

THE MASS MEDIA IN AN EMERGING DEMOCRACY:

DETERMINING NIGERIAN STUDENTS'

ATTITUDES TOWARD FREEDOM

OF THE PRESS IN

NIGERIA

By

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the Problem

Although the relevance and importance of the mass media to society have not as yet been widely recognized and appreciated, as would seem to be necessary, the trend of events does indicate that it plays a vital role in the wave of social, economic, cultural, and political changes that have traversed the world during the past three decades. More interesting to note is the tremendous contribution it has made towards transforming the traditional societies of the developing nations of Africa into modern and viable ones.

As each of these societies emerges from its colonial status to independence, the question arises as to how the various governments would forge their diverse differences and bring their people under the umbrella of a united nation. Linguistic and other related tribal differences pose the greatest problem to Africa, with Nigeria, the wealthiest and most populous of the nations, having the largest share.<sup>1</sup> With a population of nearly 100 million, two hundred and fifty ethnic groups, and more than two hundred languages and dialects, the problem of bringing the people together under one nation becomes more complex.<sup>2</sup>

The print media came to Nigeria during the colonial days mainly to serve the economic interests of the colonial "masters" and partly to

provide them with more information about the new colony. Ironically, it was the print media that pioneered the struggle for the demise of British colonial rule in Nigeria. Britain succumbed to severe pressure from the few newspapers.<sup>3</sup> One can thus assume that even before independence, Nigerian politicians were aware of the powerful force which the press could wield to bring political and social change. This awareness was illustrated in the speech of the Prime Minister of Nigeria's First Republic at the first Conference of Independent African Nations in 1963:

I am most grateful to the press - the newspapers, the radio, and Federal Information Service - for their proper coverage of the Conference. The newspaper editors did very well both inside and outside the Conference Hall to make things easy for my delegation. I am most proud, and grateful to you, Nigerian Press, because any embarrassment from you would have led us to public disfavor and upset our path.<sup>4</sup>

The Nigerian Press had been active since independence informing, educating, and entertaining the public and playing the role of participants in progress. The civil war and the advent of military rule brought censorship through repressive edicts and decrees. The military rulers of Federal Nigeria did not, however, realize the power of the press until the secessionist Biafran leader, Odumegwu Ojukwu, successfully utilized radio and newspapers as a powerful propaganda machine through which he won support for Biafra in Europe and the United States during Nigeria's three-year civil war. It was then that the 1964 Press Law came into full force. Throughout, and after the war, news editors and reporters were indiscriminately arrested, detained, and jailed without trial, most of the time because of alleged erroneous news stories. News editors were compelled to submit copies of their stories before publication. Vocal university lecturers and students, who sought their rights through demonstrations, peaceful and violent, were either jailed without

trial or killed. Their campuses were shut down for weeks. It was the darkest period of the Nigerian journalist.<sup>5</sup>

The democratically elected government that came to power in 1979 promised to repeal the obnoxious 1964 Press Law and the repressive decrees promulgated by the military. This seemed a ray of hope for journalists, but the elected representatives wasted no time in treating the press with contempt as the old restrictive measures were reintroduced in the states. Policemen beat reporters mercilessly and damaged their equipment, even where they were invited to cover events. Indiscriminate detention without trial continued for failure to tow the government's line, or merely reporting erroneously. All these were worsened by Government ownership of the broadcast media (100%) and a sizeable proportion of the print media. A few months after the new government came to power, demonstrating students in support of civil rights and press freedom were shot at and killed and their universities closed. Pressmen were barred from covering National Assembly sessions as a result of reporting a \$5.6 billion oil scandal involving the government.<sup>6</sup> This happened when this writer visited Nigeria in Summer 1980. Government activities were thus being conducted in secret in a democracy, despite the freedom given the press in the National Constitution.

Having had nine years of working experience with many of those now in positions of authority in Nigeria, this writer is of the opinion that, from the beginning, Nigeria's politicians, although aware of the powerful influence of the press in any society, did not understand the role and functions of the press, and the immense contributions it could make in a democracy if given a freer hand. They tend to believe that the press is, or should be, an arm of the government and must be used

for achieving their governmental objectives regardless of public opinion. The press, to them, must be subjective to their orders and instructions. It is the opinion of the writer that Nigerians have enough enlightened people to cope with a free press similar to that of the United States.

The trend of events led to debates and discussions as to what press theory the Nigerian experience fits in. A brief discussion of the four theories of the press is appropriate here to facilitate an easy understanding of where the Nigerian press belongs.

#### Authoritarianism

The authoritarian concept of the press developed in 16th and 17th century England. It was widely adopted and still practiced in many parts of the world. The authoritarian concept originated from the philosophy of absolute power of the monarch, his government, or both. The chief purpose of the press under the authoritarian state is to support and advance the policies of the government in power and to service the state. Not everyone has the right to use the media. The monarch grants royal patent or similar permission to whomever he pleases, and ownership could be private or public. Under the authoritarian regime, criticism of political machinery and officials in power is forbidden as the press is controlled through government patents, guilds, licensing, and sometimes censorship.<sup>7</sup>

A person in journalism is so engaged as a special privilege granted by the national leadership. He, therefore, owes an obligation to that leadership and is subjected to the State authority and whims. This press concept has formed, and now forms, the basis of many media systems of the world.<sup>8</sup>

### Libertarianism

This press concept was traced back to England and the American colonies of the seventeenth century. It originated from the writings of Locke, Mill, Milton, and the philosophy of rationalism and natural rights.<sup>9</sup>

The chief purpose of the libertarian press is to inform, entertain, and sell -- chiefly to help discover the truth, however splintered it may be, in a plurality of voices, and to check on government. It is impossible to do this if the press is controlled by someone outside itself. Thus, the media are controlled by a "self-righting process of truth" in a "free market place of ideas," and by courts.<sup>10</sup> Ownership is thus chiefly private; and defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition are forbidden.

### Social Responsibility

The Social Responsibility theory of the press developed in the United States in the 20th century, from the writing of W. E. Hocking, Commission for the Freedom of the Press and Practitioners. It is also an outgrowth of media codes. The purpose of the socially responsible press is to inform, entertain, and sell, just like the libertarian press, but it goes further by "raising conflict to the plane of discussion and assuming the obligation of social responsibility," both in its performance per se and its treatment of societal values.<sup>11</sup>

The Commission for Freedom of the Press came up with useful suggestions and laid the groundwork for a socially responsible press when it recommended that the mass media: (1) give a truthful, comprehensive,

and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning, (2) provide for the exchange of comment and criticism, (3) present and clarify the goals and values of the society, (4) give the public ample opportunity to have access to the day's intelligence, and (5) project a representative picture of the Constituent groups in the society.<sup>12</sup>

The work of the Commission and the recommendations that followed laid the groundwork for more conscious awareness of a socially responsible press in the United States and elsewhere.

#### Soviet-Totalitarian

Developed in the Soviet Union and practiced elsewhere by the Nazis and Italians, this theory originated from Marx, Lenin, and Stalin with a mixture of Hegel and 19th century Russian thinking.<sup>13</sup> The chief purpose of the Soviet-Totalitarian press is to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet Socialist System, especially the dictatorship of the party.<sup>14</sup> Only loyal and orthodox party members have the right to use the media, which is controlled through surveillance and economic or political action of government. The media are state-owned; and criticism of party objectives is strictly forbidden.

#### The Systems Compared

The Authoritarian press is an instrument for effecting government policy, though not necessarily government-owned. The Libertarian press, on the other hand, is an instrument for checking on government and meeting other needs of society. The socially-responsible press functions similarly, but the media assume obligations of social responsibility.

The Soviet-Totalitarian press is state-owned and strictly controlled. It exists solely as an arm of the Soviet state.

There is a clear distinction between the Authoritarian and Soviet-Totalitarian press systems. The Authoritarian system permits private ownership of the press, but the latter does not. Both systems are, to varying degrees at various times, authoritarian. The Authoritarian press system knows well what it cannot print, and beyond that, the editors are given considerable freedom and discretion in their editorial decision-making. The Soviet system, on the other hand, is an agitation and propaganda arm of the State, and is mainly concerned with printing what it is told. It knows what it must print.<sup>15</sup> Thus, one can safely make the argument that the press is potentially freer in an authoritarian country than in a Communist country.

#### Where the Nigerian Press Belongs

The Nigerian Constitution makes provision for the President to grant licenses to those wishing to own and operate broadcast facilities.<sup>16</sup> So far, some universities have applied for licenses to operate broadcast facilities for instructional purposes but they have been declined. The political situation in the country and the government's total ownership and control of the press qualifies the broadcast media for the Soviet-Totalitarian system. There is, however, the possibility that the President would grant licenses to individuals and institutions in the future, in view of the Senate Committee hearings on the use of airwaves.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, the Nigerian broadcast media are "servicing the state" and are not willing to bite the hand that feeds them. They thus qualify for the Authoritarian press system. Through economic and

political measures of the federal government, some states are denied foreign exchange for purchase of broadcast equipment. The few that are operating are under constant fear of economic and political victimization.<sup>18</sup> This places the broadcast media in the Soviet-Totalitarian system.

The print media enjoys an appreciable degree of freedom to qualify them for the Libertarian and Social Responsibility press systems. Anyone with economic means could own a newspaper in Nigeria and anyone is free to read it, the only limitation being whether the individual has the money to purchase one and is literate. However, since most newspapers are totally or partially government-owned and some are mouth organs of political parties, one can argue that they too are supporting and advancing the policies of the government in power.<sup>19</sup> There is one positive contribution being made by some of the newspapers though: They have vowed to be the vigilant watchdog on the government and are succeeding in exposing unbecoming practices of government officials, many of whom have fallen under the heavy axe of press criticism. Furthermore, in addition to their basic functions, they continuously have raised conflict to the plane of discussion by publishing controversial issues of public concern. They believe their prime responsibility is to the public and to remain free of unnecessary government interference.

From this discussion, it is the writer's view that the Nigerian press fits into all the press theories, but the Soviet-Totalitarian theory dominates the broadcast media while the print media could be classified mainly as Authoritarian.



## Need for the Study

This writer believes that the UNESCO recommendation that universities should play a large role in the training of journalists would create an atmosphere whereby Nigerians would fully understand and appreciate the role and functions of the press, and the immense contributions it could make to national development.<sup>20</sup> Since Nigerian university students have been in the forefront of both peaceful and violent protests in support of civil rights, the new awareness of the need to involve students in the battle for press freedom seems to be a step in the right direction.

There have been very few media research efforts in Nigeria. Most have been in the marketing field. In a developing nation like Nigeria, students have a vital role to play in the journalism profession. It is a profession that permeates all facets of our daily life. The immense contributions of students in the future on any one country cannot be overemphasized. This writer thinks it is pertinent to involve students in, and find how they feel about, such a profession that is so pervasive and permeates all facets of the Nigerian Society. It is, therefore, relevant to conduct a study of their attitudes toward press freedom in the light of the change from military to a democratically elected government.

## Purpose of the Study

The over-all purpose of this study was to determine the attitudes of Nigerian University students, both at home and in the U.S.A., toward press freedom and the Nigerian government's restrictive measures on the press.

The specific purposes of the study were: (1) to determine if there is a significant difference in the mean attitudes of Nigerian students in Nigeria and in the U.S.A.; (2) to determine if there is a significant difference in the mean attitudes of students according to their sex; (3) to determine if there is a significant difference in the mean attitudes of students of different age groups; (4) to determine if there is a significant difference in the mean attitudes of students of different college classifications; (5) to determine if there is a significant difference in the mean attitude of students from different geographical regions; (6) to determine if there is a significant difference in the mean attitudes of students from different socio-economic backgrounds - parents' occupation and parents' income.

#### Limitations and Assumptions

This study was severely limited by lack of previous research in the specific area under study. Literature on the mass media in Nigeria is scanty. The few existing articles that deal with current issues are scattered over newspapers, journals, and magazines.

Selection of subjects is limited to: (1) students living in dormitories at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria and (2) Nigerian students at Oklahoma State University. This would probably not make the subjects as representative of the over-all population of students as would be desired. However, since Nigerian students are fairly uniformly represented in universities at home and abroad, it is assumed that the selected sample would represent a sizeable percentage of the over-all attitude of the Nigerian student population.

#### FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>"Wielding Africa's Oil Weapon," Time (Oct. 6, 1980), p. 52.
- <sup>2</sup>David Lamb, "A Fresh Start for Africa's Giant," Reader's Digest (Dec. 1980), pp. 134-138.
- <sup>3</sup>Dayo Duyile, Media and Mass Communication in Nigeria (Ibadan: Sketch Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 6-8.
- <sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 385.
- <sup>5</sup>Patrick D. Cole, "The Press in a Military Regime," An Address to the Commonwealth Press Union in London, 1977.
- <sup>6</sup>"Oilgate Scandal Report Out," West Africa (August 18, 1980), p. 1578.
- <sup>7</sup>Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur L. Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 7.
- <sup>8</sup>John C. Merrill, Carter R. Bryant, and Marvin Alisky, The Foreign Press: A Survey of the World's Journalism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), p. 20.
- <sup>9</sup>Heinz-Dietrich Fischer and John C. Merrill, International and Intercultural Communication, (New York: Hastings House, 1976), p. 27.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>11</sup>William L. Rivers and Wilbur L. Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 47.
- <sup>12</sup>Commission for Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press, ed. Robert Leigh (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 20-29.
- <sup>13</sup>Rivers and Schramm, pp. 40-45.
- <sup>14</sup>Merrill, Bryant, and Alisky, p. 23.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup>Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos: The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979, Chapter IV, Section 36, sub-section 2.

- <sup>17</sup>Denial of TV Jamming," West Africa (March 2, 1981), p. 466.
- <sup>18</sup>"What the Governors Said," West Africa (Feb. 23, 1981), p. 357.
- <sup>19</sup>"No Surrender of Government Shares in Newspapers," West Africa (Jan. 19, 1981), p. 137.
- <sup>20</sup>Mass Media in Society: The Need for Training and Research (Paris: UNESCO, 1970), pp. 19-23.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Introduction

Freedom of expression is the continuation and practical manifestation of freedom of thought. It is, therefore, one of the most fundamental human rights. Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky found, in a study of 86 national constitutions, that the principle of such freedom is set forth more or less explicitly in every social covenant, regardless of the political system it establishes.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, throughout the world, regardless of what type of press theory a country may accept, the right to publish and to read the truth is either denied or under constant attack. The complex nature of gathering, publishing, and disseminating news is such that the press is brought constantly into conflict with the government. In addition, because of the pervasive role of government in determining the destinies of men, the press is increasingly dependent on government for a major portion of its most significant news.<sup>2</sup>

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria clearly states that:

Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference. Every person shall be entitled to own, establish, and operate any medium for dissemination of information, ideas, and opinions.<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of this clear provision, and the provision for a democratic

form of government, Nigerian politicians have one of the most ambivalent attitudes toward the press.

Nigeria has undergone drastic changes in the past decade - socially, economically, and politically. Very little research has been done, however, on the mass media within this period, partly because of the negative attitude of Nigeria's military rulers toward Western journalists since the end of the civil war in 1970,<sup>4</sup> and partly as a result of the expulsion and/or denial of entry visas to Western mass media practitioners just before the 1979 Presidential elections.<sup>5</sup> These factors have made research work difficult, if not impossible, since the early 1970s.

The available literature deals mainly with the mass media of the developing nations of the world of which Nigeria is one. In this review, attention will be focused on these generalities. Attempts will be made to discuss in detail those legal and governmental restrictions militating against the operation of a reasonable degree of freedom for the Nigerian Press. Finally, a review of research findings on the relationship of the mass media to national development is pertinent.

#### Press Freedom: The Nigerian Experience

When a courageous newspaper exists, serving its reader as the guardian of his interests and the protector of his rights, exposing abuses of power and criticizing failures and wrong decisions, it is a thorn in the side of government. Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky note that this is an ever-present source of concern for government officials. "It is a power that must be kept under control if government is touchy about criticism."<sup>6</sup> The case of the Nigerian press where the Minister of Information tells government-owned newspapers what and what not to

publish offers an interesting study. During students' crises in 1978 and 1979, a state Information Minister banned certain media houses from "feeding to the public 'sensitive and inflammatory reports which would aggravate an already worsened situation on students' crises in the country."<sup>7</sup> In a crisis situation, the press has the responsibility to bring opposing views to the plane of discussion, because true freedom of the press entails diversity of opinion. The means of expressing that diversity must be available to every trend of opinion and point of view, even though they are not from the economically powerful.<sup>8</sup> An interesting case to mention here is where the Presidential Adviser on Information selected reporters from two of more than 15 major newspapers in the country to cover presidential news conferences.<sup>9</sup> One of these newspapers, the Daily Times, has the largest daily circulation and is 60 per cent government-owned (Appendix C). The other one is 100 percent government-owned. Both reporters have to submit their questions in advance. One of the most popular newspapers, the Concord, is owned by a powerful member of the ruling party. It has a front-page column for rebuffing the opposition. The owner receives regular contracts from the Federal Government.<sup>10</sup> One can see how and why objectivity suffers here. This problem becomes more pronounced in view of the government's total ownership of the broadcast media, and the hypothetical belief in some quarters that "since the government pays the piper, it must dictate the tune."<sup>11</sup>

From the American experience, it has long been established that no freedom of the press exists without freedom of enterprise, and that the wider the variety of ownership, the more authentic and secure the press' freedom.<sup>12</sup> The Nigerian federal government licenses the broadcast media

through its Ministry of Communications. All state governments wishing to start a broadcast station must first obtain licenses from the Ministry which allocates broadcasting frequencies and regulates the design and power of technical equipment.

Early in the history of broadcasting in Nigeria, it was felt that radio and television should be free from direct political control. The Nigerian Broadcasting Service, originally a department of government, was turned into a public corporation - the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, with a board of governors whose members and chairman were appointed by the government.<sup>13</sup> The Department of Communications can deny license renewal to any broadcast station, like the Federal Communications Commission in the United States.

These legal guarantees give the politicians a free hand in controlling the media, especially when the President appoints a politician to administer the broadcast media.<sup>14</sup> Added to this is the lack of sufficient and adequately-trained personnel in the media profession. Throughout his nine years of working experience in the second largest broadcast station in Nigeria, this writer knew of no more than three, among over 50 producers, senior producers, programming directors, news reporters, writers, controllers of programming, etc., who had a bachelor's degree - and none of them in a journalism-related field.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press emphasized the importance of quality performance and efficiency in the media when it recommended that

The press use every means that can be devised to increase the competence, independence, and effectiveness of its staff, and the creation of academic-professional centers of advanced study, research and publications in the field of Communication.<sup>15</sup>

The Commission further recommended that existing schools of



journalism exploit the total resources of their universities so that students may obtain the broadest, most liberal training.<sup>16</sup> Edward J. Drummond aptly notes that if the phrase "social responsibility of the newspress" is to have any lasting meaning,

. . . it must involve the teaching of journalism continuously in the context of the existential world in which journalistic work must be done; the practice of journalism will be continuously reinforced and informed by the education principles - knowledge, freedom, and responsibility. To penetrate the complex of modern reality calls for great skill and sophistication in the contemporary journalist and in the teacher who prepares students for the profession.<sup>17</sup>

It seems that the Nigerian lawmakers believe that the press is, or should be, a subordinate arm of the government, and that its role should be just an instrument for achieving their governmental ends. The matter of personnel training seems secondary. Nevertheless, the press organizations in the various states of the country are now succeeding in prevailing on their legislators to establish institutes of journalism and communication studies in their Colleges of Science and Technology.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, threats to journalists for publishing opposing views or not upholding the political interests of newspaper owners,<sup>19</sup> unannounced police raids on newsrooms without warrant,<sup>20,21</sup> denial of journalists' access to information essential to efficient and effective performance,<sup>22</sup> banning of reporters from National Assembly and Senate sessions,<sup>23</sup> newspapers devoting special columns for publishing vitriolic articles against other newspapers who support the opposing party to which the newspaper's owner belongs, and other restrictions, are constraints with which the Nigerian press is currently grappling. These problems are amply portrayed in an address given by an African Cabinet Minister to an IPI seminar:

. . . I am appalled by the level of information of the majority

of men and women who run our press in East Africa . . . if you are being interviewed by press people or TV people about any of the problems we are grappling with, you straight away notice that the people who are interviewing you have no access at any time to the primary sources of information regarding the subject on which they want to interview you. . . . you are reduced to being questioned on a very shallow basis about gossip of the town.<sup>24</sup>

One wonders here who is to blame - the minister who wraps every piece of information under the cloak of secrecy, or the reporter who failed to do his homework, or is not qualified for the job in the first place. The public suffers in the final analysis.

The Swedish Press Law aptly stipulates that

Enlightenment of the people without hindrance not only develops science and industries, but it also gives the citizens an opportunity to become acquainted with the methods of government . . . behavior and customs will improve, and citizens will know more about the laws. The knowledge of violations of the law and misconduct has an educational purpose. When they know, disobedience of the law is avoided.<sup>25</sup>

Although the Swedish Constitutional guarantee of press freedom has undergone some changes since 1766, the basic principle remains. The positive effect is reflected in Sweden's social, political, and economic life. The first country in the world to have such a law, Sweden has the highest per capita income and newspaper circulation in Europe. It has the highest correlation of the four social and press variables. No doubt Sweden's free press is a strong factor in all its facets of modernization and national development. The constitution further states that an enlightened and informed public is necessary to good government. A free press should serve not only as a medium of information and entertainment, but also as a check on government. Only then could government and its officials avoid repetition of mistakes. "For the press to fulfill such a role, it concludes, both access and freedom to print are necessary."<sup>26</sup>

Wiggins notes that the right to know really is a composite of several rights. The first in order of its importance, he emphasizes, is the right to get information. "Secret arrests, trial, and punishment are the three prerogatives of arbitrary governments that must menace the right of individuals."<sup>27</sup> He concluded by noting that the right of citizens to know about the conduct of their own government, to see for themselves the public records of the executive departments, seems implicit in all theories of democracy and self-government upon which such a system rests. The situation in which the Nigerian press finds itself illustrates a complete negation of these basic rights.

In a survey of nine countries, Howe found that Nigeria ranks with the worst three in terms of pressures on correspondents, availability of news, and quality of telecommunications with the outside world.<sup>28</sup> Katz and Wedell note that the relation of the mass media, especially broadcast, to any political power structure in the developing countries is bound to be ambivalent.<sup>29</sup> Given the assumed influence of the broadcast media on public opinion and attitude formation, governments everywhere, sensitive to public opinion and public attitudes toward themselves, tend to believe the media to be largely responsible.

The maintenance of the freedom of expression in British broadcasting has been subject to a more deliberate act of policy designed in 1926 for a single channel radio operation. This policy aimed to render this channel independent, not only of politics, but also commercial pressures. Hence the emphasis on public enterprise and control in the "interests of the people" as distinct from those of the government. The instruments used to achieve such independence have been a controlling board of governors for broadcasting service and the reliance on broadcast license

fees paid by the users of radio and television receivers. This policy was inherited by Nigeria for the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation.<sup>30</sup>

In Britain, the collection of license fees on radio and TV receivers is thought to provide the best guarantee of independence from both government and advertisers. In Nigeria, this is not the case. The total annual revenue from license fees for the whole country for any one year has never exceeded \$2 million.<sup>31</sup> In fact, with radio receivers totalling a meager 76 per 1000, and TV sets at 1 per 1000 population,<sup>32</sup> it is too obvious that the continuous levying of license fees tends to serve no useful purpose. A 24-inch black and white TV receiver, which costs between \$200.00 and \$400.00 in the U.S.A. and less in Japan, costs between \$800.00 and \$1,100.00 in Nigeria as of August 1980.<sup>33</sup> This government-imposed barrier of licensing radio and TV receivers are impediments to broadcast penetration, while the exorbitant 200% retail sales tax on imported receivers could discourage dealers and further worsen the penetration situation, since a very insignificant proportion of the population could afford the price.

Waniewicz, after a survey of many developing countries, suggested that,

. . . instead of making it more difficult than it need be to own a receiver, governments might consider it in their nation's best interests to encourage the growth of circulation, not only by removing such artificial financial impediments, but also by more positive measures, such as subsidizing receivers, batteries, replacement parts and repair facilities.<sup>34</sup>

Radio and television receivers are on the list of items which UNESCO qualifies as serving educational, cultural, and scientific purposes. The UNESCO recommends that governments give these items special favorable treatment and make their importation duty-free.<sup>35</sup>

Nigeria fits very well into the category of countries still operating on the license fee system. This writer hopes this invaluable suggestion from an important, international organization would be heeded in the near future.

#### The Mass Media and National Development

Schramm observes in a study of the communication systems in some developing nations that the typical history of communication development in countries where it is farthest advanced is a chain of interactions in which literacy, urbanization, national income, political participation, and the mass media have all gone forward together, stimulating each other. "In the social change we call national development," he noted, "development in one line can never get far in advance of development in the others."<sup>36</sup>

In a study of 109 countries using 54 variables (representing many different aspects of life), Farrace found that national development goes together with media development and press freedom, and that media development is tied closely to many aspects of a country's development in other sectors.<sup>37</sup> The conclusion is that mass media development is interdependent with achievement in many aspects of the "ways of life" in a country.

After a similar study of 115 countries using 43 variables, Farrace and Donohew conclude that literacy, per capita income, life expectancy, secondary school enrollment, and newspaper circulation increase as the press in any country enjoys freedom.<sup>38</sup> Legislative-executive structure and ideological orientation tend toward a more democratic outlook.

In an earlier study, Nixon noted a close relation and interaction among the four variables of GNP/per capita income, literacy, newspaper circulation, the number of radio receivers per 1000 population, and press freedom. He concluded that the higher the socio-economic development in a country, the higher the likelihood that press freedom will exist, and vice versa.<sup>39</sup>

Lerner obtained comparable data on 54 countries and developed the indices for the first four factors of his "Model of Modernization" - Urbanization, Political Participation, Literacy, and Media Participation (the proportion of population buying newspapers, owning radio, and attending movies). He found that each of the other three variables had a multiple correlation coefficient of .84 with media participation.<sup>40</sup>

Several other studies have demonstrated that the interrelationship among mass media and other socio-economic indices of development are very strong. In a study of 50 underdeveloped countries, the product - moment correlation of radio receivers, per capita income, and daily newspaper circulation was noted at .74.<sup>41</sup>

Fargen also noted a positive correlation between mass communication growth and political participation, economic development, and literacy, in a study of the relationship of communication growth to national political systems in less developed countries.<sup>42</sup>

In a related study in a Latin American village, Deutschmann found a significant relationship between media exposure and literacy, economics, and life expectancy factors. He noticed a high correlation between media exposure and political knowledge. Deutschmann concluded that mass media exposure runs concomitant with interests in politics, concern about health, and level of aspiration for children among the

rural dwellers surveyed.<sup>43</sup>

Russell Fitzgibbon, who has measured democratization in the 20 republics of Latin America every five years since 1945, found a stronger relationship between "free and competitive elections" and "freedom of the press" than between free and competitive elections and any of the other political, social, and economic criteria in his survey. He concluded: press freedom then is of vital importance to society and should not be the concern simply of those who have a financial stake in the press.<sup>44</sup>

Fischer and Merrill revealed similar findings, noting that "a society of free men comes into being on the basis of free elections, and the free expression of opinion. We recognize a tyranny not only by the fact that its subjects are denied free elections, but also by the fact that they are denied a free press."<sup>45</sup>

### Conclusion

This review emphasized the importance of press freedom, generally, and cited research findings on the development and degree of freedom of mass media systems in the developing nations of the world and how these are related to modernization and national development. Literature on the Nigerian press, and the constraints on its freedom, were reviewed, with specific emphasis on the historical development, and legal and statutory controls of the Nigerian broadcast media.

All the research findings point to one conclusive direction: the mass media are both an index and agent of national development, and press freedom is strongly, positively correlated with all the core predictors and variables of national development and modernization. The

importance of a free press cannot be overemphasized, for it is all-pervasive and permeates all aspects of a nation's "ways of life."



#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>John C. Merrill, Carter, R. Bryant, and Marvin Alisky, The Foreign Press: A Survey of the World's Journalism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979, Chapter IV, Section 36, Sub-section 2.

<sup>4</sup>Stanley Meisler, "Covering the Third World," Columbia Journalism Review, Vol. 17 (1978), pp. 34-38.

<sup>5</sup>"Nigeria Goes to the Polls," Washington Post (Sept. 12, 1979), p. 9.

<sup>6</sup>Merrill, Bryant, and Alisky, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup>"Censorship: Federal Government!" Daily Times of Nigeria (May 10, 1978), p. 19.

<sup>8</sup>Bryan R. Carter, "Economic Intervention: Prelude to Press Control," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 38 (1961), p. 75.

<sup>9</sup>Charles Iwezue, "An Interview With Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari," Africa (September 1980), pp. 23-26.

<sup>10</sup>"Bill to Probe Contract Deal," Nigerian Tribune (Jan. 8, 1981), p. 12.

<sup>11</sup>Dayo Duyile, Media and Mass Communication in Nigeria, (Ibadan: Sketch Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 257-9.

<sup>12</sup>R. Carter, p. 75.

<sup>13</sup>Sydney W. Head, Broadcasting in Africa (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), p. 80.

<sup>14</sup>"Presidential Adviser: Vera Ifuda dismissed from National Television," West Africa (May 12, 1980), p. 824.

<sup>15</sup>Commission for Freedom of the Press: A Free and Responsible Press, ed. Robert Leigh (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 95-96.

- <sup>16</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup>Edward J. Drummond, S. J., in Nieman Chair Lecture, 1962, Marquette University College of Journalism, in Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 40 (1963) p. 35.
- <sup>18</sup>Duyile, p. 26.
- <sup>19</sup>"Stop This Vindictive Sack of Newsmen," The Punch (Nov. 9, 1979), p. 1.
- <sup>20</sup>"Okolie Condemns Police Raids," Nigerian Tribune (May 22, 1978), p. 5.
- <sup>21</sup>"Don't Gag the Press: Police Raids Deplored," Daily Times of Nigeria (May 29, 1980), p. 3.
- <sup>22</sup>"Publish Facts: Ex-Speaker Warns Journalists," Daily Sketch (Sept. 9, 1979), p. 1.
- <sup>23</sup>"Journalists at War with Assembly," The Punch (Oct. 15, 1979), p. 3.
- <sup>24</sup>"Tough Talking from a Cabinet Minister," An Address to IPI Seminar Nairobi, Kenya, 1972, in African Journalist (Zurick, 1972), pp. 3-5.
- <sup>25</sup>Anders Yugve Pres, Newspapers in Sweden (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1954), pp. 10-11.
- <sup>26</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup>James R. Wiggins, Freedom or Secrecy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 29-30.
- <sup>28</sup>Russel W. Howe, "Reporting from Africa: A Correspondent's View," Journalism Quarterly, 43 (1966), pp. 314-18.
- <sup>29</sup>Elihu Katz and George Wedel, Broadcasting in the Third World, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 99.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 49.
- <sup>31</sup>Head, pp. 80-81.
- <sup>32</sup>Worldmark Encyclopaedia of Nations, (5th ed., New York: Worldmark Press, 1976), pp. 235-46.
- <sup>33</sup>Personal Observation of Writer while on Summer holiday in Nigeria, August 1-15, 1980.
- <sup>34</sup>Ignacy Warniewicz, Broadcasting for Adult Education: A Guidebook to Worldwide Experience (Paris: UNESCO, 1972), pp. 48, 102.

- <sup>35</sup>Removing Taxes on Knowledge (Paris: UNESCO, 1969), Vol. 58, p. 39.
- <sup>36</sup>Wilbur Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process," in Lucian Pye (ed.), Communication and Political Development, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 78-81.
- <sup>37</sup>Vincent R. Farrace, "Mass Communication and National Development," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 43 (1966), pp. 305-313.
- <sup>38</sup>Vincent R. Farrace and Lewis Donohew, "Mass Communication in National Social Systems: A Study of 43 Variables in 115 Countries," Journalism Quarterly, 42 (1965), pp. 253-261.
- <sup>39</sup>Raymond B. Nixon, "Freedom in the World's Press: A Fresh Appraisal with New Data," Journalism Quarterly, 42 (1965), pp. 3-14.
- <sup>40</sup>Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 46, 63.
- <sup>41</sup>Mass Media in the Developing Countries: Reports and Papers on Mass Communication (Paris: UNESCO, 1961).
- <sup>42</sup>Richard R. Fargen, "Relation of Communication Growth to National Political Systems in Less Developed Countries," Journalism Quarterly, 41 (1964), pp. 87-94.
- <sup>43</sup>Paul J. Deutschmann, "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village," Journalism Quarterly, 40 (1963), pp. 27-35.
- <sup>44</sup>Russell H. Fitzgibbon and Kenneth F. Johnson, "Measurement of Latin American Political Change," The American Political Science Review, 55:3 (1961), p. 525.
- <sup>45</sup>Heinz-Dietrich Fischer and John C. Merrill, International and Intercultural Communication (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1974), p. 136.

## CHAPTER III

### DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### Selection of Subjects

The subjects for this study consisted of 200 Nigerian students selected at random at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, and at Oklahoma State University. They were enrolled in undergraduate and graduate courses in various majors. Their ages ranged from 18 to 45.

#### Instrument

The scale used in this study was developed for the purpose of investigating Nigerian college students' attitudes toward government's restrictive measures on the Nigerian press. Items were also included in the instrument to obtain certain background data from the students, such as sex, age, college classification, region of origin, religious preference, and socio-economic status of parents.

To measure the degree of agreement or disagreement with statements supporting or opposing government's restrictive measures on the press, or certain concepts associated with the press, the Likert-type attitude scale was used. Each of the 24 items in this scale was characterized by five degrees of response: (a) strongly agree, (b) agree, (c) neutral, (d) disagree, and (e) strongly disagree. The answers were scored so that the most favorable response was given the lowest score (1), and the

least favorable, the highest score (5). A score of (3) stood for "Neutral". Items for the scale were adapted from Lowenstein's factors for measuring press freedom on the basis of over-all inclusiveness and comparability,<sup>1</sup> and the Nixon press freedom scale, a judgmental estimate of the restrictions a country places on its press, and, hence, of the authoritarianism of a country.<sup>2</sup> Each item was then subjected to thorough critique by fellow students, both American and international, who were enrolled in Mass Communication graduate classes with the writer. Of the original 60 items, 24 were found to be most appropriate to the purpose of the study. The 24 items were pretested with ten Nigerian students on Oklahoma State University campus. The reliability coefficient for internal consistency was .44. The over-all attitude is probably the crucial factor.

#### Administration

One hundred copies of the 24-item scale were mailed on Jan. 7, 1981 to the researcher's friend and colleague, Yinka Ogunniyi, computer scientist, to be administered to students of the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. Specific instructions were given to him to administer the scales through systematic randomization to cover the entire residence halls on the campus. The researcher seized the opportunity of his summer vacation in Nigeria in 1980 to explain the randomization procedures and followed up with letters to Mr. Ogunniyi since September 1980. He wrote back to confirm his understanding of the procedure. The remaining 100 copies of the scale were distributed to a random sample of Nigerian students at Oklahoma State University, using Greene and Lohnes and Cooley's power residue method of random numbers.<sup>3</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ralph L. Lowenstein, "PICA: Measuring World Press Freedom" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1966.)

<sup>2</sup>Raymond B. Nixon, "Freedom in the World's Press: A Fresh Appraisal With New Data," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 42 (1965), pp. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup>Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1973), pp. 712-717.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

The primary purpose of this study was to determine to what extent sex, age, education, region of origin, parents' occupation, parents' income, and country of study related to Nigerian College Students' attitudes toward government restrictions on the Nigerian press.

As discussed in Chapter III, a rating scale indicating agreement with statements concerning certain aspects of the press yields a measure of mean agreement by the college students studied. A two-dimensional factorial analysis of variance was used to analyze data, while eta correlation ratios explained the strength of the relationship between the dependent variable (attitude toward press restrictions) and the independent variables of sex, age, education, region of origin, parents' occupation, parents' income, and country of study.

Of the 100 copies of the scale mailed to the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 96 were returned, while 82 of the 100 copies administered to Nigerian students at Oklahoma State University were returned. Of the 40 female respondents from Nigeria, only 20 were used for the sex variable. The remaining 20 were randomly eliminated to bring the total number on both sides (Oklahoma State University and University of Ibadan) closer together to reduce error produced by highly disparate frequencies in comparison groups. All 40 were used in computing mean agreement for all other variables.

Freshman respondents were totally eliminated from the education variable because the total number from one university was too large for any reasonably accurate statistical comparison with the second university. The education variable was collapsed into sophomore-junior and senior-graduate. Freshman respondents were used in computing mean agreements for the other variables.

#### The Scale Items

Appendix A represents the 24 scale items. Each subject's response to each item, his or her total response, and mean attitudes are shown in Appendix B. The mean attitudes of all subjects on each item show that items 5, 16, 9, 6, and 4 were most favored by all 178 subjects. Their mean attitudes ranged from 1.56 to 2.01, indicating "agreement" on the five-point scale, meaning that they were in support of freedom of the press in Nigeria on the following items, respectively:

5. Constructive criticism of the government by the press is essential to the Nigerian democracy and must be encouraged.

16. A free press is better able to alert the public of relevant problems than a government-owned press.

9. Presidential news conferences should be open to a broader segment of media reporters, not just a selected few.

6. Police raids on newsrooms, even without warrants, serve to protect the public from information harmful to its interests.

4. Threats to prevent journalists from publishing views contrary to the government's views are actually in the public's best interests.

Items 21, 23, 22, 3, and 12, in that order, were least favored, with mean attitudes ranging from 3.28 to 2.54. These items tended



toward neutrality on the five-point scale. They dealt with the following:

21. Newspapers, under no circumstances, should endorse an opposition party, even those they approve.

23. Any individual should be able to own as many newspapers and/or radio stations as he chooses.

22. License fees on radio and TV sets serve no useful purpose.

3. Licensing of broadcast media is better left to an independent agency.

12. The proposition by some legislators that delicate issues still at discussion level not be published serves to deprive the public of useful opinions and ideas essential in a democracy.

The remaining 14 items had mean attitudes ranging from 2.03 to 2.51, leaning more toward the agreement side of the scale. Over-all, only eight of the 24 items had mean attitudes more than 2.50, with three of them crossing the "neutral" point of the scale towards "disagree". These were items 22 (3.07); 23 (3.13); and 21 (3.28).

#### Tests for Research Questions

Three main tests comprised the variance analysis of data: (1) test for differences in mean attitudes between levels of sex, age, education, region of origin, parents' occupation, and parents' income; (2) test for differences in mean attitudes between the respondents in Nigeria and the United States; and (3) test for significance of interaction between country of study and the other variables, taken separately.

One hundred seventy-eight respondents indicated their degree of agreement with 24 statements pertaining to press restrictions in Nigeria.

From their mean attitudes, statistical indices and probabilities were computed. Tables I through VI show the mean attitudes of the students studied toward government restrictions on the press, by country of study, sex, age, education, region of origin, parents' occupation, and parents' income. Analysis of variance provided the significance of mean differences and eta correlation ratios determined strength of the relationships between the dependent and independent variables, and what percent of variation in mean attitudes was explained by each variable.

#### Attitudes Toward Press Restrictions by Country of Study and Sex

The mean attitudes by country of study and sex are shown in Table I. Mean attitude totals for University of Ibadan, Nigeria, and Oklahoma State University were 2.51 and 2.26, respectively. The mean difference of 0.25 was significant ( $F = 5.62$ ,  $df = 1/153$ ,  $p < .05$ ), indicating that Nigerian students in the United States were more favorable toward freedom of the Nigerian press than were those in Nigeria.

Mean attitude totals for male and female were 2.28 and 2.49, respectively, a mean difference of 0.21, which was significant ( $F = 7.19$ ,  $df = 1/153$ ,  $p < .01$ ). For students in Nigeria, mean attitudes were 2.31 for male and 2.70 for female, while U.S.A. had 2.24 for male and 2.27 for female. Male students were thus more favorable toward freedom of the press in Nigeria than their female counterparts, regardless of the country of study. There was no significant interaction between sex and country of study.

An eta correlation of .21 shows weak relationship between mean attitudes and sex. Only 4 percent of the variations in attitude scores

was accounted for by the fact that the students were male or female ( $\eta^2 = .04$ ). Similarly, an eta correlation of .18 shows a weak relationship between mean attitudes and country of study. Only 3 percent of the variation in attitude scores was explained by the fact that the students were studying in different countries.

TABLE I  
MEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESS RESTRICTIONS:  
COUNTRY OF STUDY AND SEX

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Country of Study</u>		<u>Mean Totals</u>
	Nigeria	United States	
Male	2.31	2.24	2.28
Female	2.70	2.27	2.49
Mean Totals	2.51	2.26	2.39

In a five-point scale, these mean attitudes for country of study and sex fell between "agree" and "neutral", but they definitely tilted the scale towards "agree". The over-all mean attitude of 2.39 means that the Nigerian students were in favor of freedom of the press in Nigeria.

Of the 24 scale items, male students favored the following most, in terms of support for freedom of the press:

5. Constructive criticism of the government by the Press is essential to the Nigerian democracy and must be encouraged.

16. A free press is better able to alert the public of relevant problems than a government-owned press.

9. Presidential news conferences should be open to a broader segment of media reporters, not just a selected few.

6. Police raids on newsrooms, even without warrants, serve to protect the public from information harmful to its interests.

4. Threats to prevent journalists from publishing views contrary to the government's views are actually in the public's best interests.

Female students favored items 5, 16, 9, 6, and 17, in that order, most. Item 17 states that "A newspaper or broadcast station in which the government has part ownership most likely will have to sacrifice objectivity and professional ethics."

Items 21, 23, 3, 12, and 15 were least favored by male respondents. They are as follows:

21. Newspapers, under no circumstances, should endorse an opposition party, even those they approve.

23. Any individual should be able to own as many newspapers and/or radio stations as he chooses.

3. Licensing of broadcast media is better left to an independent agency.

12. The proposition by some legislators that delicate issues still at discussion level not be published serves to deprive the public of useful opinions and ideas essential in a democracy.

15. A truly free press is not absolutely essential for people to adequately participate in the political process. Female students least

avored items 21, 3, 15, 12, and 22, in that order.

Attitudes Toward Press Restrictions by  
Country of Study and Age

The mean attitudes by age and country of study are shown in Table II. Mean attitude totals for Nigeria was 2.51, and 2.21 for U.S.A., a difference of 0.30 that was significant ( $F = 8.20$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $df = 1/174$ ). Mean totals for the 18-35 age group was 2.33, and 2.38 for the 35+ age group, an insignificant difference ( $F = 1.25$ ,  $p > .05$ ,  $df = 1/174$ ).

TABLE II  
MEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESS RESTRICTIONS:  
COUNTRY OF STUDY AND AGE

<u>Age</u>	<u>Country of Study</u>		<u>Mean Totals</u>
	Nigeria	United States	
18-35	2.42	2.24	2.33
35+	2.59	2.17	2.38
Mean Totals	2.51	2.21	2.36

The mean attitudes for age group 18-35 in Nigeria was 2.42, and 2.59 for the 35+ age group. In the U.S.A., the 18-35 age group had a mean attitude of 2.24 and their 35+ colleagues had 2.17. The over-all

attitudes of the Nigerian students studied thus differed significantly by country of study, but not by age. Although a .07 mean difference existed, it was not significant.

An eta correlation ratio of .16 indicates that the relationship between attitudes toward press restrictions and the independent variable, country of study, was a very weak one. Only 3 percent of the total variation in attitude scores was accounted for by the fact that the students were studying in different countries.

An over-all mean attitude of 2.36 for all subjects, when placed on the five-point scale, indicated that the Nigerian students surveyed leaned toward disagreement with press restrictions in Nigeria.

The scale items favored most by the 18-35 age group respondents were, in order, 16, 9, 5, 18, and 4. Item 18 stated that the "appointment of professional politicians to administer the broadcast media is a direct violation of freedom of the Press." The 35+ age group respondents favored exactly the same items most. Items least favored by the 18-35 age group included 23, 22, 19, 21, and 22, while their 35+ counterparts least favored 21, 23, 15, 19, and 22, in that order.

#### Attitudes Toward Press Restrictions by Country of Study and Education

Students in the sophomore-junior college classification in Nigeria had a mean attitude of 2.38 while those in the senior-graduate classification had 2.43. Their total mean attitude was 2.41 (Table III). Their counterparts in the United States had 2.29 for sophomore-junior, and 2.25 for senior-graduate. Their mean total attitude was 2.27.

TABLE III  
 MEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESS RESTRICTIONS:  
 COUNTRY OF STUDY AND EDUCATION

<u>Education</u>	<u>Country of Study</u>		<u>Mean Totals</u>
	Nigeria	United States	
Sophomore-junior	2.38	2.29	2.34
Senior-graduate	2.43	2.25	2.34
	2.41	2.27	2.34

A mean difference of 0.14 between Nigerian students in Nigeria and in the U.S.A. was not significant ( $F = 0.01$ ,  $df = 1/135$ ,  $p < .05$ ). There was no difference in mean totals between the two education levels, indicating that education was not a factor in the attitudes of Nigerian students toward press restrictions in their country. Education and country of study did not interact to produce any real differences in their attitudes ( $F = .06$ ,  $df = 1/135$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

On the five-point scale, an over-all mean attitude of 2.34 means that the students leaned toward disagreement with government restrictions on the press in Nigeria. The eta correlation ratio of .07 indicated that the relationship between country of study and attitudes was negligible, almost non-existent. Less than one per cent of the total variation in attitude scores was explained by the fact that the students were studying in different countries, while education accounted for none at all.

Students in the sophomore-junior college classification most favored items 5, 16, 9, 4, and 6, in that order. Their senior-graduate counterparts favored the same items, differing only in the order of the items. Each group favored items 3, 12, 21, 22, and 23 least.

Attitudes Toward Press Restrictions by Country  
of Study and Region of Origin

Table IV shows mean attitudes for country of study and region of origin of the students in Nigeria. For students originating from the North studying in Nigeria, the mean attitude was 2.61. Their counterparts from the South had a mean attitude of 2.41. Their mean total was 2.51. In the U.S.A., students of northern origin held a mean attitude of 2.52, while southerners registered a 2.16. Their mean total was 2.34.

TABLE IV  
MEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESS RESTRICTIONS:  
COUNTRY OF STUDY AND REGION OF ORIGIN

<u>Region</u>	<u>Country of Study</u>		<u>Mean Totals</u>
	Nigeria	United States	
North	2.61	2.52	2.57
South	2.41	2.16	2.29
Mean Totals	2.51	2.34	2.43



Analysis of variance showed that the mean difference of .17 between Nigerian and U.S. students was significant ( $F = 7.41$ ,  $df = 1/172$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Similarly, the mean difference of .28 between northern and southern students was significant ( $F = 4.07$ ,  $df = 1/172$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Those studying in the United States were more favorable toward freedom of the press in Nigeria than those studying at home, and students of southern origin were more favorable toward freedom of the press in Nigeria than were northerners. That is, their mean attitudes toward press restrictions were significantly lower, or more negative.

Country of study and region of origin did not interact on attitudes. Eta correlation ratios showed that the relationship between attitudes toward press restrictions and the independent variable, country of study, was very weak (.20). Only 4 percent of the variation in attitude scores was explained by the fact that the students were studying in different countries. The relationship between region of origin and attitudes was even weaker (.15). Region of origin explained just 2 percent of the total variation in attitude scores. In a word, Nigerian students studying in the U.S.A. were more favorable to freedom of the press regardless of region of origin; and those from southern Nigeria were more favorable, regardless of country of study.

The over-all mean attitude of 2.43 for all subjects, when placed on the five-point scale, indicated that all students surveyed tended to disagree with government restrictions on the Nigerian press.

Nigerian students of southern origin favored items 5, 16, 9, 6, and 4 most, and 21, 23, 22, 3, and 12 least. These were the same items favored most and least by all 178 respondents combined. Their northern counterparts favored items 5, 16, 7, 19, and 20 most and 21, 22, 23, 11,

and 12 least. Items 7, 11, and 20 state, respectively:

The Press should not have the freedom to scrutinize without any restraint whatsoever, the activities of state and national governments.

Under no circumstances should the press have access to information on all facets of government activity.

In the public interest, broadcast stations should broadcast items the government compels them to at any given time.

Attitudes Toward Press Restrictions by Country  
of Study and Parents' Occupation

The mean attitudes for country of study and the three categories of parents' occupation are shown in Table V. Attitudes of students in Nigeria, by parental occupation were 2.47, business; 2.43, civil service; and 2.26, farming. Respective mean attitudes of students in the United States were 2.34, 2.22, and 2.18. The grand mean total attitude was 2.32.

TABLE V  
MEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESS RESTRICTIONS: COUNTRY  
OF STUDY AND PARENTS' OCCUPATION

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Country of Study</u>		<u>Mean Totals</u>
	Nigeria	United States	
Business	2.47	2.34	2.41
Civil Service	2.43	2.22	2.33
Farming	2.26	2.18	2.22
Mean Totals	2.39	2.25	2.32

The three occupations of business, civil service, and farming had grand mean totals of 2.41, 2.33, and 2.22, respectively. The mean difference of .14 between Nigeria and U.S.A. students indicated that Nigerian students in the United States differed significantly in their attitudes - they were more favorable toward freedom of the press in Nigeria ( $F = 6.29$ ,  $df = 2/172$ ,  $p < .05$ ), regardless of parents' occupation. A similarly significant difference was observed for parents' occupation ( $F = 3.24$ ,  $df = 2/172$ ,  $p < .05$ ), regardless of country of study. Gap tests indicated a significant difference in the attitudes of students whose parents are in the business and farming occupations ( $p < .05$ ), but no significant differences were observed between business and civil service, and civil service and farming. Farmers' children were more positive in their attitudes toward freedom of the press than those of business men and women. Mean differences existed between business and civil service, and civil service and farming, but they were not large enough to make real impact on attitudes.

An eta correlation of .19 showed that the relationship between country of study and attitudes was very weak. Occupation had an eta correlation of .18. In each case, only 3 percent of the total variation in attitude scores was explained by the fact that the students were studying in different countries or that their parents were in different occupations.

On the five-point scale, the over-all mean attitude of 2.32 indicated that the Nigerian students surveyed were slightly in support of freedom of the press in Nigeria.

The items favored most by those students whose parents are in business were, in order, 16, 5, 8, 10, and 19. Those whose parents are in

the civil service favored items 5, 8, 16, 9, and 10 most, item 9 being the only difference between them. Children of farmers favored items 5, 16, 9, 4, and 6 most. All three groups favored items 21, 23, 22, 3, and 12 least, as did all 178 respondents combined.

Attitudes Toward Press Restrictions by Country  
of Study and Parents' Income

Table VI shows the mean attitudes by country of study and parents' annual income. Students in Nigeria whose parents earn below \$3,200 registered a mean attitude of 2.31. Mean attitudes in homes with annual incomes in the \$3,200 - \$12,800 and \$12,800 - plus ranges were 2.19 and 2.50, respectively. Grand mean total attitude toward press restrictions by students in Nigeria was 2.34, leaning toward the disagree side.

TABLE VI

MEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESS RESTRICTIONS: COUNTRY  
OF STUDY AND PARENTS' ANNUAL INCOME

<u>Annual Income</u>	<u>Country of Study</u>		<u>Mean Totals</u>
	Nigeria	United States	
Below \$3,200	2.31	2.11	2.22
\$3,200 - \$12,800	2.19	2.20	2.20
\$12,800+	2.50	2.32	2.41
	2.34	2.21	2.28

U.S.A. students whose parents were in the low, middle, and high income brackets registered mean attitudes of 2.11, 2.20, and 2.32, respectively. Their mean total was 2.21. These figures show that students in Nigeria whose parents were in the low and high income ranges tended to be less negative toward press restrictions than those whose parents were in the middle income bracket. However, students in the United States whose parents earned below the minimum wage (in Nigeria) were more negative than those whose parents were in the two higher income brackets. Students of the upper level income parents felt least positively about press freedom in Nigeria. The above findings represent only tendencies, since analysis of variance showed that the mean attitudes of Nigerian students in the United States did not differ significantly from their counterparts in Nigeria ( $F = 0.53$ ,  $df = 2/164$ ,  $p > .05$ ). A similar result was observed for parents' income ( $F = 0.53$ ,  $df = 2/164$ ,  $p > .05$ ). Country of study and income did not interact to produce any significant differences in attitude ( $F = 1.62$ ,  $df = 2/164$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

The over-all mean attitude of all subjects was 2.28. This, when put on a five-point scale, showed that the Nigerian respondents leaned in favor of press freedom in Nigeria, as they tended to disagree with press restrictions operating in the country.

All students in the three parental income brackets favored the same items most - 4, 5, 6, 9, and 16, the only difference being the order in which each group favored the five items. Students whose parents are below minimum wage least favored items 22, 23, 12, 19, and 1, in that order, while students of the middle income bracket least favored items 21, 23, 22, 3, and 12, in that order. Those of the high income range least favored items 22, 21, 3, 12, and 23, in that order.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

In this comparative study of the attitudes of Nigerian college students at Oklahoma State University, U.S.A., and the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, levels of the independent variables - sex, age, education, region of origin in Nigeria, parents' occupation, and parents' income, were juxtaposed on country of study for cross tabulation of mean agreement to statements "describing" press restrictions in Nigeria.

The population surveyed included Nigerian college students at Oklahoma State University and University of Ibadan in Nigeria. From 60 statements to elicit agreement or disagreement responses from students about restrictions on the Nigerian press, 24 were chosen. The statements were placed in a random order on a scale sent to 100 students each at Oklahoma State University and University of Ibadan. The 100 scales for the latter were administered through systematic randomization to cover the residence halls on the campus. Another 100 copies were randomly distributed to Nigerian students at Oklahoma State University. There was a 96 percent return from Nigeria and 82 percent return from Oklahoma State University.

The two-factor analysis of variance tested for the significance of mean attitudinal differences between levels of each variable and

interaction between each variable and country of study. Eta correlation ratios told the strength of any relationship between attitudes and the independent variables, such as sex, age, education, etc. The following results were obtained:

Regardless of country of study, male students were more positive toward freedom of the press in Nigeria than females. When they were compared by country of study, Nigerian students at Oklahoma State University were more negative toward press restrictions in Nigeria than their Nigerian counterparts. However, the relationship between both sex and country of study, and country of study and attitudes was very weak as explained by eta correlation ratios of .21 for sex and .18 for country of study. Nevertheless, when reverted to the five-point scale, the over-all mean attitude of 2.39 for country of study and sex means that all respondents supported freedom of the press in Nigeria.

Age was not a factor in the mean attitudes of the Nigerian students. Although there were differences among age groups in mean attitudes, these were not large enough to be significant. But when the students were compared by country of study, they differed significantly. Nigerian students at Oklahoma State University were more favorable toward freedom of the press in Nigeria. Age and country of study did not, however, interact significantly on attitudes. Furthermore, the correlation ratio indicated a weak relationship between age and attitudes, and country of study and attitudes. But an over-all mean attitude of 2.36 for all subjects, when placed on the five-point scale, indicated that students in both countries and in both age groups tended to disagree with press restrictions in Nigeria.

When education was accounted for, only a slight, insignificant

difference in attitude appeared between students in Nigeria and the United States. Further, there was no difference between the two education levels of sophomore-junior and senior-graduate. Although the over-all mean attitude of 2.34 indicated that students disagreed with press restrictions in Nigeria, a correlation of .07 indicated a very weak, almost non-existent relationship between education and attitudes toward press freedom in Nigeria. The feeling, probably, was the crucial factor, not the level of education or where the students were studying.

This study showed that the attitudes of Nigerian students of northern origin were less favorable toward freedom of the press in Nigeria than their southern counterparts. Those studying in the U.S.A. of northern origin were less favorable than southerners. The same trend was observed for those studying in Nigeria. Respondents' over-all mean attitude of 2.43 indicated that they tended to favor freedom of the press in Nigeria, although the relationship between region of origin and attitudes, and country of study and attitudes was, in each case, weak (.20 for country of study, and .15 for region of origin). Less than five percent of the total variation in attitude scores was explained by each variable.

The three occupations used in this study were business, civil service, and farming. The children of farmers felt most strongly against press restrictions in Nigeria, followed by the children of civil servants. Students whose parents are in business felt least strongly, regardless of whether they were studying in Nigeria or in the United States. Mean differences were significant, but parents' occupation and country of study did not interact significantly on attitudes. In fact, eta correlation indicated a weak relationship between country of study



and attitudes on one hand, and parents' occupation and attitudes, on the other. Only 3 percent of the total variation in attitude scores was explained by each of country of study and parents' occupation. Nevertheless, the over-all mean attitude of 2.32 for all students indicated that they supported freedom of the press in Nigeria.

Also there were slight mean differences between income levels. They did not, however, constitute significant differences in over-all attitude toward press restrictions in Nigeria. Country of study and parents' income did not, either acting alone, or in concert, constitute real differences in Nigerian students' attitudes toward press restrictions in Nigeria. But their over-all mean attitude of 2.28 indicates, on the five-point Likert scale, that all respondents tended to favor freedom for the Nigerian press and to disagree with press restrictions operating in the country.

### Conclusions

The findings of this study indicate that on all the variables used, Nigerian students at Oklahoma State University were more strongly in favor of freedom of the press in Nigeria than their counterparts at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. The reason could be attributed to exposure to the American culture - the social, economic, and political dimensions of the system, in which the free press plays a vital role.

Nigerian students in both universities did not differ significantly in their attitudes by age. In Nigeria, students of the 18-35 age group felt more strongly than those in the 35+ age group, but in the United States, it was the reverse. Students in the 35+ age group in the United

States even felt more strongly than those in the 18-35 age group in Nigeria.

The students also differed by parents' occupation. Children of farmers felt most strongly, followed by those of civil servants. Students whose parents were in business felt least strongly. This finding further confirms the general feeling in Nigeria that, if anyone had contentment, at least financially, in the Nigerian society of today, it is the businessman. His children might tend to feel less strongly about contemporary issues.

Region of origin has always been a most chronic and perennial problem for Nigeria, in terms of ethnic and tribal differences, which brought the country a devastating civil war. The result of this study shows that ethnic background played a significant role in the attitudes of Nigerian students toward government restrictions on the Nigerian press. Regardless of their country of study, Nigerian students of northern origin felt less strongly about freedom of the press in Nigeria.

There were individual and mean differences by education and parents' income, but the differences were not large enough to be significant.

Finally, the findings showed that Nigerian students differed significantly in their attitudes by sex. Male students were more favorable toward freedom of the press than females, regardless of the country where they studied.

Tests were run to determine the strength of the relationship between each variable and attitudes. In all cases, the relationship was weak. Less than 13 percent of the total variation in attitude scores was explained by all variables. Over-all mean attitudes showed, however, that in all cases, the students surveyed were in support of

freedom of the press in Nigeria and unanimously disagreed with government restrictions.

#### Recommendations

The main shortcoming of this study was its limited scope. The survey was restricted to one of many universities both in the United States and in Nigeria - Oklahoma State University and University of Ibadan. The findings may not reflect the true feelings of the Nigerian student population, but they could serve as a springboard for future research.

This writer recommends further research into the Nigerian population at large, to determine its attitude toward press freedom. Similar studies are needed to determine the public's perception of the performance of the Nigerian press. Future studies should use a larger and more diversified sample to obtain a truer feeling of the Nigerian student population, both at home and abroad.

The Nigerian Union of Journalists has an herculean task ahead to win a reasonable degree of freedom from the government. The findings of this study indicate that the Union would have support from college students, regardless of their sex, age, education, ethnic backgrounds, parents' occupation, parents' income, and the country where they studied.

Nigerian mass media practitioners need to encourage the training of journalists, through grants provided by them, voluntary organizations, and even the various governments. They should encourage aspiring journalists to study in countries that would give them the needed exposure.

Another recommendation is that more departments of mass media studies be established in Nigeria's institutions of higher learning. The present number is far below requirement if students are to be

adequately involved in the struggle for press freedom. The various mass media organizations in the country need to devote more of their resources to research. Literature has underscored the role of the press in national development. The emerging democracy in Nigeria seems to be waging a war on its press. The Nigerian press should, in turn, make the policy makers realize that if they stifle press freedom, they could kill democracy, and, thus, national development would suffer irreparable damage.

Finally, this writer strongly recommends that Nigeria's mass media practitioners work harder to enlighten the public about the immense contributions which the press could make to national development, if given a freer hand.

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**APPENDICES**



APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE AND COVERING LETTER

School of Journalism and Broadcasting  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74078  
U.S.A.

January, 1981

Fellow Nigerian,

There are many issues on which you and I differ, but there is one particular thing on which we probably share similar opinions - NIGERIA HAS MANY PROBLEMS.

The items in the attached questionnaire deal with a controversial issue of public concern in Nigeria. Your urgent action in expressing your opinion on the items is highly appreciated. I believe that the few minutes you spend will be a worthy contribution toward solving one of our 'hydra-headed' problems.

The issue involved is the Nigerian Press, the Government, and Press Freedom. Please indicate your opinion as directed in the questionnaire. 200 questionnaires are being sent to Nigerians. With a population of nearly 100 million, every single opinion of yours represents the opinion of 500,000 Nigerians. You can, therefore, see the responsibility involved and the importance attached to your opinion.

Please express each opinion in your own judgement, without pondering on how others would expect you to respond to any item. Your opinion alone is being sought.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and urgent action. May God bless you throughout 1981 and beyond.

Yours very sincerely,

Sam Niyi Adeleye  
Candidate for the Master of Science  
Degree in Mass Communication

The purpose of the following questionnaire is to determine your general attitude towards Press Freedom and government restraints on the Press in Nigeria. Please answer according to your own true feelings and not according to how you think you "ought" to answer or respond. There are no right or wrong opinions. Since your name is not required, please be as frank and honest as possible in your opinions.

For each item below, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree by checking (✓) the response which best describes your feelings. The scale runs from "strongly agree" to "agree", "neutral", "disagree", and "strongly disagree", from left to right. Each "agreement" or "disagreement" and the "neutral" are represented by a dash, i.e. the first dash (from the left) stands for "strongly agree"; the second represents "agree"; the third dash stands for "neutral"; the fourth is for "disagree"; the fifth dash to the far right stands for "strongly disagree". If you agree with any statement, place a mark (✓) on one of the first two dashes to the left to indicate the strength of your agreement. If you disagree with any statement, place a mark (✓) on one of the last two dashes to the right to indicate your disagreement with the statement. Place a mark (✓) on the middle (third) dash if you wish to remain neutral or have no opinion. Please go through carefully and understand each item. Then express your feelings honestly and frankly. Good luck!

1. Government censorship of news is justified on the grounds that the public cannot distinguish truth from falsehood from uncensored news.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
2. All things considered, the Press is as free under government control as it is when privately owned.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
3. Licensing of broadcast media is better left to an independent agency.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
4. Threats to prevent journalists from publishing views contrary to the government's views are actually in the public's best interests.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
5. Constructive criticism of the government by the Press is essential to the Nigerian democracy and must be encouraged.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
6. Police raids on newsrooms, even without warrants, serve to protect the public from information harmful to its interests.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
7. The Press should not have the freedom to scrutinize without any restraint whatsoever, the activities of state and national governments.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree

8. Publications supporting views of parties in opposition to the government are a drawback to the political process.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
9. Presidential news conferences should be open to a broader segment of media reporters, not just a selected few.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
10. Requiring reporters to submit questions in advance of presidential news conferences violates the public's freedom of expression.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
11. Under no circumstances should the Press have access to information on all facets of government activity.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
12. The proposition by some legislators that delicate issues still at the discussion level not be published serves to deprive the public of useful opinions and ideas essential in a democracy.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
13. Banning the Press from National Assembly sessions because of past inaccuracies in reporting serves to protect the public from misinformation.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
14. Editors should withhold information that would injure the government.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
15. A truly free Press is not absolutely essential for people to adequately participate in the political process.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
16. A free Press is better able to alert the public of relevant problems than a government-owned Press.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
17. A newspaper or broadcast station in which the government has part ownership most likely will have to sacrifice objectivity and professional ethics.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
18. Appointment of professional politicians to administer the broadcast media is a direct violation of freedom of the Press.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
19. Government-appointed boards of directors for any mass media unit is undesirable.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
20. In the public interest, broadcast stations should broadcast items the government compels them to at any given time.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree

21. Newspapers, under no circumstances, should endorse an opposition party, even those they approve.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
22. License fees on radio and TV sets serve no useful purpose.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
23. Any individual should be able to own as many newspapers and/or radio stations as he chooses.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree
24. The fact that newspapers must appoint executives from specific ethnic groups is contrary to freedom of the Press in a democracy.  
Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree

PERSONAL DATA

1. Sex: 1.  Male  
2.  Female
2. Age: 1.  18-24  
2.  25-30  
3.  31-35  
4.  36-40  
5.  41 and above
3. Classification:  
1.  Freshman  
2.  Sophomore  
3.  Junior  
4.  Senior  
5.  Graduate
4. Region of Origin:  
1.  North  
2.  South
5. Occupation of Parents:  
1.  Farming  
2.  Business  
3.  Civil Service (Please indicate) \_\_\_\_\_
6. Parent's Annual Income:  
1.  Below \$3,200.00 p.a.  
2.  \$3,200.00-\$12,799.00 p.a.  
3.  \$12,800.00+ p.a.

APPENDIX B

SUBJECTS' SCORES, TOTAL AND MEAN ATTITUDES  
ON THE SCALE ITEMS

TABLE VII  
SUBJECTS' SCORES, TOTAL AND MEAN ATTITUDES  
ON THE SCALE ITEMS

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, NIGERIA																										
Subject	Scale Items																								Total	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
1	5	3	5	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	2	5	4	3	3	2	4	2	5	5	5	1	2	4	72	3.0
2	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	4	1	4	1	2	1	1	3	5	2	52	2.17
3	2	2	2	2	1	2	4	2	1	2	4	1	4	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	4	5	55	2.29
4	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	3	1	4	2	1	4	2	5	48	2.00
5	5	1	4	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	61	2.54
6	3	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	5	5	5	3	5	5	76	3.17
7	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	30	1.25
8	2	5	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	3	4	4	3	3	4	3	1	3	3	4	3	1	5	64	2.66
9	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	4	5	3	3	3	4	52	2.16
10	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	72	3.00
11	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	5	5	1	1	3	5	1	1	62	2.58
12	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	4	5	3	3	3	3	50	2.08
13	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	5	1	5	3	1	3	1	5	5	5	5	1	64	2.67
14	3	2	5	1	2	1	4	4	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	2	2	2	65	2.71
15	5	1	5	1	4	5	5	5	1	4	5	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	3	5	5	1	1	1	72	3.00
16	4	5	1	5	3	1	4	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	60	2.50
17	5	1	5	5	3	1	3	3	5	1	3	3	1	2	5	3	3	2	3	1	3	5	5	3	74	3.08
18	4	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	4	3	2	2	4	5	3	1	3	2	2	4	1	5	2	63	2.63
19	4	4	3	5	3	5	3	1	5	1	5	4	1	3	4	3	2	3	4	3	5	4	1	2	78	3.25
20	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	5	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	3	5	5	5	1	54	2.25
21	2	2	5	4	2	2	3	4	3	2	1	3	3	4	2	2	3	1	4	3	4	2	2	4	68	2.83
22	2	2	5	3	1	2	3	5	3	2	1	3	4	2	4	3	4	1	4	3	5	2	5	3	72	3.00
23	2	2	5	3	1	2	3	5	4	2	4	5	4	2	4	3	5	2	5	3	5	3	2	3	79	3.29
24	1	1	4	3	2	1	3	4	1	2	4	3	3	5	1	3	4	1	4	3	4	2	5	3	68	2.83
25	3	3	4	3	3	5	2	1	3	2	4	4	3	2	3	4	1	3	4	3	4	4	2	2	70	2.93
26	1	4	5	1	3	4	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	1	4	2	3	2	3	5	1	1	2	60	2.5
27	2	1	3	5	1	2	3	5	3	2	1	3	5	2	3	4	4	1	3	3	5	2	5	3	71	2.96
28	3	1	2	3	2	1	3	2	2	3	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	2	4	2	3	68	2.83
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	5	5	2	5	5	1	1	5	1	5	5	5	1	1	1	61	2.54
30	5	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	5	1	3	1	2	2	3	4	1	1	3	4	3	51	2.13
31	3	1	1	1	1	2	4	2	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	5	5	2	2	5	1	2	4	54	2.25
32	2	4	2	2	3	2	3	4	4	2	2	1	4	3	4	1	2	3	2	5	4	4	4	4	71	2.96
33	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	5	1	2	2	38	1.58
34	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	5	2	3	2	39	1.63
35	1	2	2	5	2	2	1	1	2	5	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	5	2	2	1	47	1.96

TABLE VII (Continued)

Subject	Scale Items																								Total	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
36	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	5	5	5	1	1	1	56	2.33
37	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	2	2	4	4	5	5	1	50	2.08
38	3	1	5	1	1	1	3	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	48	2.00
39	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	5	1	5	5	5	5	1	66	2.50
40	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	5	1	3	1	1	3	5	1	3	3	3	1	56	2.33
41	5	5	5	1	1	5	1	5	5	5	1	1	5	1	5	1	5	5	5	1	1	5	1	5	80	3.33
42	4	4	5	2	2	5	4	5	2	4	5	1	4	4	5	4	1	2	2	5	2	2	2	1	77	3.21
43	3	2	3	1	2	1	3	3	1	2	2	2	3	1	3	1	1	2	4	3	4	5	5	1	58	2.42
44	5	5	4	5	1	5	1	1	1	4	2	2	3	2	5	1	1	1	3	3	5	5	3	1	69	2.88
45	5	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	5	1	5	3	1	51	2.13
46	1	5	1	1	2	1	3	4	2	2	1	3	1	4	3	3	1	2	5	4	4	2	2	2	59	2.46
47	2	2	5	4	1	2	3	5	3	2	1	3	3	4	2	2	3	1	4	3	5	1	2	4	67	2.79
48	2	2	5	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	2	5	2	2	4	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	65	2.71
49	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	1	2	3	4	1	2	5	2	4	2	3	3	4	3	3	5	63	2.63
50	2	1	1	5	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	3	1	5	3	1	4	3	1	1	2	3	2	2	51	2.13
51	4	5	1	4	1	1	1	1	5	1	5	4	4	1	4	2	2	3	5	1	2	4	1	4	66	2.75
52	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	4	1	4	1	2	1	5	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	49	2.04
53	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	4	2	1	1	2	2	4	1	2	2	50	2.08
54	5	4	2	3	3	4	3	5	2	2	5	4	5	1	5	4	2	1	2	5	1	5	2	4	79	3.29
55	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	2	2	1	34	1.42
56	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	1	5	2	4	5	4	2	3	2	2	4	4	5	4	1	2	2	82	3.42
57	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	5	5	4	1	1	1	5	5	5	1	1	1	59	2.46
58	5	1	4	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	4	4	4	63	2.63
59	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	2	2	1	38	1.58
60	5	1	4	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	1	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	4	63	2.63
61	5	1	4	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	1	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	4	63	2.63
62	1	3	1	5	1	2	1	3	1	1	3	1	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	1	50	2.08
63	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	2	4	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	3	5	2	63	2.63
64	2	2	2	1	4	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	1	3	1	4	1	1	4	4	1	49	2.04
65	3	2	1	1	1	4	5	2	1	3	5	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	4	1	2	5	2	57	2.38
66	4	1	1	2	2	4	2	2	1	1	5	2	4	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	4	5	4	2	61	2.54
67	5	1	4	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	4	5	2	1	4	1	4	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	59	2.46
68	4	1	1	2	2	4	2	2	1	1	5	2	4	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	4	5	4	2	61	2.54
69	3	2	2	1	2	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	4	3	3	5	5	1	54	2.25
70	3	2	2	1	2	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	3	3	5	4	5	2	3	57	2.38



TABLE VII (Continued)

Subject	Scale Items																								Total	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
71	2	1	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	3	3	4	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	5	3	1	1	47	1.96
72	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	3	4	2	2	4	2	4	1	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	55	2.29
73	3	2	2	1	3	4	3	3	1	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	4	3	3	4	5	1	57	2.38
74	4	4	3	5	1	2	3	1	3	3	1	1	3	2	2	1	3	2	2	4	3	4	2	1	60	2.50
75	1	1	4	3	2	1	3	5	3	1	2	3	5	1	4	3	5	2	5	3	4	5	4	3	73	3.04
76	2	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	4	5	3	1	3	4	1	3	5	3	4	1	2	2	60	2.50
77	2	2	2	3	2	4	1	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	4	3	4	3	5	2	64	2.67
78	1	4	5	4	3	4	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	1	3	3	2	3	5	3	3	2	2	1	66	2.75
79	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	4	1	4	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	37	1.54
80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	3	3	4	2	46	1.92
81	4	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	3	2	1	4	2	4	2	2	3	5	1	54	2.25
82	2	2	5	2	1	1	5	1	1	5	5	4	1	5	1	3	4	4	4	1	2	1	5	1	66	2.75
83	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	4	2	1	2	3	2	2	4	4	1	4	3	4	1	52	2.17
84	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	4	2	2	1	42	1.75
85	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	35	1.46
86	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	1	2	1	33	1.38
87	5	1	4	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	1	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	4	63	2.63
88	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	5	1	2	1	38	1.58
89	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	72	3.00
90	5	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	1	5	1	1	5	1	5	5	5	68	2.83
91	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	4	4	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	2	47	1.96
92	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	5	1	2	1	35	1.46
93	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	1	37	1.54
94	3	3	5	5	1	1	5	3	1	5	5	5	4	1	3	1	3	2	5	1	5	5	5	2	79	3.29
95	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	2	2	1	34	1.42
96	2	2	5	4	1	2	3	5	4	2	1	3	3	4	2	2	3	1	4	3	5	1	2	4	68	2.83
Total	270	202	264	201	159	191	234	233	193	215	230	231	249	229	264	177	216	196	272	257	353	268	287	215		
Mean	2.81	2.10	2.75	2.09	1.66	1.99	2.44	2.43	2.01	2.24	1.40	2.41	2.59	2.39	2.75	1.84	2.25	2.04	2.83	2.67	3.68	2.79	2.99	2.24		

TABLE VII (Continued)

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY, U.S.A.																										
Subject	Scale Items																								Total	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
1	4	2	2	3	1	2	4	4	1	5	1	4	1	2	4	2	4	1	2	2	5	2	4	4	66	2.75
2	2	1	3	2	1	1	3	3	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	4	4	2	55	2.29
3	2	4	1	5	1	5	1	3	1	3	5	2	4	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	53	2.21	
4	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	5	4	1	43	1.79
5	2	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	3	3	4	3	69	2.88
6	2	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	3	3	1	3	4	3	5	5	5	4	1	5	5	1	67	2.79
7	4	1	5	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	5	5	4	1	53	2.21
8	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	3	2	4	4	1	5	2	2	4	2	2	53	2.21
9	1	1	2	5	2	4	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	5	5	4	62	2.58
10	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	5	4	3	43	1.79
11	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	3	5	1	5	5	5	2	60	2.5
12	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	3	4	1	1	1	46	1.92
13	4	3	4	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	4	4	2	2	5	2	2	2	5	61	2.54
14	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	1	2	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	2	5	45	1.88
15	4	2	5	2	1	2	5	2	1	3	4	1	3	5	4	1	4	1	2	4	5	2	4	2	69	2.88
16	2	5	1	2	3	1	3	2	2	3	2	4	4	2	5	2	2	3	2	4	3	5	3	2	67	2.79
17	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	5	1	1	36	1.5
18	1	5	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	4	1	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	4	2	4	55	2.29
19	1	1	2	1	1	4	4	2	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	5	2	49	2.04
20	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	5	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	1	37	1.54
21	4	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	3	2	4	2	4	4	2	2	3	4	2	3	4	4	3	68	2.83
22	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	1	2	1	1	5	1	4	2	4	3	3	3	1	1	53	2.21
23	4	1	2	4	2	1	4	4	1	5	4	5	1	2	4	1	1	5	1	2	5	5	5	5	74	3.08
24	2	1	1	4	1	1	3	1	3	2	2	3	4	2	1	1	4	1	1	3	5	5	5	1	57	2.38
25	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	1	5	2	1	4	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	44	1.83
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	33	1.38
27	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	4	3	4	4	4	1	5	5	2	5	1	1	5	1	61	2.54
28	2	3	3	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	4	3	5	3	53	2.21
29	2	2	5	5	1	4	5	4	1	2	3	1	2	4	4	1	2	1	1	1	3	3	5	3	65	2.71
30	4	5	2	1	2	3	4	3	3	3	1	3	4	4	4	1	2	2	2	1	1	5	5	5	70	2.92
31	1	5	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	2	1	2	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	40	1.83
32	4	2	1	1	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	3	5	5	2	50	2.08
33	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	4	3	46	1.92
34	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	5	2	49	2.04
35	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	4	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	4	3	4	61	2.54

TABLE VII (Continued)

Subject	Scale Items																								Total	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
36	3	2	2	2	1	3	1	4	2	3	2	4	2	2	4	3	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	2	66	2.75
37	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	2	5	1	4	3	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	5	5	55	2.29
38	2	4	1	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	4	2	3	4	4	2	4	2	4	5	69	2.88
39	2	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	4	2	3	4	4	2	4	2	4	4	69	2.88
40	3	2	2	1	5	1	4	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	46	1.92
41	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	2	3	40	1.67
42	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	41	1.71
43	1	1	5	3	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	69	2.88
44	2	1	5	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	4	2	1	5	5	2	55	2.29
45	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	4	2	4	1	41	1.71
46	3	2	4	1	1	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	1	5	3	4	1	1	3	2	5	54	2.25	
47	4	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	4	5	3	2	53	2.21
48	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	1	5	3	3	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	3	60	2.5
49	3	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	1	1	2	4	1	2	1	3	2	4	51	2.13
50	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	5	1	5	5	1	5	1	5	5	1	1	5	5	5	88	3.67
51	4	3	3	3	2	2	4	2	1	2	4	3	2	4	3	2	2	2	3	2	5	3	4	1	66	2.75
52	4	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	5	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	3	1	5	3	2	1	53	2.21
53	1	4	5	4	1	1	2	1	1	5	5	4	1	3	4	1	2	4	2	1	1	5	5	3	66	2.75
54	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	4	5	5	4	1	49	2.04
55	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	2	2	4	4	3	3	4	4	2	4	4	2	4	4	5	4	76	3.17
56	2	2	5	2	4	2	3	1	4	1	3	4	2	1	1	1	2	1	5	4	3	5	1	60	2.5	
57	4	2	3	2	1	2	4	2	1	3	5	2	3	3	2	2	4	3	3	4	1	1	5	3	65	2.71
58	1	1	2	1	5	1	4	1	1	5	3	1	1	1	1	4	2	3	1	5	5	5	4	59	2.46	
59	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	4	2	2	1	1	3	1	5	1	4	1	1	44	1.83
60	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	4	2	1	4	48	2.00
61	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	44	1.83
62	3	4	2	2	1	1	2	2	4	2	1	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	2	2	2	52	2.17
63	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	4	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	5	2	2	48	2.00
64	2	1	5	2	2	4	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	4	4	4	4	57	2.38
65	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	2	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	42	1.75
66	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	41	1.71
67	2	1	4	3	2	1	3	4	2	4	1	4	2	4	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	4	3	1	62	2.58
68	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	5	2	2	2	35	1.46
69	2	1	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	4	45	1.92
70	2	1	3	5	1	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	4	2	2	48	2.00

TABLE VII (Continued)

Subject	Scale Items																								Total	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
71	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	36	1.5
72	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	1	4	1	5	1	1	1	5	4	1	1	48	2.00
73	2	2	5	2	1	1	3	2	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	4	4	1	2	2	2	4	4	4	67	2.79
74	2	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	3	4	5	3	1	5	3	1	54	2.25
75	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	5	3	2	2	4	1	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	52	2.17
76	1	2	2	1	1	1	4	3	1	2	5	4	4	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	4	1	46	1.92
77	1	2	1	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	5	1	5	47	1.96	
78	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	44	1.83
79	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	5	1	4	4	1	5	5	1	58	2.41	
80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	1	1	1	3	1	2	38	1.58	
81	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	4	1	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	4	4	1	45	1.88
82	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	36	1.50
Total	176	156	203	156	118	155	181	170	123	174	210	222	173	197	185	133	190	166	177	171	230	278	270	194		
Mean	2.15	1.90	2.50	1.90	1.44	1.89	2.21	2.10	1.50	2.12	2.56	1.71	2.11	2.40	2.26	1.62	2.32	2.02	2.16	2.10	2.80	3.39	3.29	2.37		

ALL 178 SUBJECTS COMBINED

Grand Total	446	358	467	357	277	346	415	403	316	389	440	458	422	426	449	310	406	362	449	422	583	546	557	409		
Grand Mean	2.51	2.01	2.62	2.00	1.56	1.94	2.33	2.26	1.78	2.19	2.47	2.54	2.37	2.39	2.52	1.74	2.28	2.03	2.52	2.40	3.28	3.07	3.13	2.30		

APPENDIX C

MAJOR NEWSPAPERS AND BROADCAST  
STATIONS IN NIGERIA

TABLE VIII  
MAJOR NEWSPAPERS IN NIGERIA

Publication	Type	Ownership	Circulation
Daily Times	Daily	Government	230,000
New Nigerian	"	"	85,000
Nigerian Observer	"	"	85,000
The Punch	"	Private	127,000
Daily Sketch	"	Government	160,000
Daily Star	"	"	67,000
Daily Express	"	"	35,000
Nigerian Tribune	"	"	70,000
Evening Times	"	"	70,000
West African Pilot	"	Private	6,000
Nigerian Standard	"	Government	25,000
Nigerian Herald	"	"	70,000
Nigerian Chronicle	"	"	35,000
Nigerian Tide	"	"	45,000
Sunday Express	Weekly	Private	76,000
Sunday Times	"	Government	450,000
Sunday Observer	"	"	105,000
Sunday Sketch	"	"	150,000
Sunday Star	"	"	90,000
Sunday Punch	"	Private	160,000
Lagos Weekend	"	"	245,000
Times International	"	Government	32,000
Business Times	"	"	53,000
West Africa	"	"	6,000
Headlines	Monthly	"	220,000
The Entertainer	"	"	80,000
Drum	"	Private	215,000
Trust	"	"	110,000
Happy Home	"	"	55,000

TABLE IX  
LIST OF BROADCAST STATIONS IN NIGERIA

Facility	Type	Ownership
Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation*	Radio, TV	*Federal Government
Kaduna State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	State Government
Banchi Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Gongola Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Plateau Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Ogun State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Niger Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Kwara State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Borno State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Benue State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Cross River Broadcasting Service	" "	" "
Rivers State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Sokoto State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Ondo Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Anambra Broadcasting Service	" "	" "
Oyo Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Bendel State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Imo Broadcasting Service	" "	" "
Kano Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "
Lagos State Broadcasting Corporation	" "	" "

\*In addition, the Federal Government has a federal radio and television station in most State capitals.

VITA

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Master of Science

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