

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

That the mass media plays a vital role in the development process of a country is not again saying. The mass media generally regarded as a channel of communication that are capable of reaching heterogeneous audience simultaneously with uniform message. They regularly cover all sorts of issues such as health, music, fine art, crime, sport, entertainment, political events among others (Meyer, 2002, Soela 2004). The mass media transmits ideas and new information to target audience in the society. Tosanisunmi (2004) has observed that the mass media educate, inform and entertain beyond these functions as they also persuade and catalyze for social mobilization. In other words, the mass media can be regarded as powerful service of information because they have the capability to penetrate every segment of society. They have the ability to disseminate messages about issue, ideas and product.

Furthermore, the mass media has that capability to create awareness and knowledge about issues of national interest. The traditional mass media usually consist of radio, television, newspaper and magazine while the news media involves the internet technologies. Contextually, these media have the responsibility to mobilize for national development. In other words, social mobilization for development largely depends on the media for success. Crusade for change and dissemination of useful information against corruption, bad governance and terrorism depend on the mass media. Ogwezzy (2010) states that it is a common knowledge that the media is the engine of mass communication and the avenue through which the public could be reached.

In the other hand, election is an important element of democracy; elections enable the individual to express a sense of belonging to a political system. Elections provide forum for the discussion of public opinion on important issue. Elections allow an exchange of influence between leaders and the electorate (Nwaozuzu 1999:18-22). This statement captures the relevant functions of the broadcast media in elections which serves as a mobilizing of all the different people in society and at the same time to co-ordinate the activities as they are made to express their views about candidates who are contesting for political position. The broadcast media through their programmes create avenue through which the people express their views about candidates. There may be phone calls in programmes like radio link, state of the Nation, or debate programmer responsible or

otherwise and has made people pass on topical political issues. Also the broadcast media (Radio and Television) provide platforms through which individuals or member of society contribute on issues of public interest. They may be based on stewardship of political offices holders wishing to recontest for elections or it may have to do with electoral law that are perceived to be capable of fermenting violence. Ebo (1997:132) maintain that: the broadcast media play decisive roles in the lives of the citizens no matter where they are located and whatever their stage of development. The broadcast media are the most potent and sensitive sector of the communication industry considering the reach and influence they have on their viewers and listeners.

This statement succinctly explains which relevance the broadcast media is to all the components of the society, a power it acquired from its inception and not only during political campaigns. It is this power that grants it the ability to mobilize people and make them participate in mass in political processes. To further explain the power of the broadcast media in mobilizing the citizens towards conforming to expected behavior and participation in electoral processes. The media force attends to certain issues, they build up images of political figures, they are constantly presenting objects, suggesting what individuals should think about, know about, having feelings about. Clang an Lang 1959:103- 112).

This means the dominant thought that the people carry about, is influenced by the media's constant projection of what they should be thinking especially concerning the electoral process. This comment conforms to the agenda setting thereby which provides explanation to what or how the media can sway the behavior of the people in the society. Given this power therefore, it will not be out of place to say that, the failure of success of any electoral process lies largely in the hands of the mass media, to which the broadcast media is a strong component. Innis (2003:298) in support of this state that; while an unbiased and responsible system can contribute to the success of the electoral process, a bias and irresponsible media contributes to the failure of elections.

On the same power of the media, Orhewere's (2003:140) argues; the Nigerian media in the past did not show enough commitment to professional ethic there by contributing to electoral crisis in Western Nigerian in 1965 and subsequent elections. The relevance of Orhewere's comment is that not only does the Nigerian Broadcast media posses' enormous powers, but its role as an instrument of mobilization dates back to as far as 1965. In other words, the media has been a very active instrument in democratic processes in Nigeria over a stretch of time, until the military dictatorship took the shine from it. However, with the re-entry of civilian rule in 1999, the media viz the broadcast media have resumed its active role of mobilizing the populace for elections. The media or

broadcast media played very important role in elections written 1999 and 2003, Therefore, to print out that, the roles the media often plays is either responsible or otherwise and has made people pass judgment or often ascribed to failed outcome of elections ascribed to failed outcome of elections to it. That is the success or failure of elections are often judged by the role of the media for instance, Chinua Achebe (1993:78) allege that; the two previous at conducting election under civilian rule generated crisis, which culminated to the collapse of the republics due to several electoral frauds some of which allegedly were aided and abetted by the media. Chinua Achebe's comment however begs for serious questions at to, how does a watch dog become a conspirator. In other words, how does a media aid and abet fraud, perhaps they will form another basis for a study. However, it is important to note that, indeed the broadcast media has very strong roles to play in elections. To this Burns (1977:45) state that; The media in a civilized society occupy a very important and powerful position with capacity that can easily influence the opinion of the masses. While Rivers (1971) state that, it is expected to be the condolence of the people where divergent views are expressed in order to serve as a check against autocratic and totalitarian rule

Therefore, it is against the above background that this project seeks to examine the impact of television broadcasting on electioneering campaigns using 2011 presidential campaigns on NTA Abeokuta.

## **1.2 Statement of Research Problem**

The role of media in every society is often to educate, inform and enlighten. It is assumed that, where those roles are adequately carried out, elections are bound to be free and fair. However, in Nigeria, several elections have been marred the question is how the mass media has mobilized the Nigerian populace. How come electoral processes have not been successful? Is the broadcast media system not commensurate to other media systems elsewhere? These and many others are questions that this study hopes to identify.

## **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

1. To ascertain the level of equal media coverage given to political parties to candidates.
2. To ascertain the significant relationship between mass media & electioneering campaign.
3. To ascertain the significant level of mobilization of mass media towards elections.

4. To determine the significant level of agenda setting programme of mass media town elections.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

The following research questions were considered:

- i. What is the significant level of equal media coverage given to political parties?
- ii. What is the significant relationship between media coverage and a free & fair election?
- iii. What is the significant level of media expose of electoral misconduct?
- iv. How does the media play the role of agenda-setting during election?
- v. What is the significant level of media mobilization during electoral process?

#### **1.5 Significance of the study**

On the completion of this project the end result will benefit academics, students of communication studies and other researchers that may want to carry out further research on this study.

#### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The scope of this research work will only cover the people within Abeokuta metropolis. This focus will be on the people living around Oke-Ilewo, Post- Office and Panseke axis of the city.

#### **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

The research work may be faced with time & fund constraints being an academic based research. The time allocated for this study is not enough as in combining the work on this study with daily academics routine. Also, the study will be limited to some areas due to the problems of funds,, shortage of texts, journals and information relevant to the study.

## **1.8 Operational Definition of Terms**

1. Impact: This refers to a significant or strong influence on massmedia towards election.
2. Television broadcasting: This can be defined as the dissemination of information, idea, opinion, before, among others through the use of television medium.
3. Electioneering Campaign: This refers to the act or process of soliciting for support or votes for a given political party or candidate during election.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with a highly review of various relevant conceptual, theoretical and empirical studies propounded by scholars' and researchers in the field of mass communication. The reviews of these studies will definitely help in the final & fining of recommendations for further improvement and studies.

#### **2.2 Conceptual Studies**

##### **2.2.1 Election**

Election is the process of reaching a consensus on the representation of the citizen of a particular state in public offices. Several erudite scholars of political science has written and defined extensively the concept of election. Some of these definitions are considered below:

The international encyclopedia of social science, volume (6) (2010) election as one procedural of aggregating preferences of a particular kind. Two key words are involved; procedure and preference. Procedures refers to state one; a prescribed specific way of doing things while preference means devote choice among alternatives. Ujo (200) election as "a procedure that allows member of an organization or community to choose representative who will hold position of authority within it. The subject of election is essentially one that assist a group of queried individuals to reach a consensus on one representative among alternative.

##### **2.2.2 MASS MEDIA AND ELECTORAL PROCESS**

The exploits of our founding fathers with the mass media underline the enormous powers of the mass media. This however, was not achieved with half backed journalist or media practitioners. It was not with press men/women who have no integrity that are not patriotic, not those who went into the media practice for the purpose of money making but for enlightening, informing, and entertaining the people (Izejiobi, 2010). He, Izejiobi, (2010) opined that if the mass media in those days could achieve our independence

without any bloodshed, despite the odds, then it can also advance a free, fair and credible election for Nigeria and Nigerians. Although the media is not the independent National electoral commission (INEC) or the electorate, but media has the ability to increase the trust of the people in the whole process. It has the ability to bring to the native of the people, those things they need to know like voting & making their votes count. Confidence of the mass media is very important. The only way the public can monitor the activities of their elected representative is through the fair and accurate reporting of events by the media. If the public has the hope that the media is capable of reporting government activities well, interest and participation in the political system begins to nose drive and when this happen, it become almost impossible to have a free, fair and credible election. It is therefore, expected that the mass media should be involved in three important areas of the electoral process namely;

Pre-election awareness which include voters' registration, election campaign.

People to vote.

The national election monitor & coverage

The post-election information whereas and management.

### **2.2.3 Historical Perspectives of Mass Media Coverage of Political Issues in Nigeria**

During the first republic, there were mixed party and non-party media, government won and controlled media, political party newspaper and the press of private ownership. On this was concerned between 1960-1966. The impact of ownership on this was largely reflected in their coverage of national issues of permanent importance, such as the census, election campaigns regional crisis ethnics and group among others. All the media provide the remarkable examples of overzealous, irresponsible partisanship and recklessness. The seed of mutual distinct, innig battles and mending confrontation between regional media and federal media on one hand and between the different regional media and political party newspaper on the other hand, all of which were sown during the colonial, independence and first republic periods, the census crises was of crucial important in the sequence of political crises that beguiled the first republic. It sparked a bitter inter-ethnic feud and polarized the political leadership long ethnic – regional frontlines. If not only set stage for controversial 1964 federal elections and the attendant constitutional statement but also contributed to the violent collapse of the first republic, various regional government use their media to attack one another.

A case in point was the feud between the northern and eastern regions (1973).

The northern regions government had condemned the Ibo saying they inflated their population by fleeing during census band then returned to the north to continue to shrine and affluencing in the north. The eastern government owned media in return described the Northern people congress (NPC) leaders as “Childish”. It went further to say that they could not afford a breakup of the republic because they had nothing to eat, little education, their act of governance, primitive way of life and had no access to life. The military according to Olayiwola (1999) held behind that unrestricted circulation of newspaper and other media broadcast would constitute a danger to their government, hence they promulgated all kinds of decreed to gag the media. This decree however did not stop the media from commenting on many of the wrongs done by the military government one can rightly say that the media played an initial role in preparing the grounds for removing wrong government through reporting views of the government opposing and showing its own dissatisfaction

The Babangida regime also promulgated many decrees to curb political coverage of events by the media. Despite the administration attempt to wear a human face, Journalist were imprisoned, and newspapers & magazines were proscribed. Olayiwola (1991) went further to note that during the sectional republic after the politician who won the elections had been sworn in, ruling political parties at the federal state levels took over the ownership and control of the print & electronic media under their jurisdictions, according to him the situation helped in the intensification of old ethnics antagonism and the atmosphere of political communication seethed with bitter rivalry and enmity. The media became completely immersed in partisan politics and was in new position to prepare the people. For the challenges of the new presidential system of government.

The media openly supported one political party against another. The partisan political party against another. The partisan political coronation of the media incapacitated and prevented them from performing their functions of educating, informing& entertaining the public. This was one of the factors that contributed to the fall of the second republic in December, 1983. By the time the 1983 election campaigns began, it was difficult to distinguish between the ruling political parties and mass media under them. There were allegations that many mass media practitioners during this period were bought, some analyzed issues and event from the point of view of the political mentors, some reported press conference they never attended, some reported press release that were never issued. These and many others led to the collapse of the second republic and eventually the military intervened again, of course, the military government that



followed also had their pit fall from terrible hands of pen professional as this event eventually led to civilian government in 1999.

Meanwhile, the role of media coverage of several elections since 1999 up till date cannot be over emphasized. The electioneering process has witnessed both sides of a coin of the mass media coverage from the pre-election period to post-election period. The government owned media has been playing script of their owners while the privately owned are not fairing in their operations. All what is witnessed is now that state-owned media are not giving coverage to election campaigns of opposition candidates and also their jingles are not heard on their stations.

#### **2.2.4. Empirical Studies**

##### **Mass media and Electoral Process::2007 and 2011 Elections**

The media in 2007 election concentrated on the major parties, especially during the presidential and governorship elections. Given that there were so many registered political parties contesting for offices in various states and local governments, equitable distribution of air time would have given the electorate wide various of ideas to choose from so as to make a more informed choice of their leader. Even state owned board casting outfits were expected to play according to the rules governing their establishment. The mass media as the watchdog of the society Class well, 1948 is the middle man between government and the public. It is the voice of the people, the eyes of the people and the leg of the people. The state owned media houses and the regulators should do well to take another look at the four major functions of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) at formations which are:

- i. Provision of services that reflect the unity of Nigeria and culture of each region.
- ii. Engage in un-prejudicial prejudicial presentation of speeches from various political parties and presentation of religions, thought or belief within the federation.
- iii. Provision of educational services, provision of independent & impartial broadcasting services.

For the 2011 election, the media was supposed to implement these functions. There were supposed to be fully involved in the fight against electoral malpractice and bring about greater transparency. These, they relatively achieved. In Ghana 2000 presidential election, the media played on important role by faling attempts of the National Democratic Party (NDP) to rig election through prompt reporting of the perceived irregularities and in the process aroused public opposition. Hence, the media in Nigeria

fairly reported various perceived irregularities witnessed in the system so as to arouse public opposition which could be forced on whoever was involved to back off and allow free and fair voting exercise. This simply means that for mass media to really impact on general elections in Nigeria, they must do-emphasize the personal ego of a politician that can emphasize the supremacy of the institution to have their votes counted.

### **2.2.5 Mass Media as a Key Players in the Democratic Process.**

The mass media perform a crucial role in the democratic process. According to Gureutch and Blumler (1977), the mass media possess enormous powers and their power comes from three sources structural, Psychological and normative.

According to them, the structural root of the power of the mass media “springs from their unique capacity to deliver to the politician an audience, which in size and composition is unavailable to him by any other means”.

The psychological root of the media power stems from the relationship of credibility and trust that different media organizations have succeeded in developing Clbelt to different degree with members of their audience. Gureutch and Blumer (1977) assert that “it is the combined influence of these structural and psychological sources of strength that enable the media to interpose themselves between politicians and the audience and to “Intervene” in other political processes as well”. This interposition, according to them is expressed in the way in which the mass media are capable of restructuring the timing and character of political events conventions, demonstrations, leader, appearances etc.) defining crisis situations to which politicians are obliged to react, requiring comment on issues that media personnel have emphasized as important, injecting new personalities into the political dialogue (such as television interviews) and stimulating the growth of new communication agencies (such as public relations firms, opinion poll agencies and political advertising and campaign management Specialist).

In the other hand, the normative root of media power stems from the respect that is accorded in competitive democracies to such tenants of liberal philosophy as freedom of expression and the need for specialized organs to safeguard citizens against possible abuses of political authority from the foregoing, the mass media occupy strategic place in the policy.

Besley and Burgess (2002), emphasize that a free or non-captured media can affect political outcomes through three routes namely; sorting, discipline and concerns, to deliver affective service meeting real human needs, and also, in democracies to maximize popular

electoral support to be returned to office. Information in the political market place comes from two primary sources. Personal interactions which commonly included formal face to face political conversations. Friends, family & colleagues, traditional campaign rallies, community forums and grass roots meetings. Therefore information resources remain important, especially for election campaigns in poorer democracies, and the growth of e-mail and online discussion groups may revive the importance of personal political communications. But these channels have been supplemented in modern campaigns by the mass media, including the printed press (newspapers and magazines), electronic broadcasts (radio and television news), and also more recently the bundle of technologies associated with the internet (including political websites). The rise of the internet may be a particularly important development for the process of democratization, due to its potential for interactive, horizontal linkages, breaking down the traditional boundaries of space and time, and facilitating oppositional voices, new social movement,, and transnational advocacy networks, despite the highly uneven distribution of these technologies around the globe.

Free press serves to strengthen the process of democratization and human development in their watchdog role, where the channels of mass communications function to promote government transparency and public scrutiny of those in authority, highlighting policy failures, maladministration by public officials, and corruption in the judiciary and scandals in the corporate sector. Investigative journalism can open the governments' record to external scrutiny and critical evolution, and hold authorities accountable for their actions, whether public sector institutions, non- profit organizations or private companies.

Moreover, a free press can provide a public sphere, mediating between citizens and the states facilitating informed debate about the major issues of the day. If the channels of communication reflect the social and cultural diversity within each society, in a fair and impartial balances then multiple interest and voices are heard in public deliberation. The role is particularly important during political campaigns. Fair access to the airwaves by opposition parties, a candidate and opposition group is critical for competitive free and fair elections.

## **2.2.6 The Roles of Mass Media In Presidential Elections In Nigeria**

A major area where political actor spend money to disseminate their messages to their (consumers' (electorate) is in the area of political advertising. According to McNair (2002) political advertising. "Refers to the purchase and the use of advertising, in order to

transmit political messages to a mass audience. The media used for this purpose may include cinema, billboard, the press radio and television--- contemporary political advertising can be seen in an important means of informing citizens about who is standing, and what they are offering the citizens in policy terms”. Over sixty political Parties were registered to contest for the 2011 general elections in Nigeria. In Uyo, Akwa Ibom state (South South Nigeria), five political parties had significant presence in the state. They were: the incumbent people Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress of Nigeria (CAN), All Nigeria People’s Party (ANPP), Congress for progressive change (CPC), all progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), Labour party )(LP) and Alliance for Democracy(AD).

Since true democracy involves the participation of an informed and rational electorate, all legitimate measures and strategies should exploit to make it possible for the citizens to have the required information or alternatives to act on Hallin and Mancini (2004) note that “the mass media are assuming many of the information that political parties once controlled. Instead of learning about an election at a campaign rally or from party canvassers, the mass media have become the primary source of campaign information. There has been a tendency for political parties to decrease their investments in neighbor canvassing, rallies and other direct contact activities and devote more attention to campaign through the media.

The growth of electronic media, especially television has tended to diminish the role of the party. The electronic media also make it easier to communicate events and issues through personalities. Swanson (2004) notes that in place of or in addition to traditional campaign practices such as rallies of the party faithful, political parties and candidates relied on the sophisticated use of the mass media to persuade voters the “consumers” of political communication to support them at election time, and they offered campaigns that feature the appealing personalities of party leaders. Television provides an aesthetic platform for the presentation (airing) of political advertising and electioneering campaign messages. Norris (2004) asserts that “fair access to the airwaves by opposition parties, candidates and groups is critical for competitive free and fair elections”. He points out that it is particularly important that state – owned or public television stations should be open to a plurality of political viewpoints and viewpoints during campaigns, without favouring the government. Collaborating these positions Swanson (2004) asserts that “editorial independence, freedom from close government supervision and censorship, and the like creates society. It should also assist collective organizations to mobilize support; help them to operate as representative vehicles for the views of their supporters, aid them to register effective protest, develop and promulgate alternatives. In other words, the

representational role of the media includes helping to create the condition in which alternative viewpoints and perspectives are brought fully into play.

According to Curran and Gurevitch (2005) another democratic function of the media is to assist the realization of the common objectives of society through agreement or compromise between conflicting interests. The media should contribute to this process by facilitating democratic procedure for resolving conflict and defining collectively agreed aims. For example, the media should brief the electorate about the political choices involved in elections, and so help to constitute elections and defining moments for collective decision about the public direction of society. The media system should also facilitate organized representation by giving due publicity to the activities, programmes and thinking of organized groups in addition to the formal processes of government and opposition party. But the media system is itself an important mechanism for collective self-reflection. By staging a public dialogue in which diverse interests participate, the media should also play direct role in assisting the search for areas of common agreement and compromise. It should also provide an adequate way in which people can engage in a wider public discussion that can result in the modification of social attitudes affecting social relationships between individuals and groups.

It is impossible to have a truly democratic society without an efficient mass media system. A political system that lays claim to democracy without a right mass media would certainly be a 'malnourished' and 'still-birth political contraption. That is why Mc Nair (2002) has aptly pointed out that "in democratic political system, media function both as transmitters of political communication which originates outside the media organization itself and as senders of political messages constructed by Journalist".

He lists five functions of the mass media in a democratic society to include the following: First, They must inform citizens of what is happening around them (what we may call the 'surveillance' or 'monitoring' functions of the media).

Second, they must educate as to the meaning and significance of the 'fact' (the important of the function explains the seriousness with which journalist protect their objectivity, since their value as educators presumes a professional detachment from the issues being analyzed).

Thirdly, the media must provide a platform for public political discussion, facilitating the information of "public opinion", and feedings that opinions must get back to the public. This must include the provision of space for the expression of dissent without which the motion of democratic consensus would be meaningless.

The media's fourth function is to give public to governmental and political institutions the "watchdog" role of journalism, exemplified by the performance of the united states media during the Watergate episode and, more recently, the British Guardian's coverage of the cash-for-questions scandal, in which investigative journalist exposed the practice of members of parliament accepting payment for the asking of parliamentary questions. "Public opinion" can only matter i.e. have an influence on 'Objective Political reality to "the acts of whoever holds supreme power are made available for public scrutiny, meaning how they are visible, ascertainable, accessible and hence accountable' Mc Nair (2002). There must be need to use Mikhail Gorbachou's famous formulation, a degree of 'openness' surrounding the activities of the political class if the "public opinions" of the people are to have any bearing on decision making.

Finally, the media in democratic societies serve as a channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints. Parties require an outlet for the articulation of their policies and programmes to a mass audience, and thus the media must be open to them. Furthermore, some media, mainly in the print sector, will actively endorse one or other of the parties at sensitive times such as elections. In this latter sense, the media advocacy function may also be viewed as one of persuasion Mc Nair (2002).

In short democracy presumes that an open state in which people are allowed to participate in decision-making, and are given access to the media and other information networks through which advocacy occurs Mc. Nair(2002)

It also presumes, as we have stated, an audience sufficiently educated and knowledgeable to make rational & effective use of the information circulating in the public sphere.

Hallin and Mancini (2004), explain that "in political markets, electors need information to judge the record of government and to select among alternative candidates & parties. If citizens are poorly informed, if they lack practical knowledge, they may cast ballot that fail to reflect their real interests. Moreover, policy makers need accurate information about citizens to respond to public policy salience" sorting refers to the process by which politicians are selected to hold office. The kind of information media provided can be important to voters who are deciding who to put in charge. This includes information about candidates previous tract records. Their actions while in office may also be an important source of information about their underlying motivation or competence. By publishing stories or advertisements that responsibly cast light on this, the media can be a powerful force. The role of the media in achieving discipline is most relevant in situations of hidden action. This involves exposure of activities which perpetrators do not want the public to know. The media can also affect which issue that are salient to voters.

This would be made possible or easier through political communication or political advertisement.

Islam (2002) notes that the media industry, whether public or private plays an important role in any economy by gathering support or opposition for those who govern, by highlighting or failing to do so the views and scenes of industry, providing a voice for the people or not doing so, and by simply spreading economic information. The mass media not only carry information about the economy, but also messages about the social, political and religious lives of the people. In the opinion of Wolfensohn (2002), a free press is not luxury. It is at the core of equitable development. The media can expose corruption. They can keep a check on government action. They let peoples voice diverse opinions on governance and reform, help to build public consensus to bring about change.

It can be deducted from Wolfensohn's opinion that easy and equitable access to the mass media as well as diversity of views in media contents are not only indispensable, but is crucial for the emergence of a democratic society and attainment of development.

Democracy Thrives on the principle of informed electorate making responsible choice and decisions. The mass media is not only key avenue for providing the required information, they also determine what is available in the public domain. Mass media enrich democracy, while democracy provides conducive environment for an efficient functioning of the mass media. It is almost impossible to have a democratic society without the full complement of a robust mass media system.

In the opinion of Curran (1991), a "democratic function of the media system is to act as an agency of representation. It should be organized in a way that enables diverse social groups and organizations to express alternative viewpoints. This goes beyond, however, simply disseminating diverse opinion in the public domain. Part of the media system should function in a way that invigorates quill credibility for newscasters everywhere. "Quoting Diamond and bates, Mc Nair ((2002) identify four phases of a typical a political advertising campaign:

Firstly, the basic identity of the candidate must be established as a foundation on which to build subsequent information. In the phase, positive bio graphical details are highlighted such as a distinguished war record (a tactic used by John F. Kennedy and George Bush in their presidential campaigns), or an outstanding business success. Secondly the candidates polices are established in broad terms with the minimum of extraneous detail, and with emotional charge (as in Bush's "Read my lips! No new taxes! "Slogan or Bill Clinton's "It's the economy, stupid "also of 1992. Thirdly, the opponent should be attacked, using negatives.

And finally, the candidate must be endowed with positive meaning in the context of the values and aspirations of the electorate. In this phase, the campaign will seek to synthesize and integrate the candidate's positive features, allowing him or her to acquire resonance in the minds of the votes. Thus, Ronald Reagan comes to stand for the reassertion of traditional American values, Bill Clinton for 'change' in 1992, and 'continuity' in 1996.

### **2.2.7 Theoretical Framework: Agenda setting Theory**

For the purpose of this study, the following theoretical frameworks are extensively reviewed in relation to the evaluation of the media coverage of the general election in Nigeria. One of the powers or effects of the mass media is agenda-setting. Mc. Combs and Shaw quoted by Griffin (1991) explain that the "mass media have ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agenda to the public agenda. We judge as important what the media judge as important. "Media coverage of issues confers importance on them and helps the audience to treat certain issues as also being more important than others. The conferment consequently influences the attitudes or decision of the audience towards the subjects on the agenda.

The setting of agenda by the media implies that people look up to them for cues to issues of salience. People want the media to assist them to determine 'reality' and influence norms. The media of ten choose and emphasize certain topics, thereby causing the public to also choose and emphasize these issues Griffin (1991). According to Mc Quail (2003), the media help to "establish an order of priorities in a society about its problems and objectives, "Burns (1997) also argues that:

The critic of newspapers and broadcasting see their power as lying in controlling the agenda, in their ability to select certain issues for discussion and decision and to ignore others as non-existence; and in the ability to treat certain conflicts of interests as manifesting proper material and others as too complex or marginal or unmanageable.

Through what Burn calls "news tasting – a process of selecting what should count as new and what should not the media also help the public to crave that which they already adjudged silence. Quail and Windahl (2003), quoting Mc Combs and Shaw, state that "audiences not only learn about public issues and their matters through the media, they also learn how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis the mass media place upon it. "The basic idea is that amongst a given range of issues or topics of those who get more media attention will grow in their familiarity and perceived



importance over a period of time and those which get less will decline correspondingly. Brosius and Weimann (2002) point out that “even though the media may not be very successful in telling us what opinion to hold; they are often quite effective in telling us what to have opinion or what not to think about. “By paying attention for such issues and neglecting others, the mass media will have an effect on public opinion. People will tend to know about these things which the mass media deal with and adopt the order of priority assigned to different issues.

Assata and Asante (1978) also explain that the agenda – setting theory assumes that a direct, positive relationship exists between media coverage and the salience of a topic in the public mind. The relationship is stated in casual terms; by conferring status on an issue, the media structure is what is important.

### **2.3 Summary of Literature Review**

It is very obvious from various relevant concepts, theories and empirical studies reviewed that the media most especially television play a vital role in the electioneering process in Nigeria. Besley, Burgess and Prat (2002), emphasize that a free or non-captured media can affect political outcome during the electioneering period.

Through the agenda setting role of mass media, the media have been able to talk to the fore issues that are relevant to electioneering in Nigeria for the public to discuss and participate. In some manner, the media have been able to enlighten and mobilize the public during the electioneering process through various current affairs programmes.

The review also revealed that the kind of information the media promoted can be important to voters who are deciding who to put in charge which includes information about a candidate's previous track records.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on the appropriate research method that will be adopted. It will be on design, population of the study, sampling method procedures among others.

#### 3.1 Research Design

The method that will be used in survey method which gives room for questionnaire & Interview will be on sampling technique which allows all members of the population and equal chance of being included in the study.

#### 3.2 Population of the Study

This can be regarded as the total population of the study. The population of the study is members of staff of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA 12) along other NTA stations within Ogun state. This includes NTA Ijebuode and NTA Imeko-Afon. They are 360 in number.

#### 3.3. Sample Size

Therefore, the sample for the study is calculated thus;

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where, n = The required samples Size.

N = Total population of the study

e = The expected error (0.05)

1 = Constant

$$n = \frac{360}{1 + 360(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{360}{\quad\quad\quad}$$

$$n = \frac{1 + (360 + 0.0025)^2}{1 + 0.6}$$

$$n = \frac{360}{1 + 0.6}$$

$$n = 225$$

Therefore, the required sample size for the study is 225.

### 3.4 Sampling Procedure

This is the process of examining and selecting a representative number of respondents from the total population. The simple random sampling technique will be used for this study. It is a technique that allows all members of the population have equal chance of being selected or included in research work.

**3.5 Method of data Collection:** The Primary method is a survey with the questionnaire. In order to gather appropriate and relevant data from this study, primary method of data collection will be adopted.

### 3.6 Validity of Data Instrument:

In order to gather appropriate and relevant data for this study, the instruments that will be used for the research will be tested for data analysis to reach logical and acceptable conclusion. And also the instruments that have been used for the research will be tested to ensure that responses are reliable, correct and true. “Validity” is defined as the degree to which a test measures what it is supposed to be measured while.

### 3.7 Reliability of data instrument:

“Reliability” is of the view that it is impossible to calculate reliability exactly, instead we determine it. Reliability of any research instrument is the ability of an instrument to yield the same result on repeated trials of applications or uses.

### 3.8 Method of Analysis:

The data collected through questionnaire will be analyzed with the use of simple percentage arithmetic table.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is focused on the presentation and the analysis of data collected from questionnaire responded to by respondents. The data's were analyzed with arithmetic table and simple percentage using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS).

Total numbers of questionnaire released was 225. A total number of 206 administered questionnaires were retrieved from the field while 19 missed.

#### 4.2 Data Analysis and Interpretation

**Table 1: Respondent Sex.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Female	75	35.0
Male	134	65.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above depicts that 65.0 percent of the entire respondents are male while the female respondents constitute 35.0 percent.

**Table 2: Respondent Marital Status.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Married	56	27.2
No Response	11	5.3
Single	139	67.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows that a wholesome 67.5 percent of the respondents are single while 27.2 percent are married.

**Table 3: Respondent Age**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
18 - 30	171	83.0
31 - 40	34	16.5
41 – 50	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows that majority of the respondents in the questionnaire constitute 83.0 percent. This means that they are between 18 and 30 years while the respondents between 31 and 40 years constitute 16.5 percent.

**Table 4: Respondent Educational Status**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Valid No Response	5	2.4
O' Level	3	1.5
ND/NCE	31	15.0
HND/B.Sc	162	78.6
Others	5	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The information above reveals that 78.6 percent of the entire respondents possess HND/B.Sc. as educational qualification while 15.0 percent possess ND/NCE. This simply means that they had the understanding of the question raised.

**Table 5: Respondent Religion.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Valid Christianity	52	25.2
Muslim	30	14.6
Idol Worshipper	40	19.4
Pagan	84	40.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows that 25.3 percent of the entire respondents are Christians while 14.6 percent are Muslims.

**Table 6: The Media educate the electorates on electoral Process.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
To no Extent	7	3.4
To an Extent	72	35.0
Great Extent	92	44.7
No Opinion	35	17.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows that 44.7 opined that the media educates the electorates on the electoral process and 35.0 percent did not respond to the raised question.

**Table 7: The Media enlighten the populace on the political candidates**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	54	26.2
No.	59	28.6
Not sure	93	45.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The information in the table above shows that 45.1 percent of the entire respondents are not sure, 26.2 percent agreed that the media enlighten the populace on political candidates.

**Table 8: Is there significant relations between media coverage and election results**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Agree	84	54.4
Disagree	112	3.9
Strongly Disagree	2	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows that 54.4 percent of the respondents Agreed while 3.9 percent of the respondent disagreed that there is significant relationship between media coverage and election results while others objected.

**Table 9: Which of this do characteristic of electorates affect the media coverage of Election**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	65	31.7
Female	12	49.8
Public Servant	24	11.7
Civil servants	15	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows the male respondents that opined that characteristics of electorates affects the media coverage of elections are 31.7, females are 49.8, public servants ad civil servants are 11.7 and 7.2 respectively.

**Table 10: To what extent does electioneering campaign on television affects the results of elections.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Satisfactory	96	46.6
Unsatisfactory	14	46.6
No Opinion	96	46.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>



**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows that 46.6 percent of the respondents were satisfied while 6.8 percent were unsatisfied and the other respondents which are 46.6 percent of the population had no opinion.

**Table 11: What type of people is not entitled to vote during Election.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Adults	123	45.5
Aged	60	19.4
Children	23	32.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above shows that 45.5 percent of the respondents opined that Adults are not entitled to vote, while aged represents 19.4 percent and children 320 respectively.

**Table 12: The media give equal coverage to political parties during elections**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly Agree	78	37.9
Agree	92	44.7
No Response	10	4.9
Disagree	20	9.7
Strongly Disagree	6	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The above table shows that the majority of the respondents with 44.7 percent agreed 37.9 strongly agreed, 4.9 percent had no response and 9.7 percent of the

respondents disagree while 2.9 percent of the respondents strongly agreed that the media give equal coverage political parties during elections.

**Table 13: The media coverage enhance free and fair election**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly Agree	84	31.1
Agree	14	40.8
No Response	64	4.9
Disagree	16	6.8
Strongly Disagree	28	13.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

The table above indicates that 40.8 percent and 31.1 percent of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed, 40.8 agreed respectively while 4.9 and 6.8 percent had no response and disagreed respectively.

**Table 14: The media set Agenda for public Discussion towards election.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
To no extent	38	18.4
To an extent	126	61.2
To a large extent	37	18.0
No. Response	5	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

**Sources: Field Survey, 2014.**

It is obvious from the table above that 61.2 percent of the total respondents said to an extent, 18.4 percent said “to no extent” 18.0 percent said “to a large extent” and 2.4 percent had no response that the media set Agenda for public Discussion towards elections.

### 4.3 Discussion of Findings

This section presents key findings of the analysis conducted in chapter 3 and 4, along with the conclusions on the impact of television broadcasting on electioneering campaigns during the 2011 presidential campaigns on NTA Abeokuta. The study has shown that Television Broadcasting has played a vital role on Electioneering Campaigns, a finding that is reflected both in the case studies and in the statistical analysis. Moreover, the analysis of the responses from the questionnaire distributed shows that:

- 1) 44.7% of the respondents agreed and 39.9% strongly agreed while 4.9% of the respondents strongly disagreed to the significant level of equal media coverage given to political parties.
- 2) It was also found that 31.1% of the respondents strongly agreed, 40.8% agreed, 4.9% of the respondents had no response while 6.8% disagree and 13.6% strongly disagreed that the media coverage enhances free and fair election.
- 3) The research findings also shows that 61.2% of the total respondents said to an extent, 18.4% said to no extent, 18.0% said to a large extent and 2.4% had no response that the media set agenda for public discussion towards election.
- 4) Also shows that the male respondents that opined that characteristics of electorates affects the media coverage of elections are 31.7%, females are 49.8%, public servants and civil servants are 11.7% and 7.2% respectively.
- 5) The research shows that 46.6% of the respondents were satisfied while 6.8% were unsatisfied and the other respondents which are 46.6% of the respondents had no opinion.
- 6) It was also found that 45.5% of the respondents opined that adults are not entitled to vote, while aged represents 19.4% and children 32.0% respectively.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 SUMMARY**

This project has extensively evaluated the Impact of Television Broadcasting on Electioneering Campaign, a case study of 2011 elections in Nigeria. A research survey using descriptive analysis and chi-square was carried out on 225 respondents. This project gave the over-all background to the study. It stated the statement of the problem of the study, the objective, and the research questions. It also featured the significant of the study, scope and limitation of the study and operational definition of term to aid the understanding of the readers of the project. The roles of the mass media in setting agenda for public discussion in terms of agenda setting theory were also reviewed. The research methodology includes research design, population of the study, sample size determination, sampling procedure, method of data collection, validity and reliability of data instrument and method of data analysis. The researcher adopted survey method which gives room for questionnaires and interview while the sampling technique was simple random sampling techniques which will allow all members of the population of the study an equal being included in the study, presentation and the analysis of data collected from questionnaire responded to by respondents. They were analyzed with arithmetic table and simple percentage using statistical Package for social sciences (SPSS). Total numbers of questionnaire released was 225. A total number of 206 administered questionnaire were retrieved from the field while 19 missed.

#### **5.2 Conclusion**

It is not out of place to conclude based on the findings that the mass media especially the print media have been fair in giving equal media coverage to political parties to candidate. In the cause of upholding their responsibilities as responsible media, the mass media in Nigeria have tried as much as possible to give equal chance to political parties most especially during elections. The private mass media both broadcast and print is better than the public owned media. The significant to the study is the relationship between mass media and media ownership in relation to its effects, the responsibilities during elections.

The mass media mobilize the electorates towards 2011 election in Nigeria at large. Hence, the mass media has been effective in mobilizing the electorates towards elections as seen in various programmes before, during and after the elections in Nigeria. Various political programmes in media towards elections in Nigeria are evidence to the fact that they are playing their agenda-setting roles in Nigeria towards successful, free and fair election in Nigeria. No doubt the degree of the political issues been brought forward for public discussion will determine the level of exposing electoral misconduct as rigging, results manipulation, thuggery ballot box snatching among others. This is evidence in the 2011 elections as the mass media were on top of the situation that almost destroyed the election result.

Obviously, there is significant relationship between the mass media coverage and a free and fair election in Nigeria at large. The findings from this research work and other empirical studies confirmed that, the media coverage can also determine if an election will be free and fair.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

As a result of the findings from this research work, the following recommendations have been suggested:

- Since it has been discovered that there is a direct relationship between media coverage and elections result, the mass media should endeavor to give equal media coverage to political parties and their candidates. In other words, the mass media should allow political parties and their candidates a level playing field for their campaign.
- The significant relationship between mass media coverage and election results has made imperative media ownership both public and private should do more to free the media practitioners to carry out their sacred responsibilities towards elections without any interference.
- It is not a gain saying to establish that the mass media have been fair in mobilizing the electorates during elections. However, the mass media should improve on the mobilization of electorates during elections as reliable and valid results of elections large depend on this process.
- Agenda-setting programmes of mass media towards elections is an effective way of mobilizing, educating and enlighten the public and the electorates on electoral process, hence, the mass media practitioners should endeavor to package more of agenda setting programmes to ensure a free and fair elections in Nigeria.

- The mass media should endeavor to be proactive in their coverage to expose electoral misconduct among Politicians, government officials and electoral officers.
- The responsibilities of the mass media is a sacred one saddled on them by the Nigerian and the constitution, hence, they should endeavor not

to be partisan in politics but be responsible, pursue a free and fair elections in Nigeria.

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## APPENDIX A

Department of Mass Communication

Caritas University,

Amorji – Nike

Enugu.

23 June, 2014

Dear Respondent

I am Odubote Abimbola Ifeoluwa with the Registration Number MC/2010/441, a final year student in the above named department and institution, writing a research project on the Impact of Television Broadcasting on Electioneering Campaigns. A study of 2011 Presidential Campaigns on NTA Network Abeokuta

The Research is purely for Academic exercise, please give a thoughtful and honest response to the questions below and it will be treated in utmost confidence.

Thanks for your anticipated co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Odubote Abimbola I.

MC/2010/441

## APPENDIX B

### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### SECTION A

What is your gender?

Male [      ]      (b) [      ]

2. What is your marital status?

(a) Single [      ]      (b) [      ] (c) divorced [      ]

3. What is your age distribution?

(a) 18-30 years [      ]      (b) 31-40years [      ]

(c) 41-50 years [      ]

4. What is your educational status?

(a) No response [      ]      (b) O' Level [      ]

(c) ND/NCE [      ]      (d) HND/B.Sc. [      ]

(e) Others (please specify) [      ]

5. what religion are you?

(a) Christianity [      ]      (b) Muslim [      ]

(c) Idol Worshipper [      ]      (d) Pagan [      ]

#### SECTION B

#### GENERAL QUESTIONS

6. To what extent do the media educate the electorates on electoral process?

(a) To no Extent [      ]

(b) To an Extent [      ]

- (c) Great Extent [      ]
- (d) No Opinion [      ]
7. The Media enlighten the populace on the political candidates?
- (a) Yes [      ]
- (b) No. [      ]
- (c) Not sure [      ]
8. Is there significant relations between media coverage and election results?
- (a) Agree [      ]
- (b) Disagree [      ]
- (c) Strongly Disagree [      ]
9. Which of this characteristics of electorates affect the media coverage of Election?
- (a) Male [      ]
- (b) Female [      ]
- (c) Public Servant [      ]
- (d) Civil servants [      ]
10. To what extent does electioneering campaign on television affects the results of elections?
- (a) Satisfactory [      ]
- (b) Unsatisfactory [      ]
- (c) No Opinion [      ]
11. What type of people are not entitled to vote during Elections?
- (a) Adults [      ]
- (b) Aged [      ]
- (c) Children [      ]
12. Does the media give equal coverage to political parties during elections?
- (a) Agree [      ]
- (b) Disagree [      ]

- (c) Strongly Agree [ ]
- (d) Strongly Disagree [ ]
- (c) No response [ ]

13. Does the media coverage enhance free and fair election?

- (a) Agree [ ]
- (b) Disagree [ ]
- (c) Strongly Agree [ ]
- (d) Strongly Disagree [ ]
- (e) Neutral [ ]

14. The media set Agenda for public Discussion towards  
Election?

- (a) To no extent [ ]
- (b) To an extent [ ]
- (c) To a large extent [ ]
- (d) No. Response [ ]