having communication policies or plans to stimulate and regulate the communication process in the service of development. There is the argument that African indigenous systems have never been considered in the transfer and development of the new structures.

The impact of those weaknesses on the culture and image of the country has not been studied systematically. The consequences of irresponsibility may be more adverse than its practice.

If this viewpoint regarding the relationships between lack of responsibility and cultural, social, political, economic and even national progress and decay can be confirmed, journalists will have a clearer idea of what to do in responding to communication and media problems. Of

particular importance would be effects which go beyond the profession--in politics, dress, lifestyles, language, trade, agriculture, education--to alter other aspects of the Nigerian image and culture.

Like most other aspects of the national life, the mass media in Nigeria is a foreign concept which has acquired status and taken hold in the country's cultural system primarily in the form of Westernization.⁴

Suffice it to say a nation's communication media develop as the nation develops. So, in Nigeria it is pertinent that questions be raised pertaining to the relationship between political ideology and communication philosophy, between political systems and communication systems, between politics and national development, and between communication and national development.⁵

The situation in many developing countries is that communication needs for authentic self-development often run counter to the images and imageries of development imposed from foreign sources and through the mass media. And in social contexts, where the growth of mass communication has outpaced literacy and the possibilities for cognitive participation, the mass media tend to be used for cognitive tyranny by the ruling groups and therefore arouse alienation and protest.⁶

The effort to transform the world and its underdeveloped or developing regions (including Nigeria) into a bureaucratically and technologically organized system

goes on under the auspices of the modern industrial state and the modern transnational corporation. The dilemma of the situation is that while the developing nations struggle so much to accumulate the scientific and technological knowledge, the effort to reduce this modernization to human terms finds no ground to anchor. So, every generation seems to have to learn through its own ordeals and sufferings what past generations have had to learn through their own.

Ordinarily, such a situation would not be too bad for any group of individuals. But, changing times and the aim to minimize the human costs of modernization calls for urgent answers to questions about the nature of human communication, through which man realizes his full potentialities as a human being.

In Nigeria, this question would only be answered in terms of general attitudes and the public's particular world-view on communications and the happenings inside the society.

As far as is documented, the view from outside is not particularly complimentary. Third World systems of mass communication are seen as a juxtaposition of imitation and innovation. Few positive theories to help the situation exist. But negative theories abound which hold that expansion of the media in developing countries produces, on balance, pernicious effects⁷ or that the media instill unrealistic material demands in the masses.⁸ Some social

scientists see it as a "curse of modernity." Others who are sympathetic enough to contribute ideas, are left wondering what the potential is for using the media to break these societies free of economic stagnation and backwardness.⁹

This study starts the examination of the foregoing vis-a-vis Nigeria by recounting some of the general complaints or problems identified with the country's press system. Complaints are made about poor printing of newspapers, lack of quality programs on radio and television, government control of the press, mediocre performance by media personnel, shortage of equipment, and the need for expansion or diversification of services beyond news reporting to include features on agriculture, health, industry, recreation, weather and sports. Nigerians see their problems in terms of quality and scope but foreign experts see them in terms of resources and the technology.

Although William Hachten was talking mostly about newspapers, the obstacles that inhibit the development of African daily journalism could be revised thus:

1. High illiteracy and poverty which greatly restrict potential readership and audience;
2. Lack of local capital to support media enterprises;
3. High cost of printing and broadcasting because the presses, typesetting equipment, transmitters, etc. must be imported from abroad;
4. Difficulties of distribution and reception because of inadequate roads, lack of transport facilities and

electricity.

5. Continuing shortage of both technical staff and maintenance of equipment, to say nothing of trained journalists--a major problem in itself.¹⁰

To add to all these problems is the wide diversification of modern mass communication media--newspapers, radio, cinema, television and magazines. Hachten calls them muffled drums. The traditional means of communication in Africa, and indeed still in use in Nigeria today, has been the African drum. The news media may be regarded as the new drums of Africa, but they are too few and inadequate for the great tasks expected of them and they are often harassed and controlled by self-serving interests.¹¹

At times, the messages carried by the news media are too weak technologically, economically, or politically to carry very far. They are distorted, garbled or muted. For those who originate the message and for those to whom the message is directed, it becomes a problem and more difficult to establish a politically stable society while also carrying the age-old problems of poverty, disease, ignorance, and ethnic rivalries.

For example, Nigeria has been getting into and out of one National Development Plan after another. Suggestions have been made that there was a lot of "unwarranted secrecy" in the preparation and implementation of a recent development plan. No attempt was made, for instance, to prepare the country for any public support or awareness. The Nigerian

public was not consulted at all stages of the third (1975-80) development plan and made to feel a part of the planning and development process. An examination of the plan shows lack of internal consistency, absence of integrated and co-ordinated programs, inadequate feasibility studies and proper costing as well as disparate and incoherent development objectives.¹²

Obviously, here is a situation where the Nigerian press could have and does have a very useful role to play. The writer of the above-mentioned observations believes that a major drawback to the planning machinery in Nigeria is the absence of appropriate ways and means of involving and identifying the people with the development plans and the development process.

Communication, whether mass or interpersonal, is intimately connected with the whole social fabric of a nation. The passing of a nation from a traditional to a modern style of life, means that news communication must change accordingly, and often dramatically, from traditional or oral means to modern or media means. The need for news and public information increases as well. The news media perform an essential function in thus servicing a modernizing society, and each particular news medium has its own assets and limitations.¹³

Objectives of the Study

The impact, the scope and the benefits of mass

communication on society are not lost on the Nigerian national instinct. A meeting of experts convened by UNESCO in Montreal in June 1969 had discussed this impact, the present state and organization of mass communication research and urged the study and research on mass media as social institutions and of mass communication as a social process.¹⁴

The objectives of this study are, therefore:

1. To further research into various aspects of the communication media and their effects on the Nigerian society
2. To study the relationships that exist between the mass media and the development of an active, responsive, informed and educated audience
3. To examine how mass communication can provide Nigeria with a strong and efficient information media
4. To assess the achievements of mass media in fostering national reconciliation and in mobilizing public support or awareness for a successful and effective national development
5. To obtain a sampling of Nigerian students' attitude about the mass media and the relationships in question.

The purposes to be served by this investigation are to confirm and extend current research and empirical knowledge about the policies and direction of mass communication in

Nigeria, and to provide data that may aid further research and journalists in dealing with the public.

Limitations and Assumptions

This study is limited by the scope of the investigation especially due to the lack of prior literature on this particular topic on Nigeria. It is further limited by the time in which this study was conducted.

Selection of the subjects was limited to Nigerian students in selected colleges in Michigan, Oklahoma and Texas in the United States.

The researcher assumes that this study will not be able to answer all the questions raised in the literature. However, there is an assumption that the subjects participating in this study will be sufficiently knowledgeable about the Nigerian mass media and representative of the views held by the public on these issues.

FOOTNOTES

¹Majid Tehranian, "The Curse of Modernity: the dialectics of modernization and communication," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, 1980, p. 263.

²Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, Lagos: Guidelines for the Third National Development Plan 1975-1980, 1973, p. 60.

³Frank O. Ugboajah, Communication Policies in Nigeria, (Paris: Unesco Press, 1980), p. 31.

⁴Majid Tehranian, "The Curse of Modernity: the dialectics of modernization and communication," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, 1980, p. 255.

⁵John C. Merrill, "Media and National Development," International and Intercultural Communications, ed. Heinz Fischer and John C. Merrill, (New York: Hastings House, 1976), p. 186.

⁶Majid Tehranian, "The Curse of Modernity: the dialectics of modernization and communication," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, 1980, p. 254.

⁷Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Mass Media and Politics in the Modernization Process," Communications and Political Development, ed. Lucian W. Pye, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 236-238.

⁸Daniel L. Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, (New York: Free Press, 1958), pp. 231-326.

⁹Alan Wells, "Third World Systems: Imitation and Innovation," Mass Communications: A World View, ed. Alan Wells, (Palo Alto, National Press Books, 1974), pp. 83-85.

¹⁰William A. Hachten, Muffled Drums, (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971), pp. 7-16.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 14-32.

¹²Eniola O. Adeniyi, "National Development Planning and

Plan Administration in Nigeria," Journal of Overseas Development, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1980, pp. 163-169.

¹³William A. Hachten, "Mass Media in Africa," Mass Communications: A World View, ed. Alan Wells, (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1974), p. 97.

¹⁴May Katzen, Mass Communication: Teaching and Studies at Universities (Paris: Unesco Press, 1975), p. 9.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Significant studies of ownership, control and press freedom of Nigerian media have been done.

Some recent mass communication research has examined the functions the media serve rather than the effects the media have on their audience. As Nigeria moves from the traditional to the modern stage, it seems the functions they serve should be studied.

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach posit that as the social system becomes more complex and the informal channels of communication become disrupted, members of the society become more dependent on the mass media.¹

Public Participation

Though audiences are small, mass communications are important to Nigerians. In spite of their great linguistic and ethnic diversity, Nigerian peoples have been communicating among and between themselves in a wide variety of ways for a long time. Now, they realize that modern mass communications can help speed the processes of development

and national integration and bring the country into a fuller participation in the modern world. Besides, a mass media system is also a kind of mirror image of a nation's political and economic structure. Each is sensitive to the other. Newspapers, radio, television, and other media do not operate in a vacuum; their content, their reach, their freedom, and their audiences are determined by the context of the nation in which they operate . . .²

The complex social system being built in Nigeria, and the society's increasing dependence on the mass media have brought themselves into national debates and the constitution. Part of the Nigerian Constitution (Section 32 of the Draft Constitution) which came under "fundamental human rights" read as follows:

1. Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.
2. Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions:

Provided that no person other than the Government of the Federation or a State or any other person or body authorized by the President shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any purpose

whatsoever.³

Reasons for the harsh ban on public participation in ownership and operation of television stations have not been fully explained. The view of this writer is that this topic should be considered for research in the future.

However, foreign investment, welcomed in other fields, has been seen as a threat--a political threat--when it impinges upon the media. There has been a growing concern about expatriates owning and/or operating the media, for fear that public sentiment may be swayed in favor of political ideologies repugnant to the basic tenets of the nation's development. At times, political stability is more important than political philosophy, and a developing country like Nigeria cannot afford the luxury of a clash of ideas or a clash of interests while dealing with the more fundamental problems of food and shelter.⁴

As far as the printed media are concerned, the pressure is on those who operate them to conform--not so much with international standards or international symbols but with national aspirations, with national needs and priorities, and therefore with national governments.

Role of the Media

If the media has to aim at conformity, it is almost tempting to ask: What is the role of the media?

Lerner has examined the role of the media in accelerating the pace of national development. His contention is

that media build expectations, and when government or society cannot deliver on these unachievable expectations, . . . frustration sets in.⁵

Maybe the time is premature to blame the media for the so-called "Tantalus Effect" in Third World development. Hornick, in reconsidering Lerner's work, notes that the crux of the issue is not whether exposure to the content of mass media will increase wants, but rather "whether that exposure will create aspirations so out of proportion to an individual's potential" to satisfy them (given social structural limits) that frustration is created.⁶

Earlier, in his thesis "Mass Media Participation and Modernization: A Causal Analysis," Hornick found that dissatisfaction with one's present life is associated with fewer, rather than more, material possessions, a finding which challenges theories of a revolution of rising frustrations.⁷

Schramm, in an article outlining how mass media is used to communicate plans of social change, charges that the battles of development are continuing ones, and the results will come less from the impact of single messages or single media than from a succession of impacts of related messages and reinforcing channels. Frustrations will be eliminated if campaigns to modernize some part of a society will make use of face-to-face communication as well as the media. Schramm suggests, for example, that early in a campaign a medium like radio may be most useful

in making the people aware of needs and opportunities; later in the campaign, emphasis may have to be on face-to-face demonstration or discussion on a proposed change. Thus, the planners of development campaigns find themselves thinking of communicating systems rather than media.⁸

Utomi's thesis, "Ownership and the Development Content of Nigerian Newspapers," explores the concept of Developmental Communication to support the sentiment that communication could be used to bring about reduction in poverty, unemployment, and inequality. The argument follows that in developmental journalism, practitioners ". . . are chiefly engaged in educating and motivating people, not in disinterested reporting of facts or in self-expression."⁹

A society which possesses a reasonable degree of coherent and open communication has one of the necessary elements for an integrated and rationally oriented political process. Pye, in writing about "The Imperfect Communications of Politics," states that if people share the same information, they will have the tool necessary for reasoning together and for arriving at common conclusions.¹⁰

In Chapter I mention was made of imposed models of foreign media on Third World countries and the use of the mass media for cognitive tyranny by some ruling groups.

This research was built on notions that there is a role for the mass media in Nigeria's development; that there should be a fuller participation by the public in mass communications and consequently in national development;

that there has been some policy misjudgments--there may even be some "tyranny"--and that some foreign habits have been inherited which may hamper authentic self-development. As Pye would contend ". . . It is fully within the evolving tradition of political science to ask: What is the role of communications in the political development of the new countries?"¹¹

On attaining independence, one of the first priorities of the new African states was to expand and improve their national media systems as an essential attribute of effective national sovereignty and as a means of solving their political and economic problems. These states found themselves

obliged to undertake campaigns of national re-orientation and propaganda in order simultaneously to project and consolidate the new national identity, to destroy old antagonisms and build a new unity, and to promote urgent national development programmes involving agricultural reform, the establishment of new industries, educational expansion at every level, and vast investment in social and medical services. To both tasks a first essential is a developed system of communications, without which the state is like a body without a nervous system, unable to transmit the instructions of the brain to the members, or the needs of the members to the brain.¹²

Contemporary thought in communication is that many of the characteristics that are associated with democracy depend on free access of all groups in a population to the channels of communication, both as senders and as receivers. But democracy is more than a network of contending groups. And being a larger group, it requires a communication

network that will help insure internal cohesion, reinforce domestic values, and assist in the formation of a national public opinion on vital issues.¹³

Nigeria occupies approximately 924,522 square kilometers of West Africa. It is thus one of the largest countries in black Africa. It is certainly the most populous in the continent with an estimated population of 80 million people of differing, contending ethnic nationalities, speaking more than 200 different languages or dialects.¹⁴

In a situation like the one noted above, Nigeria needs and has developed a large communication network. A 1976 survey by Ogilvy, Benson & Mather, an advertising agency operating in Lagos, reported 12 important dailies (circulation 686,000), 29 magazines (circulation 908,000), 15 weeklies (circulation 1,081,000), 21 radio stations, 3.5 million radio sets, 19 television stations and 150,000 television sets.¹⁵ In comparison with other places in the region, that is impressive. But a lot is still left to be done.

The colonial legacy of African press systems, and the somewhat oppressive colonial press, its perception as an agent of alienation, had convinced many Africans that it was highly important to have their own press to reflect their own opinions and desires.¹⁶

Mazrui, one of Africa's most gifted scholars, attributes the historical evolution of the African press to the passion for unity. Mazrui's contention is that this

theme very much affects the content of newspapers in many African states. He adds that "the African press was from the start directed toward the attainment of collective goals. The theme of collectivity is what later led to a theme of unity as a goal . . ." to be promoted by the Press.¹⁷

Also, the attitudes of leaders towards the use of the press has changed dramatically. Many of them, especially those who used the press to garner political power-- realizing the potential and power of the press, now fear it. They seek to expand control of the press to keep themselves in power and to integrate mass communications into the important task of national development.¹⁸

The effort to Nigerianize the social, economic, political and cultural institutions inherited from the colonial past is an onerous task. Besides, the opportunity is fitting just as well that the mass media evolve new philosophies to fit this experience. However, it is a question worth pondering how reliable the press can be in this total effort.

To quote Mazrui:

The question which now arises is whether newspapers in Africa are about to resume their earlier role in the history of colonialism-- and become government gazettes, all over again. In at least some African countries what were once vigorous newspapers have indeed been reduced to official gazettes or government bulletins. In other African countries a similar possibility is clearly visible. It is felt by many African leaders that the journalistic freedom which had helped to create African nationalism could not be trusted to create African nationhood. Relative freedom of the

press helped to achieve independence; but it could not be relied upon to achieve national integration after independence. Or so the argument goes.¹⁹

If any part of the above is true for Nigeria, as indeed it might, that indeed is a sad prospect.

For instance, in 1977 the Federal Commissioner for Information, Ayo Ogunlade, was credited with the advice to the Nigerian Press in a NTV program not to dwell unduly on the ills and shortcomings of the Nigerian public utilities, such as the epileptic performances of the Nigerian Electricity Power Authority (NEPA) and the dumping of mail in the bush by Post and Telegraph rascals. He said the press should avoid "adversary journalism" because in his view, it is negative and destructive to the stability and survival of the nation.²⁰

The irony in this statement lies in the fact that in the pre-independence era, Nigerian journalists like Ernest Ikoli, Peter Enahoro, Abiodun Aloba and Abubakar Iman effectively employed "adversary journalism" to eliminate colonialism from the grassroots.

Seeing that the people of Nigeria were under heavy colonial oppression economically, socially and educationally, these journalists were justified in wielding their pens "fearlessly" and making them "mightier than the colonial sword."

After independence had been won, the new breed of journalists became more careful in presenting the truth and

in criticizing the government. Apparently this is because some truths and criticisms are patriotically withheld by the press when they would endanger the national security network! Thus the press became pro-Nigeria and would not fight the indigenous government as they fought the colonial government. That in itself does not make for a very scientific argument.

As individuals ponder these matters, it would seem to many observers that the role and responsibilities of the Nigerian mass media are highly correlated with the attitudes and goals of high government officials. This is in sharp contrast to the nation's experience even in the military regime under General Gowon, who once said:

I cannot tell them what to do since we do not dictate policy to any press here; they have been independent as they ought to be. The press has to tell the truth, to be objective and honest so that the people can rely on what they print. They should tell us off when they feel we are wrong and commend when they feel it's worthwhile: We can take it.²¹

Indeed, during that regime, the press raised a lot of storm over issues like the harassment and detention of journalists (including the beating up of Minere Amakiri in Port Harcourt). They fought the government on reports of corruption among state governors and government officials in the Benue-Plateau, Kano and South-Eastern States. The press was active in the controversy surrounding Joseph Tarka in the Federal government.

After Gowon, the press has not been very active in that

direction. This silence or lack of responsibility on the part of the "new" press could be the reason for the fall of Nigerian civil service and the seemingly endless corruption of power in the country.

Adedeyi has said:

The mass retirements of 1975, after the 'palace' coup or the changing of the guards that replaced the Gowon Ministry with the Murtala-Obasanjo Ministry on July 29, 1975, was in many ways a reaction to the arrogance of the all-powerful federal higher civil service. But in a typically Nigerian fashion and style of doing things, instead of being a corrective measure, instead of being a warning for the future, [it] became a kind of witch-hunting, a Nigerian-type of McCarthyism which ended by our nearly throwing the baby out with the bath water. As we all know, the Nigerian public and the Nigerian Press are the most ephemeral in their praises--this moment they cry 'Hosannah' and the very next moment they shout 'crucify him.'²²

There are some who will argue that the press is needlessly blamed for many things. They might even argue that the press did not precipitate the fall of the civil service (if any) or that there is no parallel in Nigeria to McCarthyism. But in the case of McCarthy, most discussion on the issue points to the fact that the press amplified it or that he did it for media attention. The American press exposed the danger and laid everything to rest. So, the criticism of the press becomes valid and should be taken into account in discussing press controls, its roles and responsibilities in a developing society like Nigeria.

Mass Media Functions, Knowledge
and Social Control

The synthetic world everyone lives in demands that information be fashioned through mass communications, for it helps to correlate responses to challenges and opportunities which appear on the horizon and for people to reach consensus on social actions. Mass communication helps to transmit the culture of a society to its new members. It helps to entertain, sell goods and services.²³

The importance of knowledge as a basis for social power has been noted by a number of scholars, but less well appreciated is the fact that control of knowledge is central to development and maintenance of power.²⁴

The knowledge industry, of which mass communication is part, is no less important in politics than in any other activity which may be peculiarly dependent upon communication. Neither participants nor observers can acquire knowledge on their own of all the events and actions that make up the political or social process; everyone seems to be at the mercy of the particular web of communications to which he has access for his understanding and appraisal of public or cultural affairs.

Another point worth taking into account is that when the communication process is fragmented, as it is in most transitional societies, the political culture is likely to be colored by uncertainty; instead of actions based upon

reliable and shared information, the margin for imagination is widened to the point that decisions and policies are likely to be guided more by fantasies than by realities.²⁵

Interested observers cannot fail to note a gap between public and private discourse in trying to observe the Nigerian political scene from outside. There is a tendency that whenever a society feels that external events and foreign powers, rather than domestic efforts, will be decisive in shaping the country's future, a substantial gap is likely to emerge between public and private opinions. It is an afterthought for political leaders to seek security from personal blame for the national fate, when they publicly articulate an image of their nation's development in which they do not fully believe.

Recently, a political leader openly suggested that Nigeria should seek "all possible ways to acquire atomic weapons."²⁶ He used the press to make this statement, but somehow, the Nigerian press let him off without asking questions. Besides, the suggestion failed to be explored in the context of the country's dire need for an alternative source of energy in the face of forecasts that the nation's oil reserves is sufficient to last about 13 years.²⁷ Also, recent border incidents with Benin and Cameroon (West Africa: October 6, 1980), in which Nigeria was the victim rather than the aggressor could not be exploited to the country's advantage in its effort to purchase nuclear technology. Nigeria, despite her size and potential has

never threatened a smaller African country nor attacked another state by military force. The press should have generated this type of debate.

At present, there is a gulf between public and private views due to anxiety common in transitional societies about meeting the routine standards of Western and modern performance of government.²⁸

If there is any Nigerian fear of provoking others, there should be no fear of provoking thought in the public. The circumstance of the nation's past and the direction of its future should bring to focus an awareness of much of the nation's institutions.

The view about the operation of the mass media which will be described here could be labeled that of disillusionment. The media in most Third World nations are conceded a potential function of educating people to support urgent national tasks for development, but they fail at it. On record, evidence is all too easy to find that they are ineffective agents of action on behalf of the planners.²⁹

As noted earlier in Chapter I, the objective of providing a "strong and efficient information media" has been incorporated into mass media policies of Nigeria. This objective is further amplified by the following stated objectives of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation:

1. To provide efficient broadcasting services to the whole Federation of Nigeria based on national objectives and aspirations; and to

external audiences in accordance with Nigeria's foreign policy.

2. To provide a professional and comprehensive coverage of Nigerian culture through broadcasting; to promote cultural growth through research into indigenous culture, and to disseminate the results of such research.
3. To contribute to the development of the Nigerian society, and to promote national unity by ensuring a balanced presentation of views from all parts of Nigeria.
4. To ensure the prompt delivery of accurate information to the people.
5. To provide opportunities for the free enlightened and responsible discussion of important issues, and to provide a two-way contact between the public and those in authority.
6. To provide special broadcasting service in the field of education, and in all other areas where the national policy calls for special action.
7. To promote the orderly and meaningful development of broadcasting in Nigeria through technical improvement, the training of appropriate professional staff, programme and other exchanges with other broadcasting organizations in the country.
8. To promote research into various aspects of the

communications media and their effects on the Nigerian society. (This will include audience research, the investigation of fresh methods of production, and the true indigenization of the broadcasting media).

9. To ensure that the facilities and techniques of broadcasting in Nigeria keep pace with developments in the world of communication (e.g. FM transmission, colour television, etc.).³⁰

Almost all these objectives apply to newspapers and Nigerian television. But in his thesis, Aduroja says that "television programming will be a very inadequate contributor to the economic and social development of Nigeria."³¹ Opubo adds that "In Nigeria, the broadcast media--radio and television--are primarily entertainment media; they do not, in general, carry those development-oriented messages which can move the society towards development goals."³²

In a 1970 study at Southern Illinois University, Masha concluded that African students who took part in the study saw the press first as a political instrument and only second as an instrument of national development.³³

Facilities and Training

In 1961, a report on the mass media in the developing countries by UNESCO had this to say about the African personnel problem:

Africa suffers more acutely from a dearth of

trained personnel than any other major region. Some countries, for example, cannot claim a single qualified journalist and in a number of others, journalists and radio broadcasters work only on a part-time basis . . . In the fields of film and television, there are no facilities for training professional and technical staff, apart from "on-the-job" instruction.³⁴

While this extremely bleak picture of the scarcity of trained journalists in Africa is not entirely true of Nigeria, there is a great need in the country today to expand the supply of trained journalists with sound educational background to man the expanding mass communications industry.³⁵

Another factor for this need can be found in the presence of the major world news services in the continent. Most leaders in these countries resent their presence for various reasons. Writing about "Internal Controls and Foreign News Coverage" of the Third World, Nnaemeka and Richstad claim that the information disseminated by Western news agencies tends largely to be "characterized by crisis, competition, confrontation, conflict, and sensationalism." To the extent the underlying values of these news perspectives appear to contradict those that guide development efforts, they argue that the widespread diffusion in the form of news is viewed by Third World leaders as subverting development efforts.³⁶ Predictably, a Nigerian journalist, for example, will highlight different aspects of a news item that affects his country.

This brings up the problem of "credibility" of much

of the Third World press. International news agencies say the content and quality of news originating from these countries are not good enough for consumption by their home audience. But, at the 1980 UNESCO General Conference in Belgrade on world information problems, a Commonwealth report criticized the present domination of the major international news agencies as "a situation that often produces news coverage that reflect neither actualities, aspirations nor achievements in developing countries."³⁷

Writing on "Mass Media and National Goals," Moeller argues that setting of goals for a nation can no longer be effectively done by a centralized authority, often the executive. Moeller supports the idea that mass media agencies are "an educational instrument; and they must assume responsibility like that of educators" to state and clarify the ideals toward which the community should strive.³⁸ The question to be asked is how this will be possible if media practitioners are themselves ignorant and the facilities don't exist for training them or for transmitting the instruction or ideals that the public needs.

From the perspective of other researchers, as the need grows for trained professionals who can take into account the wider purposes and functions of mass communication in society, the tendency will probably grow to place the training courses in universities where students may combine practical training in techniques with a wider theoretical education in the social sciences and the humanities.³⁹

In Nigeria, there has been a considerable activity in university-level teaching on the mass media. But only two universities (University of Nigeria and University of Lagos) have full degree courses in Mass Communications. The Department of Theatre Arts in the University of Ibadan has given some instruction on mass media for students enrolled for its two-year undergraduate and one-year graduate diploma in drama, and for its three-year bachelor's degree in drama. So far, none is offering media courses at the graduate level. And before this time, the only journalism training available in the Lagos area were short courses organized by the International Press Institute since 1963.⁴⁰

Looking at the facilities where these professionals will work . . . the news media are sparsely scattered in irregular configurations as are the other underpinnings of modernity--railroads, highways, telephones, industrial installations, and intercontinental hotels.

From most indications, Nigeria seems to have a disproportionate share of media facilities. UNESCO has suggested as an immediate target that a country should aim to provide for every 100 of its inhabitants at least ten copies of daily newspapers, five radio receivers, two cinema seats, and two television receivers.⁴¹ Social statistics is best left to the imagination on how this topic, from Nigeria (unreliable, and at best, approximate) will stack up against UNESCO's.

The variety and quality of the daily press reflect the diversity and inequities of Nigeria itself. Dailies are unequally concentrated in a few cities--Lagos and state capitals.

Of course, provincial newspapers are of little consequence in shaping the evolution of national policies since they are not Lagos-based. From the start, Lagos conferred status on newspapers because "they were regarded as coming from the center of sophistication, the fountain of enlightened values and taste" that represented greatness. The perception of Lagos as a center of sophistication has led managers of provincial newspapers to appoint "Lagos editors," who compete with Lagos-based newspapers for urban-based news content; thus rendering their provincial base irrelevant.⁴²

To the casual observer, this urban phenomenon of the press means that in Nigeria, Lagos and the nineteen state capitals (total population about 15 million) is where the media activity and coverage is concentrated. Approximately 65 million people (81 per cent of the population) live in the rural areas where poverty and illiteracy prevail; this is the majority of Nigerians that the press has ignored.

FOOTNOTES

¹Lee B. Becker, "Effects of Media Dependencies: Audience Assessment of Government," Communication Research, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 95.

²William A. Hachten, "Mass Media in Africa," Mass Communications: A World View, ed. Alan Wells (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1974), p. 93.

³Federal Ministry of information, Report of the Constitution Drafting Committee Containing the Draft Constitution, Lagos, 1976, Vol. 1, p. 20.

⁴Y. V. Lakshmana Rao, "Propaganda Through the Printed Media in the Developing Countries," Mass Communications: A World View, ed. Alan Wells (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1974), p. 254.

⁵Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 46-63.

⁶Robert C. Hornick, "Mass Media Use and the Revolution of Rising Frustrations," Communication Research, Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 389.

⁷Robert C. Hornick, "Mass Media Participation and Modernization: A Causal Analysis" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1973), p. 160.

⁸Wilbur Schramm, "The Mass Media and the Great Campaigns," Mass Communications: A World View, ed. Alan Wells (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1974), p. 150.

⁹Patrick Utomi, "Ownership and the Development Content of Nigerian Newspapers" (unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Indiana, 1979), pp. 14-21.

¹⁰G. A. Donahue, Tichenor and Olien, "Mass Media Functions, Knowledge and Social Control," Journalism Quarterly, 50:652-653.

¹¹Lucian Pye, Communications and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 8.

¹²May Katzen, Mass Communication: Teaching and Studies at Universities (Paris: Unesco Press, 1975), p. 164.

¹³W. P. Davison, "The Role of Communication in Democracies," International and Intercultural Communications, eds. Heinz Fischer and John Merrill (New York: Hastings House, 1976), pp. 29-30.

¹⁴Frank O. Ugboajah, Communication Policies in Nigeria (Paris: Unesco, 1980), pp. 11-13.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 14-23.

¹⁶Dennis L. Wilcox, Mass Media in Black Africa (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 9.

¹⁷Ali A. Mazrui, Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1972), p. 54.

¹⁸Dennis L. Wilcox, Mass Media in Black Africa (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 12.

¹⁹Ali A. Mazrui, "The Press, Intellectuals and the Printed Word," Mass Thoughts, eds. Edward Moyo and Susan Rayner (Kampala: Makerere University Press, 1972), p. 164.

²⁰Sunday Chronicle (June 12, 1977), p. 14.

²¹John M. Ostheimer, Nigerian Politics (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 96.

²²"Rise and Fall of the Civil Service," West Africa (March 30, 1980).

²³William L. Rivers, Responsibility in Mass Communications (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1969), p. 15.

²⁴G. A. Donahue, Tichenor and Olien, "Mass Media Functions, Knowledge and Social Control," Journalism Quarterly, 50:652.

²⁵Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 128.

²⁶"Nigeria Going Nuclear?" West Africa (Nov. 10, 1980).

²⁷Office of Technology Assessment, World Petroleum Availability 1980-2000 (Washington D.C., Oct. 1980), p. 46.

²⁸Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 130.

- ²⁹Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Mass Media and Politics," Communications and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 237.
- ³⁰"Statement of Objectives" (Lagos: Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, 1973), p. 8.
- ³¹Elias Ishola Aduroja, "Broadcasting in Nigeria: A Survey of Radio, TV and Film Industry" (unpub. M.S. thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1979), p. 31.
- ³²Ibid.
- ³³Dennis L. Wilcox, Mass Media in Black Africa (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 9.
- ³⁴Unesco, Mass Media in Developing Countries: A Unesco Report to the United Nations (Paris, 1961), p. 31.
- ³⁵Esuakema Udo Oton, "The Training of Journalists in Nigeria," Journalism Quarterly, 42:107.
- ³⁶Tony Nnaemeka and Jim Richstad, "Internal Controls and Foreign News Coverage," Communication Research, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 97-98.
- ³⁷"Role for Communicators," West Africa (October 6, 1980), p. 1943.
- ³⁸Leslie G. Moeller, "Mass Media and National Goals," International and Intercultural Communications, eds. Heinz Fischer and John Merrill (New York: Hastings House, 1976), p. 202.
- ³⁹May Katzen, Mass Communication: Teaching and Studies at Universities (Paris: Unesco Press, 1975), p. 9.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 175-176.
- ⁴¹William A. Hachten, "Mass Media in Africa," Mass Communications: A World View, ed. Alan Wells (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1974), p. 97.
- ⁴²Frank O. Ugboajah, Communication Policies in Nigeria (Paris: Unesco, 1980), p. 17.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

Mass communication research is constantly analyzing such traditional approaches in content as the philosophical, the semantic, the artistic, the religious or one based on consideration of contemporary attitudes.

This study was too limited to dig deep into the analysis of all of the above. Possible discussion of those factors were further guided by the results and analysis of attitudes drawn from the data produced at the conclusion of the survey. But whether it was in the printed, spoken, aural or visual form, a distinction had to be drawn between an analysis of content that restricted itself to what was said, or written or shown and one that covered both content and style, and their interrelationship.

However, the investigation did involve:

- a. the quantitative and qualitative relationships between the types of subject matter communicated by the media (music, sport, news, etc.);
- b. the quantitative and qualitative impact of media content (social and socio-psychological disruption, socio-cultural reform, new behavior patterns, cult figures, the use of violence,

- aggressive behavior, etc.);
- c. relationship between published and public opinion (impact on particular social groups and social strata and their patterns of behavior);
 - d. the origins of public taste and public preferences in connection with the study of motivation, behavior models and persuasion, etc.¹

Selection of Subjects

To achieve the purposes of the study, 220 Nigerian college students in various institutions in Michigan, Texas and Oklahoma in the United States were surveyed by means of a questionnaire to determine attitudes on different aspects of mass media policy and practice.

College students were chosen to assure quick and easy access to the required number of subjects needed for the scope of the study. Also, the choice assured a standard of education necessary for understanding and the capacity to offer independent opinions in response to items about various media--newspapers, radio, television, films and magazines--and their contents. However, the study was not limited to media students because there were very few Nigerian students studying the mass media.

The majority of the subjects was assumed to be in the 18-35 age group and fewer in the over 35 years age group. The probability was that the groups surveyed included future leaders and their attitudes would reflect

those offered in this study, critical views of past policies and as a barometer of what might be expected in the years ahead. Other items in the "Personal Data" section were designed to extract attitude differences (if possible) by sex, career training, region of origin and college classification.

The Likert-type attitude scale was used for opinion items to measure the degree of agreement by subjects. The five-point scale represented a continuum running from 5 - strongly agree to 1 - strongly disagree, with the mid-point value of 3 indicating a neutral or no-opinion stance.

Since the research explored different areas, a componential analysis was considered appropriate. This prevented the total for the questionnaire items from serving as a simple index. The scale was split into three components:

1. Surveillance and Public Forum: Items 1 through 9. These items explored issues of public use of the mass media to express opinions, assess political candidates and cast an informed vote. Items also sought attitudes about media performance in the fight against tribalism, crime and poverty.
2. Government Interference: Items 10 through 18. Issues of government versus private ownership of media facilities were explored in this section. The inadequacy of existing facilities and

general lack of freedom by the professionals to control the media were gathered into this section.

3. Media Education: Items 19 and 20. The two items asked about attitudes towards adequacy of training facilities for media people in Nigeria, and a mild assessment of personnel quality by country of training.

The questionnaire items were pretested with ten Nigerian students on the Oklahoma State University campus. The data, analyzed by means of an analysis of variance, indicated there might be interaction between the types of subjects and the media issues.

The survey was conducted in the Spring of 1982.

Administration

Two hundred and twenty 20-item opinionnaires were distributed and administered to randomly selected Nigerian students at Houston, Detroit, Tulsa, Norman, Langston and Stillwater. A total of 186 (85%) usable opinionnaires were returned.

To avoid more than twice as many respondents being in one group than another, various categories of attributes--age, career training and college classification--were collapsed into viable units for analysis. No collapsing was needed for the analysis of media issues by sex, or for location of state of origin.

This research was designed to extract from different classes of people responses on different aspects of mass media units. A two-factor design with repeated measures on issue factors was employed. Non-repeatable factors were comprised of different classes of people who turned out to be students of differing age groups, with different career goals, at different levels of college classification and of either male or female sex. Each respondent was asked to designate his or her agreement to items in each of three categories of media issues on a five-point scale. The media issues categories were: Surveillance and Public Forum, Government Interference and Media Education.

Five Type I analyses of variance were expected to cover five attribute variables--age, sex, region of origin, career training and college classification. For each analysis, a variable became a factor with two or more levels:

1. Age: (2 levels) - 25-under and over 25.
2. Sex: (2 levels) - male and female.
3. Region of Origin: (2 levels) - north and south.
4. Career Training: (4 levels) - Media/Education, Engineering/Agriculture, Business and Medicine/Other.
5. College Classification: (4 levels) - Freshman/Sophomore, Junior, Senior and Graduate.

The other factor in this two-factor design was Media Issues comprising three categories. Measures of attitude were

repeated on the Media Issues factor. So, each respondent was measured on his or her attitude on three categories of media issues.

The over-35 age group was collapsed into the 26-35 group to produce the two groups--under 25 and over 25. For lack of numbers and the sensitivity to geographical treatment of subjects, the attribute "Geographical Location of State of Origin" was eliminated from analysis. Under "Career Training," Mass Media and Education students were combined into one group; Engineering and Agriculture formed another; Business students had sufficient numerical strength to stand alone, and Medicine and Other career constituted the fourth and final group. In the area of college classification, there were so few freshman respondents that they were collapsed into one group with the sophomores.

In analyzing the media issues by sex, the subjects were further randomly chosen from the original 186 respondents so that 30 females and 60 males were used in this group.

FOOTNOTE

¹Alphons Silbermann, "The Sociology of Mass Media and Mass Communication," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, 1980, p. 227.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to confirm and extend current research and empirical knowledge about government policies and the direction of mass communications in Nigeria.

Analysis of variance yielded a total of 558 scores for the three components of media issues under study: I. Surveillance and Public Forum, II. Government Interference, and III. Media Education.

Media Issues by Age

As shown in Table I, respondents indicated near neutral feelings about the three media issues with an overall mean agreement of 2.88, falling just short of the "no-opinion" mean of 3.0. Though attitudes toward Government Interference differed significantly from the Surveillance and Education Issues ($F = 15.83$, $df = 2/368$, $p < .01$, see Table II), only 8 percent of the total variation was explained by Media Issues. The mean agreement of 3.15 was significantly greater than that for Surveillance and Education Issues, which had means of 2.72 and 2.78, respectively. Even so, a mean of 3.15 denotes a near neutral stand on the

Government Interference issue.

TABLE I
MEAN AGREEMENT OF TWO AGE GROUPS
WITH THREE MEDIA ISSUES

Age Groups	Media Issues			Mean Totals
	<u>Surveillance & Public Forum</u>	<u>Government Interference</u>	<u>Media Education</u>	
25-under	2.75	3.16	2.79	2.90
Over 25	2.68	3.13	2.77	2.86
Mean Totals	2.72	3.15	2.78	2.88

Age groups did not differ significantly and explained only 2.3 percent of the total variation. The older and younger age groups rendered nearly identical and non-committal mean agreement scores of 2.86 and 2.90 respectively. Further, age was not related to respondents' feelings about Media Issues.

Media Issues by Sex

As in the case of age, sex made no difference in respondents' over-all agreement on Media Issues, as shown in Table III (male 2.85 v. female 2.84). Only Media

TABLE II
ANOVA TABLE - MEDIA ISSUES BY AGE

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	p
Total	557	349.94	0.628		
Between Subjects	185	99.53	0.538		
Between Age Categories	1	0.18	0.18	0.333	n.s.
Between Subjects Error	184	99.35	0.54		
Within Subjects	372	250.41			
Between Media Issues	2	19.93	9.97	15.83	<.01
Interaction: Media Issues and Age	2	0.06	0.03	0.048	n.s.
Within Subjects Error					

Issues differed in mean agreement ($F = 7.48$, $df = 2/176$, $p < .05$, see Table IV). Again, it was Government Interference that drew higher mean agreement ($M = 3.11$) than either Surveillance or Media Education Issues ($MS = 2.66$ v. 2.77 , respectively).

TABLE III
MEAN AGREEMENT OF TWO SEX GROUPS
WITH THREE MEDIA ISSUES

Sex Groups	Media Issues			Mean Totals
	<u>Surveillance & Public Forum</u>	<u>Government Interference</u>	<u>Media Education</u>	
Male	2.66	3.27	2.63	2.85
Female	2.66	2.94	2.92	2.84
Mean Totals	2.66	3.11	2.77	2.85

Even with the significant difference between Government Interference and other Media Issues, only 8 percent of the total variation in agreement was explained by the different Media Issues. Also, sex had no bearing on mean agreement among the issues.

TABLE IV
ANOVA TABLE - MEDIA ISSUES BY SEX

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	p
Total	269	181.47			
Between Subjects	89	12.23			
Between Sex Groups	1	0	0	0	n.s.
Between Subjects Error	88	12.23	0.14	-	
Within Subjects	180	169.24			
Between Media Issues	2	13.02	6.51	7.48	<.05
Interaction: Media Issues and Sex	2	3.86	1.93	2.22	>.05
Within Subjects Error	176	152.36	0.87	-	

Media Issues by Career Training

Again, mean agreements differed only on the Media Issues, with Government Interference drawing the highest agreement of 3.16, just barely above the neutral stance ($F = 12.02$, $df = 2/364$, $p < .01$, see Table VI).

TABLE V
MEAN AGREEMENT OF FOUR CAREER TRAINING
GROUPS WITH THREE MEDIA ISSUES

Career Groups	Media Issues			Mean Totals
	<u>Surveillance & Public Forum</u>	<u>Government Interference</u>	<u>Media Education</u>	
Media/ Education	2.62	3.27	2.85	2.91
Engineering/ Agriculture	2.76	3.20	2.71	2.89
Business	2.69	3.09	2.73	2.84
Medicine/ Other	2.70	3.06	2.88	2.88
Mean Totals	2.69	3.16	2.79	2.88

No difference occurred among the four Career Training groups, nor did those groups affect the over-all agreements

TABLE VI
ANOVA TABLE - MEDIA ISSUES BY CAREER TRAINING

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	p
Total	557	449.18			
Between Subjects	185	103.71			
Between Career	3	0.42	0.14	0.246	n.s.
Between Subjects Error	182	103.29	0.57		
Within Subjects	372	345.47			
Between Media Issues	2	21.15	10.58	12.02	<.01
Interaction: Media Issues and Career	6	4.87	0.81	0.92	n.s.
Within Subjects Error	364	319.45	0.88	-	

to the three Media Issues--about 6 percent of the total variation in agreement scores was explained by the different Media Issues.

Media Issues by Classification

The length of time in college, like age, sex and career training, was unrelated to over-all agreement with the three Media Issues, as shown in Table VII. Only, agreement with the Issues differed, with Government Interference getting the most favorable, yet neutral, rating ($F = 17.34$, $df = 2/364$, $p < .01$, see Table VIII).

TABLE VII
MEAN AGREEMENT OF FOUR CLASSIFICATION
GROUPS WITH THREE MEDIA ISSUES

Classification Groups	Media Issues			Mean Totals
	<u>Surveillance & Public Forum</u>	<u>Government Interference</u>	<u>Media Education</u>	
Freshman/ Sophomore	2.84	3.19	2.75	2.93
Junior	2.67	3.10	2.76	2.84
Senior	2.66	3.05	2.72	2.81
Graduate	2.58	3.23	2.89	2.90
Mean Totals	2.69	3.14	2.78	2.87

TABLE VIII
ANOVA TABLE - MEDIA ISSUES BY CLASSIFICATION

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	p
Total	557	350.18			
Between Subjects	185	105.28			
Between Classification	3	1.20	0.40	0.702	n.s.
Between Subjects Error	182	104.08	0.57	-	
Within Subjects	372	246.10			
Between Media Issues	2	21.15	10.58	17.34	<.01
Interaction: Media Issues and Career	6	2.24	0.37	0.607	n.s.
Within Subjects Error	364	222.71	0.61		

As in the preceding analyses, the differences in mean agreement among the Media Issues explained very little of the total variance--in this case, 8.6 percent.

Summary

Analysis of respondents' agreement on Media Issues portrays near neutral feelings. This was true regardless of age, sex, career training or length of time in college.

The highest mean agreement was 3.27 recorded for males, Media/Education students on the Government Interference Issue, while the lowest was 2.58 for graduate students on the Surveillance issue. Both scores hover near the neutral or no-opinion point on the Likert scale.

On the media issues as a total, the highest mean agreement came from the freshman/sophomore group with total mean agreement of 2.93 while the lowest total mean of 2.81 was recorded for seniors.

The 20-scale items are presented in Appendix A. Scores of the respondents show that Items 7, 12, 10, 16, 14 and 17 were favored most by the majority of the subjects.

Subjects strongly agreed with the following items:

Item 7: The media should do more in way of challenging acts of government officials.

Item 12: The number of radio and television stations in Nigeria is not adequate for a full coverage of news, sports and entertainment which the public needs.

Item 10: Coverage of local news is an area where the Nigerian mass media needs the most improvement.

Item 16: The degree of loyalty Nigerian journalists show to the government in power damages their ability to inform citizens adequately.

Item 14: Managers of the mass media in Nigeria should be allowed more of a free hand in running their organizations.

Item 17: The government-appointed editors and board of directors for mass media units in Nigeria are not in best interests of citizenry.

The least favored items (strongly disagree) were:

Item 13: The level of government ownership of mass media in Nigeria in the long run, serves the best interests of the country and its citizens.

Item 19: Nigeria is well equipped with training schools and colleges to prepare top quality journalists.

Item 8: Nigerian mass media, overall, have shown good judgment in their suggestions on how the country should proceed in further development.

Item 11: The current level of newspaper circulation in Nigeria is quite adequate to keep citizens well informed.

Item 2: During election campaigns, the Nigerian media take care to provide opposing parties an opportunity to comment on and criticize other candidates and their ideas.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that the subjects did not have any strong feelings about Media Issues in Nigeria. This neutral attitude about the media by the majority of Nigerians is somewhat predictable. Presumably, only media practitioners feel any compulsion to expend thought about the fact that the public has a duty to participate in the political process, in national development, the surveillance of government and even the functioning of an industry that provides not only employment but information, entertainment and avenues for selling goods. This author is concerned that either the subjects did not appreciate what the study was all about, or that the design of the research was inadequate for the goals it set out to achieve.

However, analysis of agreement scores show a more encouraging result in that the issues most favored and those least favored by respondents clearly tell that acts of government interference are unpopular. No wonder the most basic responsibility of the mass media is to remain

free.¹ Item scores also show that the media have to do more to involve the public in national development. Subjects are dissatisfied with the facilities that produce news, sports, entertainment, and even the quality of media practitioners.

Findings such as these lend support to confirm the concerns expressed in the body of this study's literature, that the media and the public are not sufficiently involved in the political and social development of Nigeria. This area of media performance has been least noticed as opposed to issues of control, government interference and media education.

Surveillance refers to the collection and distribution of information concerning events in the environment, both outside and within any particular society.² To some extent, it corresponds to what is popularly conceived as the handling of news. Those acts of correlation, which include interpretation of information about the environment and prescription for conduct in reaction to these events are lacking--according to the scores on items 1 through 9. Transmission of the Nigerian culture cannot be adequately and efficiently done if educational activity is at a mediocre level. Most respondents are not satisfied with present facilities. The corollary of this is that the communication of Nigerian information, values, and social norms from one generation to another or from members of the

society to newcomers is lost in the space of time. Even the communicative acts intended for amusement--call it ENTERTAINMENT--might cease to have meaning and value in the Nigerian society.

Although the findings show almost all factors with neutral scores, the conclusion may be that as age and sex are not significant, career training is. Thus, future leaders might be evaluated by career background and not according to age or sex.

Recommendations

The discovery that Nigerians do not care about media issues should be of concern not only to media people but also to the government. The media must start a serious public relations campaign to involve the public in what the industry is doing and make them aware of the difficulties they face especially with government interference.

Radio, television, newspapers should recruit and train competent investigative reporters to help expose abuses of all kinds in the Nigerian society.

Michael Asaju once noted:

. . . The language of modern graduate journalists reflects the yearnings and demands for high academic standards in the profession but . . . lacks the dynamism to face the ethics of the profession with courage. It is common knowledge that most of the graduate editors are in the category of senior journalists who mortgaged their consciences and the pride of the profession for wealth via the altar, of closer to the corridors of power . . .

So, media people should be paid good salaries and the job should be made more attractive to the dynamic type of professionals that the industry needs in Nigeria. If the job is made more attractive, there will be no need for editors, reporters and others to seek any favors from government officials or politicians who might corrupt them.

This researcher recommends that the Nigerian public be aware that they are equal partners in the process of modernization; that they have a duty to participate in debating issues that affect the nation by using the newspapers, magazines, radio and television to express their opinions.

Nigerian institutions of higher learning should provide facilities for research work in media studies. They should upgrade the quality of instruction for journalists, creative writers, dramatists and even musicians to have a balanced development of mass media in the country.

Finally, the author recommends follow-up on this study. A recommendation would be made that a representative sample of people--students, media people, government officials and the general public--be involved to bring out any significant differences that may exist about media issues.

FOOTNOTES

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE AND COVERING LETTER

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
School of Journalism & Broadcasting
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74074

February 24, 1982

The process of modernization now going on in Nigeria demands a total effort and contribution of ideas at every level of our society. It is also a challenge for the Nigerian mass media--newspapers, radio, television, films and magazines--to contribute actively and effectively in those efforts that will produce social, political and cultural progress in our nation.

We are asking you to participate in a survey to help us gather useful information which will help in the study of mass media functions in Nigeria. Please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it by March 15, 1982.

We value your cooperation and thank you for your helpful participation.

Sincerely,

Ennetuk E. Usoro

Please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements by checking X the blank spaces which indicate best how you feel about the mass media in Nigeria. The scale which is represented by five dashes runs from (1) "strongly agree" to (2) "agree," (3) "neutral," (4) "disagree," and (5) "strongly disagree."

1. Radio and television stations, as well as newspapers, are very good at giving the average Nigerian a chance to express his opinion at any time.
Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
2. During election campaigns, the Nigerian media take care to provide opposing parties an opportunity to comment on and criticize other candidates and their ideas.
Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
3. By offering a public forum for exchange of comment and criticism, the Nigerian mass media play a major role in helping the citizen to cast an informed vote.
Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
4. There are plenty of instances in which the Nigerian mass media show favoritism to particular ethnic groups.
Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
5. Editorial opinions in Nigerian newspapers rarely reflect the average citizen's feeling about major public issues.
Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
6. Nigerian mass media leave a lot to be desired when it comes to news coverage of issues like crime, health care and housing.
Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
7. The media should do more in way of challenging acts of government officials.
Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree

8. Nigerian mass media, overall, have shown good judgment in their suggestions on how the country should proceed in further development.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
9. The emphasis on crime and sex in the mass media, especially in films, is corrupting the morals of Nigerian youth.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
10. Coverage of local news is an area where the Nigerian mass media needs the most improvement.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
11. The current level of newspaper circulation in Nigeria is quite adequate to keep citizens well informed.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
12. The number of radio and television stations in Nigeria is not adequate for a full coverage of news, sports and entertainment which the public needs.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
13. The level of government ownership of mass media in Nigeria, in the long run, serves the best interests of the country and its citizens.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
14. Managers of the mass media in Nigeria should be allowed more of a free hand in running their organizations.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
15. What would improve Nigerian media considerably is greater citizen ownership.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree
16. The degree of loyalty Nigerian journalists show to the government in power damages their ability to inform citizens adequately.
- Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree

17. The government-appointed editors and boards of directors for mass media units in Nigeria are not in best interests of citizenry.

Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree

18. Any Nigerian should be entitled to ownership of newspapers, radio and television stations.

Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree

19. Nigeria is well equipped with training schools and colleges to prepare top quality journalists.

Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree

20. Nigerian journalists trained outside the country, on the average, are superior to those trained at home.

Strongly Agree ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Strongly Disagree

PERSONAL DATA

1. Age
 - 25-under
 - 26-35
 - Over 35

2. Sex
 - Male
 - Female

3. Geographical Location of State of Origin
 - North
 - South

4. Career Training
 - Mass Media
 - Education
 - Agriculture
 - Business
 - Engineering
 - Medicine
 - Other

5. Classification
 - Freshman
 - Sophomore
 - Junior
 - Senior
 - Graduate

APPENDIX B

MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING RADIO/
TELEVISION STATIONS



Figure 1. Map of Nigeria showing Radio/Television Stations

APPENDIX C
BREAKDOWN OF NIGERIAN POPULATION
AND MASS MEDIA FIGURES

TABLE IX
POPULATION AND SIZE OF THE
STATES OF NIGERIA

State	Population	Size in km ²
Anambra	3,571,072	15,770
Bauchi	2,193,674	61,814
Bendel	2,435,839	38,061
Benue	3,041,194	69,740
Borno	2,990,526	116,589
Cross River	3,600,000	29,164
Gongola	3,002,808	102,067
Imo	3,658,125	13,032
Kaduna	4,098,305	70,293
Kano	5,774,842	42,123
Kwara	2,309,338	73,404
Lagos	1,443,567	3,535
Niger	1,271,767	73,555
Ondo	2,727,675	18,165
Ogun	1,551,946	20,241
Oyo	5,158,884	42,862
Plateau	2,026,657	56,245
Rivers	1,800,000	21,172
Sokoto	4,538,808	94,588

Source: Nigeria Year Book 1977-1978, Daily Times of Nigeria, Ltd.

TABLE X
CIRCULATION OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS
(IN THOUSANDS)

Name	Circulation
<u>Daily Times</u>	200
<u>Daily Sketch</u>	70
<u>Daily Star</u>	50
<u>Daily Express</u>	10
<u>New Nigerian</u>	80
<u>Nigerian Observer</u>	70
<u>Nigerian Tide</u>	36
<u>Nigerian Chronicle</u>	25
<u>Nigerian Standard</u>	15
<u>Nigerian Herald</u>	40
<u>Nigerian Tribune</u>	60
<u>Evening Times</u>	30

Source: Nigerian Media Rates and Condi-
tions as of 1 January 1976,
compiled by Ogilvy Benson &
Mather, Lagos.

TABLE XI
CIRCULATION OF WEEKLIES
(IN THOUSANDS)

Name	Circulation
<u>Sunday Times</u>	300
<u>Sunday Sketch</u>	85
<u>Sunday Observer</u>	90
<u>Sunday Star</u>	50
<u>Sunday Punch</u>	70
<u>Lagos Weekend</u>	180
<u>Business Times</u>	15
<u>Times International</u>	20
<u>Sporting Record</u>	50
<u>Weekly Pools Guide</u>	30
<u>Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo</u>	36
<u>Irohin Yoruba</u>	60
<u>Gbohun Gbohun</u>	50
<u>Lagos This Week</u>	25
<u>Business Guardian</u>	20

Source: Nigerian Media Rates and Condi-
tions as of 1 January 1976,
compiled by Ogilvy Benson &
Mather, Lagos.

TABLE XII
CIRCULATION OF MONTHLY MAGAZINES
(IN THOUSANDS)

Name	Circulation
<u>Black Image</u>	30
<u>Apollo</u>	10
<u>Drum</u>	200
<u>Happy Home</u>	25
<u>Indigo</u>	25
<u>Joy</u>	30
<u>Modern Woman</u>	25
<u>Spear</u>	60
<u>Trust</u>	100
<u>Woman World</u>	20
<u>African Development</u>	2
<u>African Spark</u>	10
<u>Africa</u>	15
<u>Afriscope</u>	10
<u>Building Construction</u>	5
<u>Headlines</u>	160
<u>Home Studies</u>	20
<u>Entertainer</u>	60
<u>Management in Nigeria</u>	3
<u>Medical & Pharmaceutical Marketing Journal</u>	8
<u>Motorist</u>	18
<u>Nigerian Business Digest</u>	5
<u>Radio Times</u>	10
<u>African Winner</u>	7
<u>The Lagoon</u>	4
<u>The People</u>	10
<u>West African Technical Review</u>	6
<u>African Woman</u>	5
<u>Higher Education</u>	10

Source: Nigerian Media Rates and Condi-
tions as of 1 January 1976,
compiled by Ogilvy Benson &
Mather, Lagos.

VITA

Ennetuk Efiiong Usoro

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: AN ANALYSIS OF MASS MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD
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Major Field: Mass Communication

Biographical:

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