

TITLE PAGE

**ILLUSION AND REALITY OF PRESS FREEDOM IN ATTAINING A
TRUE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA**

(A Study of Enugu North)

BY

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to God Almighty. The Great I am that I am. To my parents Mr. And Mrs. Stephen OttahUsu, my siblings and my incomparable friends. I also dedicate this work to the entire staffs and students of Caritas University Amorji-Nike, Enugu.

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Abstract

This paper examines the illusion and reality of press freedom in attaining a true democratic system of government in Nigeria. Area of the study was Enugu metropolis which comprises of Enugu North and Enugu South, as area considered one of the nerve centres of intense political activities in Nigeria. Data were collected through questionnaire. Survey method was used for this work. Findings show that the illusion and reality of press freedom in attaining a true democratic system of government in Nigeria is rapid and therefore, the government, media organisations and public must work hand-in-hand so that press freedom will be achieved. The study concludes that if a nation must experience development, it must not adhere to material advancement, threats, restrictions and corruption, instead, it should conform to growth, progress and freedom. Press must therefore be free of all sorts of constraints so that press freedom will be made an absolute reality in Nigeria. Also, the government must make sure that the economy of Nigeria is stable so as to meet up with other developed countries across the world. The government should not dictate for the media what to do and or where to cover events.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Of The Study

The term “press freedom” has been over used and there is nothing to be freshly about it that has been mentioned before. One of the internationally acclaimed barometers for measuring the degree of democratic or national development of a policy is the extent which press freedom – one of the inalienable rights of man- is safeguarded. The mass media which is greatly regarded as the fourth estate of a realm, the three others are the executive, legislature and the judiciary. It needs to be emphasized that the mass media have both constitutional and traditional responsibilities to serve as the watchdog of the three arms of government, in all attempt to establish a better polity.

The press in a democratic system of government should ensure that citizens are kept well informed so as to remove the wide gap between the government and the governed. It is only when people are kept adequately informed that they can understand government actions, take active

participation in government activities and broaden their minds on certain policies that affect them either directly or otherwise.

Sawanti, 2002: PS 9-11, it is the role of the media to set agenda. Through this, they set the tone of discussion for important national issues, collate the opinion of the people on the issues and convey the authorities the people's approval or otherwise of such issues. Through the investigative journalism, the mass media can expose scams and scandals, anti-social activities, corruption, waste, inefficiency and negligence of the part of the authorities. The mass media can act as an ombudsman on behalf of the people every day.

(The Nigerian freedom of expression community's advertorial in tell, September 20, 2004: P47) propounded that the media in the democratic system of government plays three (3) important roles:-

- Inform citizens on matters of public policy and politics by presenting and debating alternatives.
- Act as a watchdog by uncovering political economic and corporate as well as other forms of abuse of power and inept policies.

- Helps to empower citizens to be aware of civic and political right and how to exercise these rights.

Through these roles, the media helps to build and sustain a participatory, transparent and an accountable governance structure.

The word "Freedom" like democracy is a term with a single thread of meaning lying beneath all the varied uses and interpretation which have been made to the term; what exactly then is freedom of press?

In article 19 of 1948 universal declaration of human rights promulgated by the united states actions" it clearly states that:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to hold opinions with interference and seek, receive and impart information and ideas through media regardless of frontiers".

Oloyede: 1996, "the press in a democratic society operates largely under the libertarian and social responsibility concepts". It is free to report whatever is not expressly forbidden by the law. This implies that the people are free to comment, based on facts and make constructive criticisms of government on a democratic society. It also implies that

journalists and other media practitioners are free to source and disseminate information without fear of intimidation.

Ultimately, the press performs the duty of making the government responsible and accountable to the people in all spheres of national government development.

Peterson 1989: P571 " Through the freedom accorded to the press and speech differs from nations, generally free press imply freedom of expression without fear of punitive reprisal and consequences".

The promulgation and enactment of international statutes of conventions by the United Nations and different National constitution to protect the freedom of speech and of the press is a demonstration of the priority accorded to their roles. Despite the existence of laws, protecting the press and speech, for some reasons, freedom of expression has been abridging in several ways. One agent of media control is the government. Though National government do prescribe laws and decree for free and responsible press, government officials have often been accused of unwarranted interference in operations of the press and of imposing restrictions on speech.

Nwankwo et al (1993) illustrated that government abridgement of press freedom. During the democratically elected government of Alhaji Shagari, the sanction of the Nigerian television authority, National Assembly correspondent, Vera Ifudu by Shagari's information minister for broadcasting details of a scandal alleging the disappearance of N2.8 billion from the account of the Nigerian National Petroleum corporation (NNPC) is a graphic example, still under the Shagari's regime of 1979-1983, inspector general of Police, Sunday Adewusi, issued order (unsuccessfully) to the press to submit their publications to his office in advance of circulation.

Bernard Crick (in Oyediran, 1996) describes democracy as everybody's mistress that is the fact that democracy has become a part and parcel of thinking and vocabulary being used across borders.

Landsberg (1997), gives credence to the fact as he notes that "democracy" in Africa is a sure recipe for tribalism and was thus, some individuals have argued that what is needed is the type of democracy specially designed to suit the peculiarities of each nation. Because of this belief, some Nigerians have put forth the ideas of "home-grown" democracy as opposed to the western style of democracy as most appropriate for the country.

The government and the press should strike a balance between social responsibility, state security and freedom of the press. The long existing friction where the both bodies (government and press) see each other as arch-enemies should be revisited for the proper reorientation from both sides. The rule of law should be made sacred in very practicable term as well as proper respect for the fundamental human rights. The provision of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, section 15,16,17,18 and 20 which provide for political, economic, social, educational, foreign policy and environmental objectives respectively should be given a thorough consideration and implementation. Providing for these objectives will drastically reduce the trends of the press bickering with the government because the reasons for the media agitation to protect the social interest are being taken care of.

Transparency and accountability on the side of the government will considerably ensure if not entirely eliminate the case of the protected place. The press on the other hand should uphold high ethical principles and make social responsibilities its watchdog in a conducive environment of informing. Entertaining, and educating the society along side with the other

functions of the media. This social responsibility concept should be one that the journalist should rationally arrive at.

There are a number of theories that capture the essence of press freedom.

A. Authoritarian Theory

Siebert et al (1956:P42) "truth was conceived not to be the product of the great mass of the people, but of a few wise men that were in a position to guide and direct their fellow". Thus truth was thought to be centred near the centre of power. The press therefore, functioned from time past to inform the people of what the rulers "thought", they should know and the policies the rulers thought they should support. With this theory, the government of the monarch was vested with the power to control the ownership and use of the media for mass communication.

Besides, no press dared criticize the monarch, government officials of the political machinery, as they existed principally to support and advance the policies of the monarch and by extension, the government. It is this perception of press freedom that greatly, influenced military government in Nigeria.

B. Libertarian Theory

The argument of its proponents is that man is a thinking independent and a rational animal that is capable of making a choice between what is good and that which is bad. Man, according to Siebert et al (1956) is no longer conceived as a dependent being (as in authoritarian theory) "to be led and directed, rather as a rational being able to discern between a better and worse alternative choices". Truth is no longer conceived of as the property of power, rather the right to search for truth is one of the alienable natural rights of man..., the press is conceived as a partner in search for truth.

Oloyede (1996: Ps 3-4) identifies three major ingredients of press freedom under libertarianism. One is the assumption of the presence of a multiplicity of voices on public issues at all times. The second component is the absence of state control in the operation of the news media, while the third is the financial independence of the press.

The basic characteristic of press freedom under the libertarian theory is however summed up by Mc Quail (1987: Ps115-116) cited in Sadeeq (1993) they are that

- Publication should be free from any prior censorship by any third party; the act of publication and distribution should be open to a person or group without permit or licence; attack on any government officials or political party (as distinct from attacks on private individuals or treason and breaches of security) should not be punishable, even after the event, there should be no compulsion to punish anything.
- Publication of 'errors' is protected equally with that of truth in matters of opinion and belief; no restriction should be placed on the collection, by legal means of information for publication; there should be no restriction on export and import or sending or receiving "messages" across national frontiers; journalists should be able to claim a considerable degree of professional autonomy within their organization.

C. Soviet / Communist Theory

The soviet press operated as a tool of the ruling power just as the old authoritarian theory. But unlike the older pattern, it is state owned rather than privately owned. However, in spite of the fact that the soviet press

was being tightly controlled, soviet spokesman thought of their press as free because it is free to say the 'truth' as the party sees it.

The basic characteristics of press freedom under the soviet/communist theory of the press are that: the press is used instrumentally, that is as an instrument of the state and the party; the media are closely integrated with other instrument of state power and party influence; they are used as instruments of unity within the state and the party; they are almost exclusively as instruments of propaganda and agitation "Agit-props" and they are characterised by district enforced responsibility (Ravitch, 1991).

D. Social Responsibility Theory

This theory was developed out of the fact that the libertarian theory at a point could not guarantee freedom of expression and that of the press. This was because, after the collapse of authoritarian system, the media fell into hands of a powerful few. No longer was it therefore easy for the press to be the free market place of ideas. This theory holds that the press must assume the role of serving the political system, enlightening the public, safeguarding the libertarian of individuals, servicing the economic system,

providing good entertainment without necessarily harming the democratic process.

Nigerian constitution is not categorical about the freedom of the press; the traditional functions are however derived from section 36 of the 1979 constitution which states that:

“Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression including freedom to hold opinion and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference. (The constitution of the FRN, 1979).

1.2 Statement Of Problem

The study of this work will seek to know the illusion and reality of press freedom in the Nigeria democratic system of government in Nigeria.

In stating the problems of this work, it is very important to note research questions on the press and democratic system as a concept, in such a way that it will be easy to collect data to answer the questions: Are the Nigerian journalist deceiving themselves in actualizing press freedom in our democratic system of government making it a reality for Nigerians to

operate in a free media ownership? Why should there be absolute press freedom in our democratic system of government?

1.3 Objectives Of The Study

It is true that without the press, the nation has a cog in its wheel of development, for they constitute immensely as agents through which a nations development objectives can be achieved. Therefore this study shall among others aim at:

- i To ascertain the level of commitment of media owners and employees (Journalists) towards ensuring effective gathering and dissemination of information in the country.
- ii. To identify the problem affecting press freedom in Nigerian Democratic system of Government.
- iii. To aim at actualizing absolute press freedom in Nigeria.

1.4. Research Questions

This work should be able to address the problems posed and achieve the aims and objectives of the study, the following research questions should be put into proper consideration in order to achieve the aims of this work.

The following questions are to be bore in mind:

1. How do you ascertain the level of commitment of media owners and Journalists?
2. What are problems affecting press freedom in Nigerian Democratic system of Government?
3. Why should there be absolute press freedom in Nigerian democratic system of Government?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis is a tentative statement made by a researcher to verify his terms and test his facts in the likes of the following:-

H₀: The level of commitment of media owners and Journalists is high.

H₁: The level of commitment of media owners and Journalists is not high.

H₀: There are problems affecting press freedom in Nigerian democratic system of Government.

H₂: There are no problems affecting press freedom in Nigerian democratic system of Government.

H₀: There is absolute press freedom in Nigerian democratic system of Government.

H₃: There is no absolute press freedom in Nigerian democratic system of Government.

1.6 Significance Of The Study

Information which is the light of a nation has remained one panacea for the achievement of a nation's growth and development. Therefore, the study should significantly achieve the following:

- i. The study should provide effective and objective information in gathering its dissemination by the media organization.

- ii. It will serve as a reference to managers, editors and students alike especially in such an area of study that cut across all the facts of our everyday life.
- iii. It is the researcher's contribution to both the academic world and practicing journalists in Nigeria as a whole.

1.7 Scope Of The Study

The scope of the study is limited to the illusion and reality of press freedom in the Nigerian democratic system of government examining the media.

It goes further to call on practising journalists across the country on the need to arise and work hard for the actualization and realization of total press emancipation in the act of gathering information and disseminating such information effectively.

1.8 Definitions Of Terms

Operational Definitions

Illusion: This means something that deceives and deludes or misleads intellectually in such a way as to produce false impression or idea that exaggerates or minimize reality or that attributes existence of what does not exist.

Reality: It is true situation and the problem that actually exist in life, in contrast to how you would like life.

Press Freedom: According to Femi Sonayeke, it simply means allowing the press to perform its traditional role of keeping the masses informed about event taking place within and outside their communities without any hindrance, harassment or legal and social constraints.

Democracy: It is a fair and equal treatment of everyone in any media organization and right to take part in the decision making of any media firm.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Sources Of Literature

The data for this literature review are collected from the secondary sources. The secondary sources are already existing information written down in books and other publications by recognised persons in the areas of actualising the press freedom in the Nigerian democratic system of government. They include; journals, articles etc.

Also, national publication like the newspapers, magazine, handbooks etc. Textbooks are also source of the secondary data that is used in reviewing the literature of this work\'. The researcher consulted libraries of different kinds like the Caritas university library, etc. Internet also provided the source for the secondary data.

2.2 Review Of Related Literature

Mass media of communication being a segment of the society and the most vocal are often put under some pressures by the authority, thus making it

difficult for them to discharge their traditional role of reporting, the role that has made the public regard them as the watchdog of the masses or society.

This work has but one theme running through it, "freedom of the media and freedom for the media". The media must be free from inhibiting external control in order to protect and correct society".

According to Ogunsiyi, "Government control news media in developing countries. The consequences of this is that government dictate what should be published or broadcasted, leaving the individuals of the society whether to accept such or let such broadcasted messages varnish. Journalists have little or no access to government information. Foreign journalists are sometimes even banned from operating in some developing countries. The most disappointing thing is that National agencies are also under the control of the state. The press law adopted in Nigeria and Tanzania some years ago gave their national news agencies the exclusive right to gather and disseminate news within their territories for either domestic or international uses, since there is some form of government control of almost every national news agency in developing countries, it would be very balanced stories as they would have love to do.

Dennis McQuail Posed some questions that does a community, a society, have the right or responsibility to police media materials? To say yes is some cases "dealing with children" and on the other cases "dealing with adults" may be closed to the facts of life in the society.

Broadcasting on the other hand is regulated by the federal government to the point of broadcasters being required to hold a license in order to communicate on radio or television. The basic licensing structure of variety of other controls and television. These controls reviewed their stronger court endorsement in the Red Lion decision of 1969 in which the supreme court ruled that the standard of fairness doctrine which requires broadcasters, to balance their public affairs pro-programming and to provide air time or point of views that the broadcasters might otherwise ignore, was constitutional.

According to Daily Champion Newspaper, November 2, 2001 (P:11) "the journalist working in government media are victims to collective amnesia. In an effort to save their jobs they are made to compromise their professional principles as most of them become instruments of praise singing by describing the performance and non-performances of their chief executives in superlative terms, as congratulatory messages, not paid are

aired on his Excellency's birthdays and their overseas tours which have yielded nothing except to be remembered as relics of Jamborees.

Yet, professional integrity still requires journalists to be on the side of the society to warn and growl rather than give up in spineless surrender to the threat and danger of personal inconvenience.

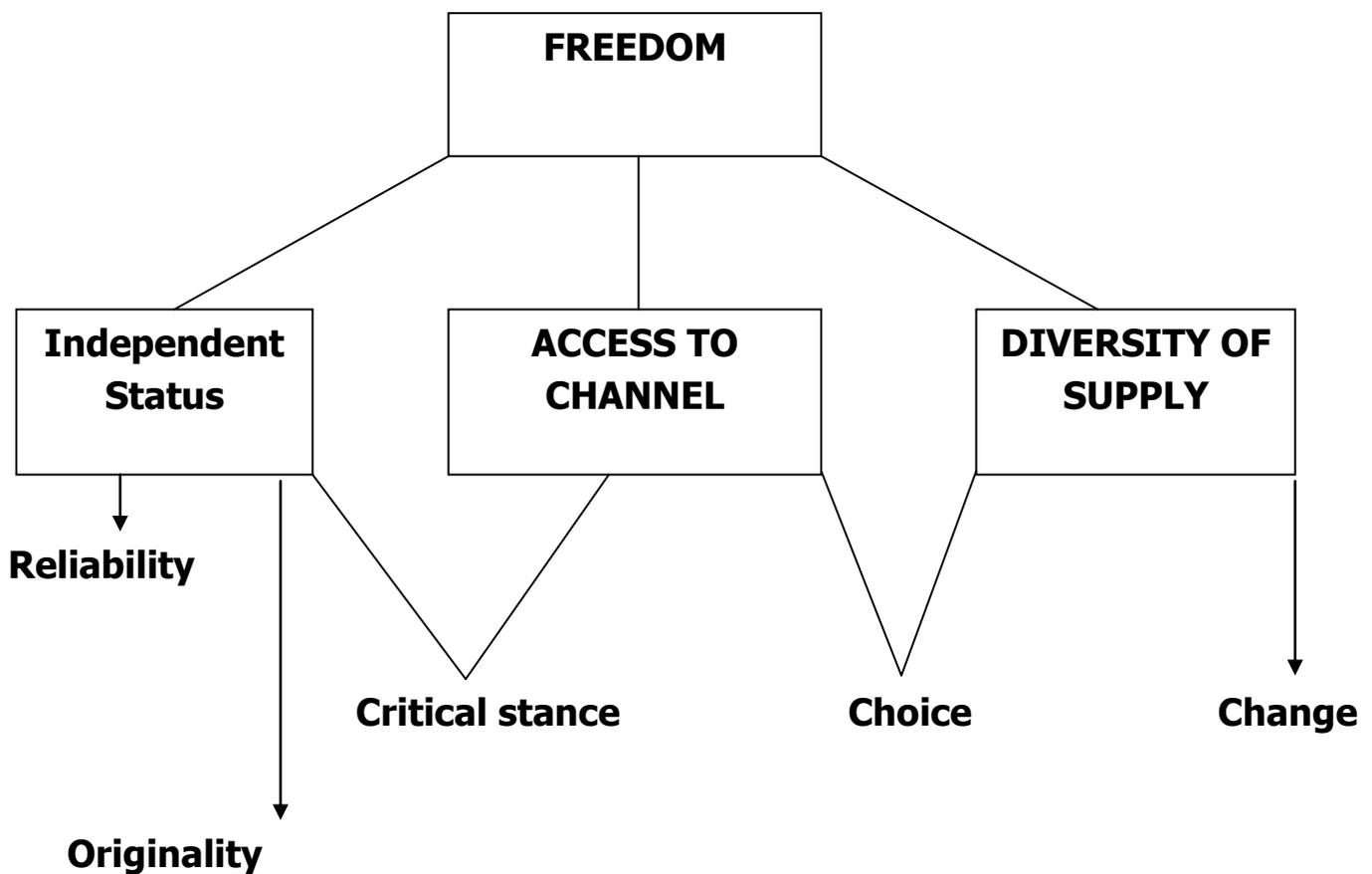
2.2.1 Concept Of Press Freedom

Journalism is a high calling. The first amendment to the constitution makes the News media free to serve democracy, inform the public's, promote debates, scrutinize and utilize the conduct of public officials.

The News media have a social responsibility to ensure that those report and edit the news, never use their power for personal gain for themselves and their friends, that is why every news gathering organisation must enforce its own rule to protect its credibility.

According to Eldon et al (1985), freedom is a condition rather than a criterion of performance and does not readily lend itself to either prescriptive or prescriptive statement.

Freedom of communication has a dual respect: offering a wide range of voices and responding to a wide – ranging demands or need. Similar remarks apply to cultural provision of media, where independence will be associated, other things being equal, with creativity, originality and diversity.



(SOURCE : Ogunsiyi, 1989)

2.2.2 History Of The Press In Nigeria

The history of the Nigeria press is broadly divided into four (4) segments. These are the era of missionary journalism, the era of alien dominated press, the emergence of the indigenous press and the dawn of modern Nigeria newspaper.

Before delving into the historical acts that have helped immensely to shape each era, it is essential to point out that the birth and growth of the Nigeria press is a historical process in which many individuals participated without foreseeing what the ultimate product of their labour was to be.

2.2.3 The Era Of Missionary Journalism

The print journalism started in Nigeria in 1846 with the installation of a printing press of Calabar by the Presbyterian missionary. The primary purpose of installing the printing press was to increase the level of literacy among local people so that they would be able to acquire more knowledge via the reading of short stories and essays on various subjects particularly religious matters. The Calabar experiment did not last for long, thereafter, Iwe Irohin Fun AwonEgbe Yoruba was established by Henry Townsend in

1954 and the newspaper was published in Yoruba fortnight but later became bilingual in 1860 when an English language edition was added. The Iwe Irohin thrived well and was forced to be reckoned with by the time it folded in 1867 as a result of cultural and political crisis between the European settlers and the indigenous of England. The crisis led to the expulsion of all European settlers in England including the missionaries. The expulsion put an end to the mission printing press in Abeokuta.

Although the missionary Newspaper did not achieve much in terms of being in business for a long period of time, securing a large circulation and exhibiting professional journalists, expertise they helped immensely increase the level of education and the social awareness of the generality of the people they were serving.

As succinctly put by Dr. Fred Omu, author of Press and politics in Nigeria 1880 – 1937, the missionary Newspaper may not have exerted a very wide influence on West African Society but, there can be no doubt that they introduced the first generation of educated Africans to what has become an intrinsic part of enlightened society in Europe and other lands. Their example gave inspiration and came to employ it as the chief weapon by

which they were. To exercise their power of participation in the government of their land.

2.2.4 The Era Of The Alien Dominated Press

The alien dominated press simply refers to the Newspaper founded by non-Nigerians which helped in forging ahead press freedom in Nigerians. One of such newspaper was the Anglo-African founded by Robert Campbell and ceased publication on December 30, 1865. In spite of the failure of the paper, more aliens were still willing to establish newspaper. Another paper founded by an alien was the Lagos Times and Gold cost colony Advertiser established by Richard Beale Blaize on 10th November, 1880. The paper was inaugurated in 1880 the name Serving as reflection of the Joint administration of Nigeria (Lagos) and Ghanian proprietors. The ideology was reflected on the Newspaper name as well as on its editorial policy. The paper ceased publication in November 1883. The paper's early death was not expected because of its militancy, it did not enjoy government patronage by way of advertisement in the paper. With few or no

advertisement, the paper could not remain in existence. Even in airtime, no newspaper could survive without advertisement.

Despite the newspaper stand on profit maximization, the mission statement, which was the right of the publication in 1883 because it took a bull of the fight for the right of the public by the horns at every available opportunity? The issue at the front colony advertisers was the decolonization of the colonies. On the paper's stand on such issues that has to do with the right of the people, an analyst S. J. Coleman was being voted in Ukonu.

“there can be little doubt that Nationalist Newspaper and pamphlets have been among the main influence in the wakening of racial and political consciousness”.

Furthermore, on its stand on the decolonization struggle for Nigeria, as the British colonial government began viewing it with the eye of an anti-government paper, in the editor, Andres Thomas in his editorials of March 1881 was quoted in Barton (1997: P20) states.

We are not clamouring for immediate independence, but it should always be in mind that the present order of things will not last

forever. A time will come when the colonies on the west coast will be left to regulate their own internal and external affairs.

Other alien dominated press includes the Lagos observer by John Payne Jackson 1891 to 1930, the Lagos observer 1882 – 1890, the eagle and Lagos critics on 1883 by owner Emerick Macaulay and ceased publication on 31st of October 1888, Iwe Irohin by Andrew Thomas 1888, Lagos weekly times by John Payne Jackson 1890, Lagos standard by George Alfred Williams 1908, Nigeria chronic by Christopher Josephs Johnson and Emmanuel I. Johnson 1908 and the Nigerian times by James Bright Davies 1910.

On the impact of early press historian writes; A total of 51 newspaper were established between 1880 and 1937. These consisted of 11 dailies, 33 weeklies, 3 fortnightlies and 4 monthlies. Excepting 15 provincial weeklies, all these newspapers were conducted on raps which have remained the centre of the most developed newspaper industry in Africa. (Omu 1978: P 26).

2.2.5 The Indigenous Press

One of the early newspapers founded by a religion was the Nigerian pioneer which was established by Kitayi Ajasa in Lagos in 1914. The paper was pro-government and many people hated it for that. The paper however survived until 1986, it ceases to exist.

On March 10, 1921, Ernest Okoli established the African Messenger. According to Omu, his entry into Nigerian journalism was significant in the sense that he was the first Newspaper editor produced by a Nigerian educational institution as well as being the first man outside Yorubaland "to emerge prominence in Lagos society and politics". It lasted for five years and collapse because of financial problems. It was taken over by the Nigerian printing and publishing company in 1926 as a product of an agreement between Adeyemo Alakija and Richard Barrow.

Other newspapers established between 1900 and before the emergence of the West African pilot in 19137 were Lagos Daily News by Herbert Macaulay in collaboration with Dr. J. Akilade Caulcrick in 1927. The Nigerian Daily telegraoph by Akin Fagbero Beyioku in November 12, 1927: Akede Eko by 1. B. Thomas on June 1, 1927, the religion daily mail by

Ernest Okoli in 1930, the comet by Duse Mohammed Ali in 1933, the Daily service which came into existence in 1933 as a weekly newspaper and was later converted into a daily newspaper four years after its establishment. In the early 1950, the paper merged with the Nigerian Tribune based in Ibadan and came under control of the Amalgamated Press in Nigeria Limited. Many Nigerians believed Dr. Azikiwe newspaper, the West African pilot was the popular nationalist newspaper of all times, Dr. Azikiwe edited the paper himself and he used it effectively to challenge.

2.2.6 Modern Nigerian Press

The Nigerian press had a dramatic change and orientation when after independence, government in the country entered the newspaper industry. The period between 1960 and 1966 saw many government newspaper springing up, among them was the Morning post established in 1961 by Tafawa Balewa Government for the paper ceased to be published shortly after Balewa's Government for the purpose of providing adequate publicity of its activities. The paper ceased to be published shortly after Balewa's Government was topped in a military coup in 1966.

By 1974, almost all the thirty six states in the country have newspaper of their own, some jointly owned. Prominent among the state owned newspaper were the sketch jointly owned by Ogun, Oyo and Ondo states. Observer owned by Bendel states, the Daily star established by Anambra state Government, Herald owned by Kwara state and Triumph owned by Kano state government. The performance of press in the post-independence era lacks much to be desired. On one hand, there were many instances of antagonism from the government. On the other hand, there were many instances of abundant evidence to prove that some journalist did throw the ethics of their profession to the wind and became ardent sycophant for the political musters, publisher, particularly during Shagari regime.

The government seem to concentrate on the developmental values and gains attached to the absolute free press – a situation where the press is allowed to say and publish whatever it deems fit. The government also seem to understand the potency of power of the press than the wielders, the stark continued as a threat to government in every part of the world such that the concept of an absolute free press has continued to exist on utopia.

Several scholars have made comments on this issue of the law and press freedom. Nwogbunyama (2007: p 10) writes ... no democracy including the United States of America is absolute or unlimited freedom. To allow the press absolute or unlimited freedom is to run risk of abridging the freedom of the individual and adversely affection the society as a whole but whatever freedom the press may have should be accompanied with the coronary responsibility. Okunna (1994: P. 130) also is in support of the utopic nature of the free press when she posits:

...there is no free press system the whole world, which operates entirely under the principles of the press theory, not even on the advance democracies of the western world.

This is because in all societies, there are number of legal controls which govern the operation of the mass media.

2.2.7 Press : The Voice Of The Voiceless

The Nigerian press has always stood firmly on the side of justice in economics, social and political relations, even though there is a "Judas in every twelve", the Nigerian press has extensively defended the principles of

equality of all men and their rights of itself – determination in support of democracy. (Ali, 2006: P. 15).

Taking a retrospective look at the Nigeria press in 1940s and 1950s, we will see that the rise and triumph of Nigeria and African nationalism have been greatly inspired by the press. It is on record that numerous articles, copious books and the electronic media such as broadcasting have all made great impact in the aspect of our history attracting in the process, wide ranging interpretation on major issue of our fame.

Examples, there was segregation on the civil by the white it is the press that addressed these problems through constant and relentless effort of frequently condemning it, Ali (1984: P 43 – 45).

Nigeria has a peculiarly interesting press structure which has for a long time presented a different a difficult problems to our rules under the colonial regime, our national press was an organ of all out position, constantly opposing agents of colonial role. The independent modes led to the birth of nationalist and anti-imperialistic newspaper that served as vanguard of awakening of the masses.

A little difference was seen about the press under the military rule. The press played it cool and most of them in favour of the government against the masses. This is because the despotic military regimes applying any measures at all (legal, illegal, extra legal) to silence or muzzle the press where they have a deserting opinion. As time pass through, the press still stood its ground as the voice of the voiceless. For example in mid 2010, African independent television (AIT) brought to focus the situation of the victims of the 2010 Jos crisis, showing clips or charred remains of victims and the displaced citizens who could not reach the government. Immediately, the government, its agencies and other stake holders commended deliberations and subsequent actions on the matter.

2.2.8 Problems Encountered By The Press And The Press Men In Nigeria, Including Press Law / Censorship

Over the years, the Nigerian press have been faced with numerous problems in the discharge of its duties. Lack of press freedom is one of the problems. Ali, (1984: P47)

Freedom of the press in Nigeria is a topic which cannot be exhaustively treated..., it is therefore a topic that is as controversial as the concept of democracy, social justice and even freedom itself. We must all agree that, to cast or disseminate information to the right to publish, print, broad cast or disseminate information in any form with responsibility, without outside interference, censorship or control.

Now, what constitutes responsible dissemination of news without interference? This is where the problem of the press starts; in its definition. It is difficult to set the standards to the application of press freedom.

Press freedom is far-fetched in Nigeria-the media houses act on the whims and cap rids of the establisher consciously or unconsciously. Press freedom begins where the personal interests of the owner of the media houses stops. This brings us to the Authoritarian theory of the press. It is developed from the absolute powers of Tudors of England and Burtons of France and the Hapsburg of Spain in the 16th and 17th century Europe. They control every part of press activity.

This theory is characterized by direct and indirect control of staffing, seizure of media materials etc. The resultant effect is that professional

mediocre are left to handle Journalism. They serve as sycophantic chatter-boxes without recourse for professional ethics.

In the military era in Nigeria, dissenting Journalists were sacked, newspapers burnt, media houses closed, Journalists detained and some murdered.

In the civilian era repressive exist actions, censorship etc. are used as instruments to muzzle the press. Illiteracy is another fundamental problem in the Nigeria press. This factor contributed to the demise of most of the early Nigerian tabloids. Illiteracy on the part of journalists and audience alike. The pressmen need to be trained and retained. Funding is also a cankerworm undermining the Nigerian press. Cutting-edge or modern technologies in communication are not available to the media houses that lack funds. For examples rural newspapers, community radio stations etc.

Extralegal and legal constraints are another set of hindrance to the press men. The legal aspects are the press law which prevent the press sometimes to freely source for information. On Thursday 23rd of September 2010, some policemen were detained for allegedly giving information to

the press. There are other problems like low pay, poor working conditions etc.

2.2.9 The Roles Of The Press In Nation – Building.

The press is a sine qua non in all forms of Government; it could be plutocracy, kleptocracy, military dictatorship, autocracy and even in democracy. The role and latitude given to the press varies between one form of government and another as the press must align with the form of Government under which it operates for example, while the press must know the wishes of the leader of a military dictatorship and other forms of autocracy Government, in a democracy system, the press must align itself with the people since democracy has been aptly described as the Government of the people, by the people and for the people. Even in our traditional society before the advent of colonial government, our traditional leaders utilized the services of the town criers to inform and propagate their activities.

The role of the press in a democratic system of Government is that, it serves as the watchdog of the people or the public watch may be

continently described as the fifth estate of the realm without the people there would be no press with its name (fourth estate of the realm). The Nigeria press is over 145 years old. Worn in 1859 in Abeokuta, it played a vital role in securing our political independence from colonial rule and forms the suffering via grip of the dictatorship.

Its roles include:

- ✓ The press must maintain a balanced relationship between the government and the people by showing keen and deep interest in the improvement of the economy, expose the endemic, corruption and mismanagement plaguing our development process.
- ✓ It must assist and proffer solutions to snap the various cycle of economic decline resulting in unemployment and poverty.
- ✓ There must be a deliberate attempt to tackle the economy comprehensively through sensible investments, agricultural industrial reduction, provision of essential infrastructure and services. The piecemeal approach to economic development cannot solve the problems in the nation.
- ✓ The press must continue to editorialize without hindrance on the failure and lack of infrastructure, lapses in respect of educational

development by discouraging incessant strikes by teachers and the prevalence of cultism and moral decadence in our institutions and assist to draw attention to graduates unemployment.

- ✓ A good press must promote accountability and transparency it must stand against all attempts to elect corrupt people into public service.
- ✓ The press should remain the custodian of their people tradition and their cultural values and avoid being errand boys of self – seeking politicians.
- ✓ The press as the mouth piece of the high and low, in its service of the common people and elite alike, must make strenuous attempts to balance equity and the profit motive.
- ✓ The press should show commitments to eradicating poverty because media growth and poverty remains the great denier, it denies comfort, dignity, freedom and participation.

Source Barton (1979)

2.2.10 Benefits Of Media Freedom

Media freedom also leads to positive benefits for the everyday needs of social institution. Especially a flow of reliable information and diverse points of view. Press independence is also a precondition of the exercise of the “watchdog” role exercising public vigilance on relation to those with the most power, especially government and big business.

Free media will be prepared when necessary to offend the powerful endless controversial views and deviate from convention and from the common place.

The main public benefits of the media freedom are summarised to be:

- ✓ Systematic and independent public scrutiny of those in power and an adequate supply of reliable information about their activities (this refers to the “watchdog” or critical system role of period).
- ✓ Stimulation of an active and informed democratic system and social life.
- ✓ The chance to express ideas, beliefs and views about the world.
- ✓ Continue renewal and change of culture and society
- ✓ Increase in the amount and variety of freedom available

Source: Eldon et al (1985).

2.2.11 Freedom Of Information Act (FOIA)

The Nigeria freedom information Act was passed into law on May 28, 2011 after the longest legislature debate in Nigeria history. The law was passed to enable the public to access certain government information, in order to ensure transparency and accountability.

The bill was developed by the freedom of information coalition. The act aims to make public records and information more freely available and to protect public records and information in accordance with the public interest and protection of personal privacy. It enables citizens to hold the government accountability in the event of the misappropriation of public funds or failure to deliver public services.

The act further regulates conflicts between provision and those of other legislation (e.g. the criminal code, penal code or official secret Act) that prescribes criminal penalties for actions connected to the disclosure of information. Section 27 of the law provides that no civil or criminal proceedings may be brought against an officer of any public institution or

against anyone acting on behalf of a public institutions for the disclosure in good faith of any information pursuant to the act.

Section 30 further provides that the actins intended to complement replaces, the existence procedures for access information.

In any economy, freedom of information is a fundamental indicator of economic development and progress civic engagement and a property functionary democracy. Although the act is a promising start in ensuring good governance and rule before it can be fully implemented. The act recognises a range of legitimate exemptions and limitations to the public right to know although these are subject to a public interest test which in deserving TCSS, may override such exemptions and limitations.

2.2.12 Exemptions Of Freedom Of Information Act

As mentioned, the public right to know is subject to certain exemptions. Access may be denied to know is subject to sought could compromise national-security, the conduct of international affairs or trade secrets, pertains to administrative enforcement agency, provided that the public interest in disclosure does not outweigh the injury that the disclosure may

cause. Section 14 of the act provides that public institutions may not disclose personal information, except where the public interest in disclosure outweighs the individual's right to privacy.

However, such disclosure is subject to the consent of the individual, or may otherwise be affected only when the information that is subject to legal privilege, and any other professional privilege conferred by law. Also, public institution may deny access to information or research materials prepared by faculty members.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

These are many theories that have existed to address the illusion and reality of press freedom in attaining a true democratic system of government in Nigeria. But the most appropriate theory that will be used for this work is the Development Media Theory.

This theory seeks to explain the normative behaviour of the press in countries that are congenitally classified together as "developing countries" or "third world countries". The major tents for Development Media Theory, as summed up by McQuail (1987: P121) are as follows

- ✓ *Freedom of media should be open to economic proprieties and development needs of the societies, media should give priority in news and information to link up with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically, journalists and other media information gathering and dissemination task etc.*

In a developing country like Nigeria, to actualise press freedom, the media must accept and carryout positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy. The government, media and public must also work hand in hand to actualise press freedom, the public should not be restricted to any information.

Mc Quail also summed up that interest of development end the state has the right to intervene in or restrict media operations and devices censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified.

2.4 Summary Of Literature Review

The press, the fourth estate of the realm has maintained a legitimate effort to communicate truth and favourably by influence the opinion of the people in the society. It has been observed that some scholar across Nigeria has

tried to curb media flaws for press freedom to make press freedom a reality, the nation has to be nationally developed.

In conclusion, press freedom cannot be a reality of our national economy is not fully developed. In other words, the media which serves as a tool for scrutinizing people together must be used to checkmate the activities of the government and people so that national economic development will emerge for press freedom to be a reality. The media should also give priority in their content to the national culture and languages.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The most appropriate design adopted for this work is the survey research method. This research method is used based on a personally administered questionnaire. The researcher chose this method because this study is based on performance on the Illusion and reality of press freedom in attaining a true democratic system of government in Nigeria.

This type of design specified how the researcher's data were collected and analysed.

3.2 Area Of Study

The area of study for this work is Enugu metropolis, which comprises of Enugu North and Enugu South. A careful investigation was made on the appropriate distribution of questionnaire to Enugu metropolis.

3.3 Population Of The Study

Here, the population is the inhabitants of Enugu metropolis comprising of Enugu North and Enugu South, which is estimated 7,800 based on the result of the last population census that only gave the figure of states without further breakdown.

3.4 Research Sampling Technique / Sampling Size

A sample size of 100 was drawn from the population. The sample population will be gotten from the population of the study in such a way that it will be representative of the major division of the metropolis. Hence, since there were two local governments that make up the metropolis that has been chosen, one out of the two local government was further picked and that was Enugu North.

Using the purposive sampling, Obasi (2008: P 11), purposive sampling, this is the students favourite sampling scheme in project writing. It is where selection consider representative sections of a population.

3.5 Instrument For Data Collection

The questionnaire is the most appropriate instrument for data collection. The questionnaire is in two parts, part one is the demography of the respondent like gender, age, occupation and part two contains questions relating strictly to the study.

3.6 Validity Of The Instrument

The questionnaire is the most valid instrument for this study because it is the most appropriate instrument for data collection in surveying study. The instrument is meant to solicit opinion and views of the samples size on the functionality of Nigeria press freedom, its impersonal nature makes data realize from it reliability and most importantly, it makes both respondents and researchers trust the confidentiality of their communication.

3.7 Method Of Data Collection

The method of data collection used is the primary source from the researcher for the Churchill (1978: P 28). It is data originated from the researcher for the purpose of the study at hand. This self-administered to

the respondents. The collection of data was done by the researcher herself to avoid mutilation of information.

3.8 Method Of Data Analysis

The method of data analysis that used is simple percentage and frequency tabular presentation table in which descriptive analysis was used to infer meaning to the data in each table, while chi-square, T-test was used to test and analyse some selected hypothesis as a not all were tested.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Presentation And Analysis

4.1 Data Presentation And Analysis

In the presenting primary data generated in the field, in this study, the researcher chooses to apply percentage tabular presentation mode. This is for clarity convert easy and understanding.

Table 1: gender distribution of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	65	65
Female	35	35
Total	100	100

The gender distribution of the respondents on the above table clearly indicates that 65 of the respondents which represents 65% are male and 35 of the respondents representing 35% are female.

Table 2: age distribution of respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18 – 25	54	54
26 – 35	25	25
36 – 45	16	16
46 – above	5	5
Total	100	100

The age distribution of the respondents on the above table, clearly shows that 54 individuals representing 54% are between ages of 18 – 25, 25 individuals representing 25% are between the ages of 36 – 45, 5 individuals representing 5% between the ages of 46 and above.

Table 3: occupation of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Students	35	35
Business men	15	15
Civil servants	40	40
Others	10	10
Total	100	100

From the table above, 35 individuals representing 35% are students, 15 individuals representing 15% are business men, 40 individuals representing 40% are civil servants while 10 individuals representing 10% are engaged in other occupations

Table 4: do the mass media have duties top perform during democratic rule?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	69	69
No idea	20	20
No	11	11
Total	100	100

The table above shows that 69 individuals representing 69% of the respondents say yes to the fact that the mass media have duties to perform during democratic rules, 11 individuals representing 11% do not have idea, 20 individuals representing 20% of the respondents say no to the fact that mass media have duties to perform during democratic rules.

Table 5: To what extent are the journalist free to perform their duties?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Absolutely free	26	26
Partially free	29	29
No idea	10	10
Not free	35	35
Total	100	100

In the above table, 26 individuals representing 26% of the respondents say that the journalist are absolutely free to perform their duties, 29 individuals representing 29% of the respondents say that the journalist are partially free, 10 individuals representing 10% of the respondents do not have an idea, and 35 individuals representing 35% are not free to perform that duties.

Table 6: What are the activities of the press towards the achievement of their desired press freedom?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Responses	32	32
Agitation	46	46
Objectivity	15	15
Accuracy	7	7
Accuracy	15	16
Total	100	100

Table six shows that 32 individuals representing 32% of the respondents are agitated towards the achievement of their desired press freedom, 46 individuals representing 46% of the respondents are objective towards the achievement of desired press freedom, 15 individuals representing 15% of the respondents are accurate towards the achievement of their desired press freedom and 7 individuals representing 7% of the respondents are upright towards the achievement of their desired press freedom.

Table 7: Do you think that Nigerian media is free and fair in the dissemination of their information?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	44	44
No idea	14	14
No	42	42
Total	100	100

The table shows that 44 individuals representing 44% of the respondent say yes to the fact that the Nigerian media is free and fair in the dissemination of their information, 14 individuals representing 14% of the respondents do not have an idea and 42 individuals representing 42% of the respondents say no to the fact that the Nigerian media is not free and fair in the dissemination of their information.

Table 8: How would you assess the Nigerian press in the performance of its duties?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Excellence	16	16
Average	34	34
No idea	10	10
Poor	40	40
Total	100	100

From the above table, 16 individuals representing 16% of the respondent say that their assessment is excellent, 34 individuals representing 34% of the respondents say that their assessment is average, 10 individuals representing 10% of the respondent have no idea, 40 individuals representing 40% of the respondent say that their assessment is poor.

Table 9: Do you agree that the media are deceiving themselves in achieving press freedom in Nigeria?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly agree	14	14
Agree	15	15
No opinion	8	8
Disagree	28	28
Strongly disagree	35	35
Total	100	100

Table nine shows that 14 individuals representing 14% of the respondents agree strongly that the media are deceiving themselves in achieving press freedom in Nigeria, 15 individuals representing 15% of the respondents agree that the media are deceiving themselves in achieving press freedom in Nigeria, 8 individuals representing 8% of the respondents do not have opinion, 28 individuals representing 28% of the respondents disagree and 35 individuals representing 35% of the respondents strongly disagree to that.

Table 11: To what extent do you think the press are aiming at making the Nigerian press a reliability?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Great event	45	45
Little event	28	28
No opinion	15	15
No impact at all	12	12
Total	100	100

The above table shows that 45 individuals representing 45% of the respondent say that there is a great extent to which the press is aiming at making the Nigerian press a reality, 28 individuals representing 28% of the respondent say that there is little extent, 15 individuals representing 15% of the respondent said that they do not have an opinion and 12 individuals representing 12% of the respondent say that there is no impact at all.

Table 11: Who is to be blamed over the abuse of press freedom in Nigeria?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Government	45	45
Yellow journalists	35	35
Media owners	15	15
Nobody	5	5
Total	100	100

Table eleven shows that 45 individual representing 45% of the respondents say that the government are to be blamed over the abuse of press freedom, 35 individual representing 35% of the respondents say that yellow journalists are to be blamed, 15 individual representing 15% of the respondents say that the media owners are to be blamed and 5 individual representing 5% of the respondents say that nobody is to be blamed over the abuse of press freedom in Nigeria.

4.2 Hypothesis Testing

Two hypothesis are chosen to be tested in this study. The research uses statistical testing technique to test the probability level, either to accept or reject the null or alternate hypothesis so tested.

The researcher will reject the null hypothesis (H_0) and accept the alternate hypothesis (H_1) if the calculated chi-square is greater than the table value.

Thus $X^2 < X^2$ {reject H_0 accept H_1 }

$X^2 > X^2$ {accept H_1 , reject H_0 }

The probability level or significance level for this testing is 0.05

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where O = observed frequency

F = expected frequency

Σ = sum of (summation)

Hypothesis 1

H_0 the press must have a joint effort to achieve the desired freedom in Nigeria.

H_1 the press must not have a joint effort to achieve the desired freedom in Nigeria.

Response	O	E	O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$\frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$
Agitation	32	25	7	49	1.96
Objectivity	46	25	21	441	17.64
Accuracy	15	25	- 10	100	4
Uprightness	7	25	- 18	324	12.96
Total	100				36.56

$$X^2 = 36.56; P = 0.05; df = 3, X^2 \mu = 7.815$$

In this analysis, the researcher tested the hypothesis using the chi-square (X^2) test and found out that the calculated chi-square (critical figure) X^2 is 36.56, the table value = 7.815.

Decision Rule

Reject H_0 if calculated critical value is greater (>) than table value and accept H_1 . Calculate critical value = 36.56, table value = 7.815, therefore,

H_1 is accepted which states that the press must not have a joint effort to achieve the desired freedom in Nigeria.

Hypothesis 2

H_0 The Nigeria media are deceiving themselves in actualising desired press freedom in the democratic system of government

H_2 The Nigeria media are not deceiving themselves in actualising desired press freedom in the democratic system of government

Agreement	O	E	O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$\frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$
Strongly agree	14	20	- 6	36	1.8
Agree	15	20	- 5	25	1.25
No opinion	8	20	- 12	144	7.5
Disagree	28	20	8	64	3.2
Strongly disagree	35	20	15	225	11.25
Total	100				24.7

$$X^2 = 24.7; P = 0.05; df = 4, X^2_{\mu} = 9.488$$

In this analysis, the hypothesis was tested using the chi-square goodness of fit test. It resulted that the calculated (X^2) critical value is 24.7, while the table value at five degree of freedom (df) at 0.05 level of significance was 9.488. = 7.815.

Decision Rule

Reject H_0 if calculated value is greater ($>$) than table value and accept H_1 . Therefore, H_1 is accepted which states that The Nigeria media are not deceiving themselves in actualising desired press freedom in the Nigerian democratic system f government is a true observation.

4.3 Discussions Of Findings

In the course of these findings, the researcher was exposed to a lot of information that call for further discussion. The data presentation and analysis above shows that two hypothesis which were tested were all accepted because they all received greater statistical support. Based on this, the following findings were made;

First of all, hypothesis H_1 , which states that "the press must not have a joint effort to achieve the desired freedom in Nigeria" it is very correct because the item received greater statistical support. The press is the pivot of the contemporary political and socio-economic development in Nigeria. That the press, in order to achieve the desired press freedom, must be objective in its upright, the press must not conform to external threats by the government policies activities and programmes and they should also inform the government on people's opinion and ideas. Therefore, the press government and people must have a joint effort in promoting press freedom in Nigeria.

Secondly, hypothesis two states that the Nigerian media are not deceiving themselves in actualising the desired press freedom in the Nigerian democratic system of which is very true. Nigeria as a state being among the developing countries in the world are not on any way deceiving themselves because they are striving very hard to meet up to their expected goal so as to compete with other developed countries in terms of National economy and political growth. They make sure that the people's opinion are heard, the government does not impose on the people what they are not meant to do, they also make sure that information

dissemination does not reach both the state and local government. Therefore, the Nigerian media are not deceiving themselves because they try so hard to make the country a “market place of ideas”.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusion, And Recommendations For Further Studies

5.1 Summary

The illusion and reality of press freedom in attaining a true democratic system of government in Nigeria is a genius and original study aimed at actualizing press freedom in the Nigeria democratic system of government.

The study was originally carried out by the researcher herself to avoid generating false data. The result of the survey (study) craves for serious attention in order to make press freedom a reality in Nigeria. In other words, government, the media and the audience or public should not be restricted of any information whatever, their views about development of the country be heard, and new policies implemented by the government should be considered the journalists should be free to perform their traditional duties, thereby making the country's market place of ideas". Thus, this research work was strictly for academic purposes only.

5.2 Conclusion

The right to gather and disseminate information without any fear of detention, molestation or censorship on the part of government or its agent, as earlier noted in this study, is the ultimate objective of every journalist. Media owners are not an exception. The study has established or noted that the limitation of press freedom in any nation amounts to that nation's backwardness or decay in development.

Therefore, the study concludes that if a nation must experience development, it must not adhere to material advancement, restrictions and on instead it should adhere to growth, progress and freedom. The press must therefore, be free from all sorts of constraints so that press freedom will be made an absolute reality in Nigeria.

5.31 Recommendation For Further Studies

There are several recommendations offered to overcome the illusion of press freedom and also making press free reality.

Government, should not by any means dictate what should be published or broadcast in media organization or houses, because this in turn affects the

freedom of press. There is absolute need for the press to be free to criticize any wrong, doing of government and its agents.

Media owners should give ample freedom to journalists to exercise their professional duties so as to enable them give accurate and correct account of information they have gotten or covered.

Journalists must always consider the code and conduct of their profession whenever they report, thereby embracing the truth and nothing but the truth.

Student, in the same vein, who intend to go into journalism profession should assess themselves to know whether they can do it in all its ramifications. That even though the press takes on the coloration and form of the social structure within which it operates, the government should ensure that it does not manipulate the press.

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APPENDIX

Department of mass communication

Caritas university

Amorji – nike

Emene, Enugu

Enugu state.

Dear Respondent,

I am a final year student of the department of mass communication in Caritas University currently working on a research project. This proposed questionnaire is designed to obtain information on the “Illusion and reality of press freedom in attaining a true democratic system of government on religion”.

The research work is in partial fulfilment for the award of Bachelor Degree (B.Sc) in mass communication.

Therefore, assist to make the study a worthwhile venture. I assure you that all your responses will be used treated with utmost confidentiality and will be strictly for this work.

Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Usu Emily Nwakaego

Student researcher

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please tick the appropriate box [] that indicated your answer to the questions below.

Part A: Personal Data

1. What is your gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

2. What is your age bracket?
 - a. 18 – 25
 - b. 26 – 35
 - c. 36 – 45
 - d. 45 – above.

3. What is your occupation?
 - a. student
 - b. business man
 - c. civil servants
 - d. others

PART B

4. Do the mass media have duties to perform during democratic rule?
- a. yes
 - b. No idea
 - c. No
5. To what extent do the journalist free to perform their duties?
- a. Absolutely free
 - b. partially free
 - c. no idea
 - d. not free
6. What are the activities of press towards the achievement of their goal?
- a. Agitation
 - b. Objectivity
 - c. Accuracy
 - d. Uprightness

7. Do you think that the Nigerian media is free and fair in the dissemination of their information?
- a. Yes
 - b. No idea
 - c. No
8. How would you assess the Nigerian press in the performances of its duties?
- a. Excellent
 - b. Average
 - c. No idea
 - d. Poor
9. Do you agree that the media are deceiving themselves in achieving press freedom in Nigeria?
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. No opinion
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree

10. How free is press to perform their traditional function to achieve the desired freedom in Nigeria?

- a. Absolutely free
- b. Partially free
- c. No idea
- d. Not free

11. Who is to be blamed over the abuse of press freedom in Nigeria?

- a. Government
- b. Yellow Journalits
- c. Media owners
- d. Nobody

12. To what extent do you think the press are aiming at making the Nigerian press reliability?

- a. Great extent
- b. Little extent
- c. No opinion
- d. No Impact at all