AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF MASS MEDIA ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NIGERIA'S VISION 20:2020.

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A thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Ph.D. Degree.

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December, 2018

Acknowledgements

ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS, LAW AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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November, 2018

The study examines first, second and third level agenda setting role of the media (the agenda setting process) in the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020 in the context of the media as a public sphere and assesses the agenda-setting process across the three normative agendas: media, public and policy. Specifically, the salience of the Vision; the tone of news; the type of news; the source of news; the manifest attributes and the agenda setting process.

The study employed pragmatism and mixed methods research approach to study four Nigerian daily newspapers- *ThisDay, The Punch, The Nation* and *Vanguard,* purposively selected and studied over a three-year period 2010, 2011, 2012 using content analysis. At the same time, a survey of twenty-five Journalists from Nigerian main stream media was conducted.

It was found that the issue is salient in the media with 134 articles across the four newspapers. This is a confirmation of first level agenda setting. The study also revealed that all cognitive attributes of the Vision are salient in the media with varying impacts. Furthermore, the study adjudges the efficacy of third level agenda setting in the implementation of the Vision based on the salience of each of the attributes and how all the attributes network in ensuring the transfer of salience from the media to the public agenda. This completes the agenda setting process in a single study. Interestingly, the tone of news revealed conflicting results. While the content analysis revealed mostly positive tones, the survey result revealed negative perception of the Vision. These conflicting results are attributed to Mellado and Lagos's reporter/sources bias in news (*interventionist dimension)* and reporter's neutrality and distance from the fact (*disseminator-interventionist dimension*), respectively. The study also found that the Nigerian media system, from pre-colonial to present day, possess features of different models of media systems. Specifically, *Authoritarianism, Social Responsibility, Libertarianism, Political Parallelism, Instrumentalism, Media Market and State Control* define the Nigerian media system. While *race* as a variable, is not a determining variable of the Nigerian media system owing to the monoracial nature of the country.

The study concludes and recommends the adoption of 'agenda setting process' as the most suitable theoretical approach in any study that assesses the impact of the media in the implementation of an all-encompassing development plan anywhere in the world, but such a study should be country-specific due to the peculiarity of each nation-state in terms of the differences in media system, type of government, economic, political and socio-cultural factors.

Keywords: Agenda-Setting Process, Public Sphere, Vision 20:2020, Nigeria Media System.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction

Developing countries and development agencies are increasingly recognising the potential and role of mass media in aiding, enhancing and improving the overall effectiveness of development plans. Media perform a lot of functions ranging from information dissemination to correlation of the various parts of the environment, its organs and networks; provision of platforms for public debates and discourses; diffusion of new ideas; behaviour change communication; agenda setting, and so on. The mass media, a combination of content (TV, radio, music, films, publishing, and advertisements) have been described by various scholars as the link between the government and the people and tool for national development. It can contribute to socio-economic development, help to motivate and instruct peasant population in the process of development. The media as strong weapons and tools for development should be of paramount importance to politicians and development agencies because of the media's ability to provide a good understanding of the political, economic and socio-cultural systems of the society Khalid et al (2015) aimed at improving the lives of the people.

For decades, scholars have recognised and put forward similar yet different roles or uses of the mass media in the society and in championing developmental plans. This is as far back as seven decades ago. One of whom was Lucian W. Pye (1963), who asserts that the mass media's role includes amplifying issues in the society and informing the public about the happenings in and around them. Roughly two decades later, Herdebro Goran (1982) opines that the capacity of an effective use of mass media to shape national development is very crucial to the successful implementation of developmental project of a nation. Similarly, while reflecting on the relevance of the mass media in national development, Elihu Katz (1977) asserts that the mass media can contribute to the process of integration in a nation by helping to forge a nation from discrete regional, tribal and ethnic loyalties. Diaz-Bordenaue (1977) gave a participatory approach to the role of the media which include-helping in the development of a community's cultural identity; acting as medium for citizens to express their views; facilitating problem articulation and serving as tool for identifying and diagnosing communication problems in the society.

To Kawl and Gamble (1999), the media perform five functions in the society which include: serving as source of information and surveillance; agenda setting, structuring and interpreting our lives; connecting us with diverse groups in the society; acting as agents of socialization, and serving as means of entertainment.

Similarly, Lasswell (1948) model of mass communication, succinctly captures the role of the media in the society. The model prescribes three major functions of the mass media: surveillance of the environment, correlation of parts of the environment (society) and transmission of social heritage. Simply put, these tenets imply first, the media's role as the surveyor of all activities and happenings in the society and source of information to the public for the maintenance of order and reduction of confusion in the system. Secondly, the correlation role of the mass media boils down to its editorial role as opinion pool lever and shaper that help individuals to know the viewpoints of different members of the society thereby assisting them in evaluating an issue through the use of their sense of rational thinking in order to arrive at conclusion (McLiesh, 1999). The role also involves shaping people's attitude towards political issues and public policy. Third, the role of the mass media as transmitter of social heritage boils down to its capacity to bring to the public fore, both local and global cultures and ensure intercultural exchange and consumption of both national and global culture and from one generation to the other. With this last role, the mass media 'have replaced families as caretakers, worship places as arbiters of cultural values, schools as sites of education, and the state as public agenda setters (Shabir et al., 2013, p.483)'. In executing these functions, the media also serves as a fourth estate of the realm and watchdog of the society; they checkmate the activities of the people especially those in power to ensure accountability and reduce incidences of abuse of public office.

Though the model is quite old, it's still very useful in contemporary discourses on media and society as well as in media and development studies. Many contemporary writers on the role of the mass media in the society either use his work as background theory in their research or capitalise on his idea to conceptualise their own idea of the 'ideal' role of the media in the society. A random 2016 google search of the Lasswell's role of the media in the society found a total of 3900 publications both old and current. Recent publications such as (Soroka, 2012; Stone, 2013; Krotz, 2014; Lievrouw, 2014; Tracy, 2014; Verma, 2014; Kaun, 2015; Ronit, 2015; Wenxiu, 2015; Gunther 2016; Rochefort, 2016) discussed Laswell's role of the media in the society. It's very important to note that the findings from the applications of the various role of the mass media in the society is correlational (Merrill et al, 1971; Samuelson, 1963), signifying that the various roles have established relationship between economies, press freedom, literacy, religion, media participation and political participation in the society. In fact, as Khalid et al (2015) asserts, a relationship of reciprocity between the media and society lend both the strength they enjoy.

As society continue to evolve, studies on the role of the mass media in the society and in the quest for development is transcending theoretical conceptualizations and debates to evidence-based impact assessment.

1.2. Evidence-based Role of the Mass Media in Development

The mass media play important role in national development in different ways. Over the years, empirical studies have shown that the role of the mass media in championing national development has been described using different nomenclatures. This section looks at some of the ways in which the mass media champion and contribute to national development based on physical and empirical evidences. In other words, how the mass media contribute to the attainment, implementation, or actualization of national policies, programmes, plans or visions based on results from empirical studies.

To begin with, the importance of mass media in national development is paramount and has been a focal point of debate within the purview of national development such that the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information of 1948 boldly declared access to information as a fundamental freedom, which guarantees all other freedom. This freedom can be achieved through the information media, which can play significant role in education, social and economic development (Schramm, 1964). Despite this recognition, a 1962 survey conducted by UNESCO across countries found that over 70% of the world's population lacked access to vital information (MDIF, 2014, P.2). This prompted the United Nations to declare a state of emergency by encouraging all countries to include a media development strategy in their economic development plans. This declaration, however, did not grant the development of an independent media the coveted position of an important issue of national priority, instead, it is viewed as a secondary objective (MDIF, 2015, p.2).

A report by Mark, Warnock and Shoemaker (2007), which was commissioned by Panos London, an organization that is part of a worldwide network of independent institutes working together to ensure information is used effectively and efficiently to foster debate, pluralism and democracy, capture how information empowers people to chart their parts to development. The report opines that if development is to be achieved and sustained, the process must allow the people to be their own agents of change, to be able to act individually and collectively, using their own ingenuity and access to ideas, practices and knowledge in the quest to fulfil their potential (see also MDIF, 2014; Roy, 2015). This implies access to relevant developmental information and direct public participation as key to attaining

development. In other words, it connotes direct citizenship engagement and participation in development as developmental agents and not as passive observers, is key to development.

Relatedly, a 2014 study by Media Development Investment Fund (MDIF), posits three roles of an independent and quality mass media in development viz a viz governance impact, economic impact and social impact. I wish to delve a bit into what these roles imply. First, governance impact assumes that a free and independent media can have a positive impact on the society by detecting and exposing corrupt practices in private and public sector. This is achieved by way of monitoring the activities of government and public officials and feeding such information to the public via the public sphere. The intent of such is to arm the public with the necessary knowledge to be able to assess the performance of government officials and the government as a whole and to know whether to vote in support of any candidate or policy or not. This brings about accountability on the part of government officials and further strengthens the watchdog role of the media.

Secondly, in terms of the economic impact of the media, the economic actors need timely and accurate information to identify development problems faced by different groups, communities, organizations, sectors and regions in a country to be able to capture all and sundry into the development plans and allocate resources judiciously and efficiently and to monitor the implementation of policies. The public as well as the government can demand a governance-monitoring role from the media to ensure a two-way flow of information leading to more effective policy implementation process and a support from all stakeholders. This can also reduce political risk and wastage of resources and improve on good governance.

Thirdly, in terms of social impact, for a just and sustainable development to be recorded, citizens must be provided with that enabling platform to actively participate and engage in decision making that affect them and to contribute to the implementation of policies of general concern to them. A free and independent media provide them with necessary information, enabling them to be armed with information that will encourage participation in rational debates, change their behaviour and empower them to demand better social, economic and infrastructural standard for their society.

To this end, a good number of empirical studies have proved the efficacies of these roles of communication via the mass media. A 2006 study found that an increase in the economic viability of the media, its competitiveness and even slight reduction in restrictions on journalists have a positive impact on corruption and invariably, national development. The cross country longitudinal study, which was conducted in 51 countries covering 1995-2005 found that one standard deviation increment in the amount of press freedom enjoyed by a

country 'would be associated with a decline of corruption between 0.6 to 1.7 for economic influences and 0.7 to 1.4 for political influences' (Freille, Emanuel and Richard, 2007, p.13). A related study across 97 countries covering the period 1995 to 2004, found press freedom to inhibit corruption. The 2004 study reveals that a 1% reduction on restriction on press freedom leads to a 5.1% improvement in press freedom index (Chowdhury, 2004). A further evidence of the role of mass media in inhibiting corruption leading to economic development is a 2003 paper, which analysed 125 countries from 1994 to 1998. The study, which was conducted by Brunetti and Weder (2003) found that using a scale of 0 to 6, a one standard deviation improvement in press freedom reduces corruption by between 0.4 and 0.9 point. A similar but indirect study found a correlation between the absence of strong civic monitoring groups in a country, the media inclusive, and high level of education to be capable of increasing the incidences of corruption. Ordinarily, one will think that the presence of high level of educated bureaucrats in government would positively impact on development, but study has found the reverse to be the case. For it has been found that if not monitored, 'politicians may use their education to become more efficiently corrupt' (MDIF, 2014, p.4) instead of taming such a societal ill.

For the mass media to be able to function effectively leading to the realization of developmental objectives, there has to be an enabling legal environment that promotes press freedom, ensures pluralism and abhors bias, sensationalism, propaganda and media vices (Khalid, 2015). Such a free, independent and plural media can be a critical check on state abuse of power, enable informed and inclusive public debate on issues of concern to the people, and give voice to marginalised citizens (DFID, 2007). Where the media can overcome political and capacity constraints and is able to perform the roles of agenda setter, watchdog and gatekeeper effectively, it can contribute to democratic governance and accountability (Norris and Odugbemi, 2010).

Media freedom is also crucial in championing developmental plans by ensuring that 'free media and access to information bring citizens, civil society, the media, and government, together, forming a framework for national dialogue through which informed public opinion is shaped (Norris, 2007). These structures are seen as fundamental components in the construction of a vibrant civil society.

Access to free media is one of the key ideas that philosopher, John Stuart Mill advocates: a setting where civil liberties are granted to individuals against the incursion of the state; where citizens had, in the words of Bryan McNair, 'the right to dissent from the prevailing political wisdom, and to expect that they would be able to express their views' (2011, p.16). Citizens

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should be able to not only express their views but to contribute and participate in policy making through the formation of public opinion. The latter, according to McNair, is formed in what Jurgen Habermas called 'the public sphere'.

> By the public sphere we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed…Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion-that is, within the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions (Habermas, 1962, 1989; Eley, 1992, p. 289; Gripsrud et al, 2010).

This platform called the public sphere, according to McNair 'comprises in essence the communicative institutions of a society, through which facts and opinions circulate and by means of which a common stock of knowledge is built up' (2011, p.18). Such stock of knowledge is used as the basis for collective political, social and economic actions. The mass media thus, with its potentials serve as a public sphere through the provision of a platform in which collective decisions are taken, views are exchanged, opinions formed, comments and criticisms made and debates facilitated (Frazer, 1992; McKee, 2005; Kellner, 2007; McNair, 2011).

In order to achieve these functions as well as pave way for an ideal public sphere in a democratic society, the media have to be free to carry out their numerous basic functions mentioned above. Also, there must be freedom of information, which provides room for the public to have access to information of public interest held by public offices. However, other writers in the field of media studies are of the view that there should be a limit to the freedom of the mass media in order to check the misuse and abuse of it. To this end, Ralph Akinfeleye (2008) suggests that the mass media should be controlled or regulated by the government because many political leaders in developing countries perceive its uncontrolled presence in the society as a dangerous phenomenon; its lack of control may lead to undesirable political change and political instability. In furtherance to this, it has been observed that the mass media tends to be more heavily controlled by government in many developing countries (Umechukwu, 2000; Akinfeleye 2008) than is the case in the developed countries with well-established democratic and political structures.

The control of the media stems from the powerful role of the mass media and its potential as an instrument of national development, and its capacity to cause political change, unrest and instability (Anaeto & Anaeto, 2010). Reasons like these call for the media to be regulated to guard against it being too commercialised and to safeguard the public's interest. Self-regulation of the media is also paramount to preserve its independence and protect itself from

partisan government interference and ensure greater compliance to its ethical codes of conduct (Puddephatt, 2011).

Thus, whether the mass media should be free to exercise its powers in a democratic society without restrictions or be restricted so as to control its misuse is a subject that has generated debate over decades and is still being debated by scholars (Akinfeleye, 2008; Umechukwu, 2010) and has made measurement of impact of the mass media in democratic societies so difficult and a subject of constant debate and analysis. That however, does not mean that the impact of the media cannot be assessed. The implication is that there is no singular acceptable method of assessing this impact, neither is there a single standard set aside that the media must reach or attain in the performance of its functions before its impact can be gauged. Hence, an eclectic approach should be considered either based on the normative theories proposed in the *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, 1956) or beyond it. What then is often described as the measure, impact, effect or outcome of mediated or interpersonal communication or assumed impact of the mass media is usually a product of the findings that emanate from empirical studies or theoretical discourse across diverse nations and cultures based on the political, economic and socio-cultural indices in each country or region of the world as well as the level of freedom enjoyed by the media.

That notwithstanding, the media, whether free or relatively controlled in a democratic setting, if effectively used, can perform a lot of functions in a society (Goran 1982; DFID, 2007; Norris and Odugbemi, 2010). The media is capable of ensuring massive transformation through political, social and economic mobilization of human and material resources towards the achievement of both vertical and horizontal integration as well as aiding in the realization of overall feasible developmental plans. As such, developing nations and development agencies in one way or the other, partner with the mass media so as to achieve meaningful developmental objectives and plans.

Nigeria is one of such developing countries with development plans. In the year 2005, Nigeria was listed by Goldman Sachs Investment Bank as one of the eleven developing economies with the potential of becoming one of the world's largest economies in the twenty-first century. The other countries listed are: Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Turkey and Vietnam. Goldman Sachs did this selection based on the following criteria: macroeconomic stability, political maturity, openness to trade and investment, policies and quality of education. Nigeria has natural resources in abundance, a developing financial, legal, and transport sectors, and a stock

exchange (Nigerian Stock Exchange), which is the second largest in Africa. The country was ranked 39th in the world in terms of GDP (World Bank, 2011). The country is the United States' largest trading partner in Sub-Saharan Africa. In a 2011 report by the World Bank Fact Book, Nigeria prides itself as the 13th largest crude oil producer in the world. These are only some of the potentials and indices used in determining the feasibility of the country becoming one of the twenty most developed economies by the year 2020.

In spite of all these resources and trading partners, Nigeria can still be counted among the developing countries in the world, with low income, and poor basic infrastructures such as health, transport, the educational system, etc. This situation led to the adoption of Vision 2010 by the government of Late General Sani Abacha (1993-1998), as earlier mentioned, and the Vision 20:2020, which was conceived in the year 2007 by the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo. The later was inherited by the regimes of Presidents' Umaru Yar'adua (May 2007-May, 2010) and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (May 2010-May 2015).

As stated in the Nigeria Vision 20:2020 Economic Transformation Blueprint:

> Vision 20:2020 is an articulation of the long-term intent to launch Nigeria onto a path of sustained social and economic progress and accelerate the emergence of a truly prosperous and united Nigeria. Recognising the enormous human and natural endowments of the nation, the blueprint is an expression of Nigeria's intent to improve the living standard of her citizens and place the country among the Top 20 economies in the world with a minimum GDPA of $900 billion and a per capita income of no less than $4000 per annum (2009).

The Vision is a thirteen-year plan of dramatic socio-economic transformation of Nigeria. The goal of the vision is to transform the Nigerian economy to be in the league of the twenty most industrialised countries of the world.

1.3.   The Vision 20:2020 Plan at a Glance

According to the blue print of Vision 20:2020 made available in 2007, by the year 2020, Nigeria will be one of the twenty largest economies in the world able to consolidate its leadership role in Africa and establish itself as a significant player in the global economic and political arena. The policy documents of Vision 20:2020 NIP Vol I, II & II (NV20:2020), obtainable from the website of the National Planning Commission, identified seven indicative parameters whose development will enhance the attainment of the Vision. These indicative parameters are: Polity, Macro economy, Infrastructure, Education, Health, Agriculture and Manufacturing. The Ministries and Parastatals selected for the assessment under each parameter are: *Polity:* National Headquarters of the Police, the Army, the Air force, the Navy, Independent National Electoral Commission and Ministry of Defence, *Macroeconomy:*

Federal Ministry of Finance, Federal Ministry of Budget and National Planning, Debt Management Office. *Infrastructure:* Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources, Federal Ministry of Works, Federal Ministry of Housing, *Health:* Federal Ministry of Health. *Education:* Federal Ministry of Education. *Agriculture:* Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources, and *Manufacturing,* which comprise of Federal Ministry of Industries and Parastatals under its jurisdiction. These parameters of the Vision 20:2020 form the thematic areas in which the agenda setting impact of the media is assessed in this study.

In order to actualise the Vision, the Federal Government set up four main organs of framework for the development and implementation of the plan, with each of the organ frameworks having its terms of reference. The organs are: The National Council on Vision 2020 with Nigeria's President as its Chairman. Its duty is to provide leadership and direction to galvanise the nation toward achieving the vision. The National Steering Committee on Vision 2020, which is the ''engine room'' of the Vision process. The Honourable Minister of National Planning Chairs this organ. The Committee is saddled with the responsibility of working with all the Parameters to ensure that the development plan is implemented. The National Vision 20:2020 Stakeholder Development Committee, which comprises of the State Governments, Ministries, Departments, Agencies and other Institutions. The National Technical Working Groups for the Vision, which is empowered to provide support to the National Steering Committee. The National Economic Management Team is to serve as a think tank to drive the vision process. These groups were saddled with the responsibility of working as a team to ensure the successful implementation and realization of the development plan. And to ensure a step-by-step implementation of the over a decade developmental plan, the policy adopts three stages of implementation. They include:

Stage 1: Building a Solid Foundation for Vision 20:2020 which is to last from year 2008-2010. In this stage, the two organs of the framework (National Council on Vision 20:2020 and the National Steering Committee) are to be established as soon as possible. The National Steering Committee are to undertake an immediate review of all current and related documents including the President's 7-Points Agenda, the National Economic Empowerment and Development Scheme (NEEDS) document and other relevant documents and prepare a statement of national priorities that will form the core elements of the country's development plans and budgets during the period 2008 to 2010. The statement of national priorities should set specific targets to be achieved by 2010. The National Steering Committee will also refine the Vision 20:2020 framework and develop guidelines for the Vision 20:2020 development process.

Stage 2: Achieving the MDGs Enroute to Vision 20:2020 (2011-2015)

This stage should focus on achieving all the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015 as a general guide. Stakeholders Committees will determine their areas of focus in accordance with their progress on the Millennium Development Goals. This means that the success of this stage is somewhat tied to the successes recorded in the implementation of the MDGs. But the MDGs is a brain child of the United Nations and the goals as a whole, only cover part of the Vision 202020 action areas. The implication of this move is that, any setbacks encountered in the process of actualizing the MDGs would most likely affect the actualization of the Vision 20:2020. If the MDGs are not actualized by the target year of 2015, the chances of Vision 20:2020 extending beyond the year 2020 should not be ruled out. If on the other hand, the MDGs are realised by 2015, it will serve as an added advantage to the realization of the Vision 20:2020 dream.

Stage 3: Becoming a Top 20 Economy by 2020 (2015-2020)

The National Steering Committee will develop detailed key goals and targets that must be met in order to achieve convergence with the projected position of the top 20 economies. These goals and targets will be cascaded into sectors and sub-national levels. The National Technical Working Groups will provide support in the form of data and methodologies as well as capacity building in their areas of specialty. They will also collate and harmonize the various stakeholder action plan and strategy for national Vision 20:2020. The overall target of this stage is to assess what has been achieved in the first two stages, capitalise on what has been achieved, and work on the obstacles encountered with the overall objective of meeting the year 20:2020 development plan.

The preceding provides an insight on the areas that the Nigerian government need to develop and the stages of implementation adopted by the initiators of the policy aimed at achieving the Vision 20:2020 development plan within the stipulated number of years adopted in the plan.
The role the mass media is capable of playing in the actualization of this plan cannot be over emphasized, owing to its numerous potentials. The aim of this thesis therefore is to assess how the mass mediate have impacted on the implementation of the Vision.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

Studies have shown that since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country has come up with different development plans aimed at transforming the nation state into a developed society. Different nations adopt different strategies in achieving development Omuta and Onokerhoraya (1995), whether short term, medium term or long-term plans. Nigeria as a nation has tried some of these approaches in her quest to not only attain the status of a developed economy but to join the list of the 20 most developed nations of the world. A report by the Centre for Democracy and Development (2008), notes that since the country attained independence, different administrations have formulated economic reformation plans all aimed at developing the country, whether short term, medium term or long-term plans. Yet none of the plans were successfully implemented and actualized as intended. A number of reasons are attributed to this failure which we shall discuss as the chapter unfolds. A trip back memory lane on the past development plans in Nigeria and how they fared will guide the rationale for this study. I shall attempt to present and reflect on the gains and vanquish of the country's past national development plans in a chronological order, with a view to arriving at the thrust of this study, which is the Vision 20:2020.

Nigeria's first National development plan had an initial life span of eight years (1962-1968). It was later extended to 1970 to cater for the immediate national needs of the aftermath of the Civil War, which lasted from 1967-1970. The plan, which was part of the 'No Victor, no Vanquish' war ideology, was adopted as a declaration to end the war on sectionalism and marginalization of certain parts of the country, and to usher in fresh lease of air into the ethno-regional crisis inherent in the country, with national unity as its watchword. The plan was anchored on '3Rs'- Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. But the plan failed to bring about the unity it was meant to champion. Instead, it led to the proliferation of ethnic militias, widespread insecurity, burgeoning poverty, and a degenerated economy with the people being far from rehabilitated Eneh (2005, 2009 & 2011). The second national development plan (1970-1974) also failed due to similar factors. The plan was anchored on five main goals of building (1) a free and democratic society- to bring an end to years of military dictatorship; (2) a just and egalitarian society-to checkmate incidences of injustice and insecurity; (3) a united, strong and self-reliant economy- that is capable of pulling resources from all parts of the country and ensuring that the country sustains itself based on its local resources and contents; (4) a great and dynamic economy-capable of competing with other economies of the world and diversified in its business relations, and (5) a land full of bright opportunities for all citizens- to maximise their intellectual prowess and compete

favourably Onah (2006a; Eneh, 2008). This plan, also went the way of the first national development plan. It failed resulting in high incidences of injustice and insecurity, abuse of human rights, ritual killings, extra-judicial killings, hostage taking and kidnapping; cultism and ritual killings; tribal and religious bigotry; corruption, kleptocracy, unemployment and brain drain (Onah 2006a; Eneh, 2008; Abdulhamid, 2008).

The failure of the first and second national development plans, however, did not deter subsequent governments from formulating other development plans. The Olusegun Obasanjo led government (1976-1979) came up with the 'Operation Feed the Nation. The Shehu Shagari led government (1979-1983) launched the 'Green Revolution'. The Mohammadu Buhari government (1983-1985) sponsored the 'War against Indiscipline' to curb the menace of indiscipline in the polity, while the Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida regime (1985-1993) introduced the 'Better Life Programme' for all. Subsequent Heads of the Nigerian government were not left out in the formulation of their brainchild national development plans. General Sani Abacha's government (1993-1999) on the other hand, added 'corruption' to the Buhari administration's development slogan to read 'War against Indiscipline and Corruption', and launched the 'Family Economic Advancement Programme'. Before his sudden demise while in power, Abacha, in 1996, introduced the Vision 2010 development plan premised on transforming the country into a developed nation by the year 2010. The plan had a 14-item Terms of Reference. At the heart of the Vision was the transformation of the country into 'a united, industrious, caring and God-fearing democratic society, committed to making the basic needs of life affordable for everyone, and creating Africa's leading economy (*Nigeriaworld*, 2014)'.

The return to civilian government in 1999 headed by Olusegun Obasanjo, heralded the Third Republic and ushered in a ray of hope for the development of the nation. To actualize this long-term consecutive failed national development agenda, a number of economic and poverty alleviation related plans were initiated. The Obasanjo's administration, which lasted between 1999-2007, introduced the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) and the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP).

While some of these plans were anchored during adverse military regimes with no press freedom, a few were championed by democratic administrations that had no Freedom of Information Act in place. None of these developmental plans were achieved (Ohagwu, 2005; CDD, 2008; Eneh, 2009, 2011). The majority of these development plans were

conceptualised and adopted during the prolonged military dispensation witnessed by the country, which was characterised by dictatorship, zero tolerance for human rights and limited press freedom. These well-conceptualised plans that gulped billions of the public funds, all failed due to a number of reasons which some studies found (Onah, 2006a; Sobowale, 2006; Abdulhamid, 2008; Aniekpon, 2008; Ogbah, 2008; Eneh, 2005, 2008 & 2009). This has resulted in widespread public cynicism towards any new development policy as well as frustrations with the country's leadership.

In an article that addresses why development initiatives and plans failed and the continual ineffective implementation of development visions and projects in Nigeria, Eneh opines that the problem with 'Nigeria's underdevelopment is more of poor implementation than lack of development visions and programmes' (2009, p. 313). He decried how Nigerian political leaders articulate colourful and expensive development visions, plans, policies, programmes and initiatives, only for such to end up as mere chants. He further described the political leaders to be 'chicken-hearted in the implementation of these plans, except to enrich cronies, political stooges and royal choristers and or sycophants'.

The adoption and succession of the Vision 20:2020 by the Umaru Yar'adua/Goodluck Jonathan's administration (2007-2011), which was inherited by the Goodluck Jonathan/Namadi Sambo's administration (2011-2015) gave the Vision a ray of hope. This happens to be the first time a national development plan was adopted and implemented by three consecutive governments. Despite this supposed hope that the Vision will surmount the arrow of previous political instability and change of government, which has greeted previous national development plans, the Vision inherited the same public criticisms and cynicisms that graced its predecessors (Eneh, 2011). There seem to be a lot of public ignorance and alienation in the country on the viability of the Vision, which could be due to a number of factors such as a communication gap between the policy makers and the public, the policy makers and the press, or lack of interest in the programme on the part of the public. There have also been a lot of criticisms and debates as to the feasibility of the plan and whether it is realisable (CDD, 2008).

A good number of reasons have also been put forward to have culminated in the failure of all past national development plans, despite the fact that they were all well researched and beautifully packaged and often aligned with or paraded alongside other international development agendas, policies, treaties, goals and conventions. Ebigbo (2008), decried

corruption leading to poor implementation as the reason that militates against the success of the previous development plans. Ogbe (2008) while decrying that the past development plans have not succeeded in meeting the yearnings and aspirations of Nigerians, attributes the failure of the plans to the incessant menace of unemployment, crime, corruption and electoral malpractices bedevilling the country. Onah (2008) summarised his reasons for the failure to stem from poor leadership from corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, which has resulted in high poverty rate, electoral frauds, inefficient representatives, violence and crime; ethnic and religious crises; food insecurity and low agricultural production. Others are illiteracy, which weakens democracy and poverty of the mind; low GDP and GNP; high mortality and morbidity rates; poor health and high unemployment; hostage taking and poor national image. He called for a change of corrupt attitude of politicians and bureaucrats as a panacea for development and all other problems militating against the success of development plans will be arrested.

To add to the recommendations for achieving future development plans, Ujah (2006) and Famakinwa, (2006), put forward that the fundamentals for achieving sustainable growth in Nigeria are strong institutional networks, a supportive macro-economic environment, adequate infrastructure, good basic health care, and education. Maryam (2016) recommends the adoption of sound monetary and fiscal policy, political will and employment generation as indices that will ensure the successful implementation of future national development plans of the country. Eneh on the other hand, iterates the importance of information as a powerful tool that can be used by both the leaders and the people in ensuring that development plans are actualized. He asserts that:

> Information is power. A sensitized political leader is likely to take development visions more seriously and will insist on their good implementation. A sensitized people will hold the political leader accountable to his development promises (Eneh, 2009, p.313).

This implies that just like the social contract theory postulates for each man to surrender his rights to the community, which is sovereign and its power absolute, where the community fails to protect the rights of the people or abuses such rights, the citizens reserve the right to challenge the authority by applying their supreme power to hire and fire. Thus, the power to govern the people depends on their consent and it's the responsibility of the government to perform for the people while the people, armed with relevant information, should monitor the activities of the leaders and ensure they implement policies that they initiate and are

accountable for their actions. This is where the mass media come in as agents of development and a carrier of developmental information, yet no study on the failed development plans in Nigeria has recognised its potentials in achieving development. The media are the essential tools that both the government and the people would rely on as a source for valuable information on development plans, as a medium of awareness creation that will drive implementation processes, checkmate abuse of power by politicians and bureaucrats, and ensure accountability, with the overall goal of actualizing the development plan.

A critical study of available secondary data was also conducted at the onset of this research to ascertain whether the issue (Vision 2020) is salient in the media. It was found that most of those who either critique the plan or offer recommendations and strategies on the way forward to actualizing it either focused on agriculture, human capital and infrastructural development, the polity or other sectors. There is nothing written from the perspective of the mass media. For example, the Centre for Democracy and Development (2008) came up with a fourteen-point agenda aimed at re-energizing the Vision 20:2020 policy document. The document made no mention of the role of the media. In the same year, the Israeli Ambassador to Nigeria, Moshe Ram, during a meeting organised by the National Planning Commission, Nigeria, named agriculture as the requisite to achieving Vision 20:2020. The then Lord Mayor of London, Sir David Lewis at the same meeting emphasised the focus on human capital development issues as the yardstick to actualizing the plan.

A study by Eneh (2011) is found to be the only research on Vision 20:2020 that is closely related to the role of the media in the implementation of the development plan. The study stressed the importance of Information and Communication Technology systems (ICTs) in stimulating developmental plans. Eneh emphasised a direct correlation between access to ICTs and socio-economic development (2011, 2008a). The problem here is, to focus on ICTs as source of information and communication for development in a country like Nigeria (that is categorised under the ICTs haves-not) makes little or no sense since a large number of the population do not have access to ICT despite the much advancement and revolution in the world of ICT all over the world. The majority of Nigerians live below poverty level of less than 2USD and are predominantly based in the rural areas (Anaeto and Anaeto, 2010). These rural dwellers are more concerned with the quest for the provision of daily bread than the luxury of ICTs. Relying on ICTs alone as source of information and communication, therefore, would not make much impact in Nigeria. With the present state of development in the country and the low level of ICT compliance of its citizens, if developmental plans are to

be achieved, traditional mass media (newspaper, radio and television) looks like the viable option. All these constitute communication challenge on the part of the mass media and the government.

The capacity of an effective use of mass media to communicate ideas and champion national development is undoubtedly crucial to the successful implementation of the developmental project of a developing nation like Nigeria (Herdebro Goran, 1982). For decades, communication and development scholars such as Walter Rostow (1960), Everett Rogers (1962), Wilbur Schramm (1964), Paul Deutschmannn (1968), Prodipto Roy, Fred Waisanen, and, Shah Hemant (1969), have written extensively on the role of mass media in development. More recently, writers like Elihu Katz (1977), Michel Foucault (1984), Luis Beltran (2000), Norris, 2007 and Thomas McPhail (2009). Others are Ford and Carnegie Foundations, UNESCO and the UN's Department of Economic Affairs, have all recognised and acknowledged the role of mass media in championing developmental plans.

I will not end my submission on the importance of the mass media as a public sphere in national development and why my study focuses on the topic without mentioning and acknowledging the work of an important scholar who has been tagged the Father of Communication Studies by experts in the field. This Scholar, Wilbur Schramm (1964) asserts that the media:

> By making one part of a country aware of other parts, their people, arts customs and politics; by permitting the national leaders to talk to the people, and people to the leaders and to each other, by making possible a nation-wide dialogue on national policy; by keeping the national goals and national accomplishments always before the public—thus modern communication, widely used, can help weld together isolated communities, disparate subcultures, self-centred individuals and groups, and separate development into a truly national development.

The above quotation by Schramm, though made five decades ago, succinctly captures the overall role and power of the mass media in national development to date. This quotation is well explained and it captures the surveillance function of the media, its correlational function and its role as transmitter of socio-cultural heritage. The continued importance of this assertion to the role of mass media in national development thus, cannot be overemphasised. But for the sake of academic justice to this study, it is iterated as an important contribution to the body of this research.

To cap these roles, thus, the media is expected to provide that enabling platform for the public to be informed, to be armed with necessary information that will enable them checkmate the excesses of the government, demand for accountability from the government, debate on issues that concern them and be well informed so as to be able to favourably welcome any positive development plan or have a favourable attitude towards the plan.

It is against this backdrop that this study examines the impact of the mass media on the implementation of the Vision.

1.5. Objective of the Study and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to assess the role played by the Nigerian mass media in the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. Specifically, the study assesses whether the media has provided that enabling platform for discourse on the Vision and whether it has set an agenda on discussion through a detailed agenda setting process that captures all facets of the Vision.

To this end, the following research questions have been put forward:

Q1. Have the media provided platform for discourse on Vision 20:2020?

Q2. Have the media set agenda on the implementation of Vision 20:2020?

This is assessed in terms of media coverage of the plan, whether the people are well informed about the plan, what their perceptions are toward the plan, whether the media have provided a platform for the Nigerian public to participate in the implementation of the Vision through rational discourse, and the relationship between the public the government as well as the level of press freedom enjoyed by the Nigerian journalists in the discharge of their duties.

1.6. Theoretical Framework

Each research work is often guided by a theoretical framework or paradigm from its onset or it is targeted at developing a theory, if adopting a grounded theory approach. In the field of Communication and Media Studies, media effect theories are used in determining the effect of the use of media and its messages on behaviour and human interaction. Media effect theories are also defined as 'a selection of theories that seek to identify how-and in what ways-the media affect our behaviour' (Sociology.org) Some of these theories are the direct effect theories such as Hypodermic Needle theory or Magic Bullet theory which explains the powerful nature of mass mediated messages capable of influencing the public instantly, the

Transmission Model Shannon and Weaver (1949), the limited effect theories or diffusion theories such as Kartz and Lazarfield's Two-Step-Flow (1955), Leon Festinger's Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (1957), the Uses and Gratification Theory and the Reinforcement Theory.

Other theories are the powerful effect theories, minimal effect theories, and the re-discovery of strong effects theory ((Neuman, 2011). These theories have continued to be used in determining the effects of communication on the society and the reciprocal relationship shared by the media and the society. McQuail's (1987) *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, a text that has been updated regularly with five editions presently, explains the different theories of mass communication. It dwells so well on the audience effect theories and how they impact on human behaviour, social interaction. Other theories are the Cultural Effects theories that view the media as having powerful influence on the society through its actions as an agent of socialisation, which guide and advise audiences and seldom exercise a hegemonic role. Such theories as Hegemony, Daniel Chandler's Cultivation Theory (1995) and the Agenda Setting Theory of the media, which is one of the theories adopted in this study. Using theories and assumptions, the impact of the mass media is assessed in terms of the phenomenon under study with the hope to determine whether there is a correlation between variables or to ascertain a cause effect relationship between them (Hansen, 1998; Creswell and Clark, 2011; Krippendorff, 2013). This can be achieved by either studying how media messages consciously or unconsciously affect its audiences or how such media is used in achieving development programmes, policies or initiatives in a given society- as a social agent

The study adopts the following theoretical framework to buttress its points. Bryan McNair (2011) functions of the mass media in a democratic society, which is discussed under the umbrella of Jürgen Habermas (1962) idea of the public sphere and the agenda setting theory of the media. The public sphere function of the mass media as discussed briefly earlier in this chapter explains the idea of the media as platform for debate where public discourse takes place, decisions are reached and general opinion is formed.

On the role of the mass media in a public sphere, McNair (2011, p.18-20) asserts that the functions of the mass media in a democratic setting are five pronged: inform, educate, provide publicity to the public, provide platform for discourse, and advocacy. First, the mass media is duty bound to inform citizens of what is happening around them. This is also the

surveillance and monitoring function of the mass media. Secondly, the mass media must educate the public of the meaning and significance of the facts. This is the area that tests the objectivity of journalists in their news coverage and analysis of issues. Its third function is that it must provide a platform for public debate and discourse on political and general issues, leading to the formation of public opinion and subsequently feeding that opinion back to the public. This must also include the provision of space for the expression of dissent, without which the notion of democratic consensus would be meaningless. The fourth function of the media is to provide publicity to governmental and political institutions. This is the same as the 'watchdog' role of the media. Finally, the media in democratic societies serve as a channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints. Political parties require an outlet for the articulation of their policies and programmes to a mass audience, and thus the media must provide avenue for these to be championed.

Second theoretical framework employed in this study is the agenda setting theory, which is best explained by James Dearing and Everett Rogers (1996). According to the duo, agenda setting offers explanation on why information about certain issues, and not others, is available to the public in a democratic society; how public opinion is shaped; and why certain issues are addressed through policy actions while others are not. It studies social change and social stability based on the media agenda, the public agenda and policy agenda. It also studies the salience of issues, their attributes, time-lag of coverage and peoples' perception of issues in the media.

It is thus hoped that the outcome of this study would enable the government have an idea of the level of salience of the issue in the media, ascertain the perception of the issue in the public domain and be able to track progress made on the implementation. This can help to communicate a sense of what has been achieved so far, the present state of the plan, the country's direction and what needs to be done to achieve the plan. The Vision 20:2020 agenda would require active involvement of the mass media as an agent of change and development in a democratic society.

1.7. Organization of the Research

The study is organised into eight chapters with each chapter having subheads. This approach was adopted based on Dunleavy (2013) recommendation that ideally, a Ph.D. thesis should have 8 to 10 chapters. Each of the chapters is further divided into sections and headings. The

study also employed his first and second order heading to insure orderliness and coherence in the arrangement and flow of the study.

Chapter One constitutes the introduction to the study. It spells out what was investigated and the findings of the research from the first to the last chapter. The chapter opens with a background to the study which focuses on the role of the mass media in the society, this is followed by an explanation of the idea of Vision 20:2020. Other subheads captured are statement of the problem, the objective of the study and research questions, the theoretical framework and the organization of the study.

Chapter Two of the thesis is titled 'Theoretical and Conceptual Clarification I', with subhead 'The Public Sphere and Mass Media in A Democratic Society'. The section conceptualizes the idea of the public sphere, its dialectics and criticisms, and how the media fit in as a public sphere.

Chapter Three is titled 'Theoretical and Conceptual Clarification II' with subhead 'Agenda-Setting in The Mediated Public Sphere'. This Chapter focuses on the Agenda Setting role of the mass media. Specifically, it explains the agenda setting theory of the media, with special focus on how the various components of the theory can be applied in analysing a national development plan. The chapter discusses the tripartite components of agenda setting-media, public and policy makers. It further captures the Agenda Setting Process, which encompasses the First, Second and Third Level Agenda Setting role of the mediated public sphere in the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. The First Level Agenda Setting ascertains the frequency of coverage of Vision 20:2020 across four Nigerian daily newspapers- *ThisDay, Vanguard, The Punch* and *The Nation*, within three years- 2010, 2011, 2012, and records a total of one hundred and thirty-four publications, signifying the salience of the issue in the print media. The Second Level Agenda Setting focuses on the various attributes of Vision 20:2020 based on media coverage. Focus was on the following thematic categories- Source of News, Type of News, Tone of News, Attributes of Attributes/Vision 20:2020 Parameters, Time Lag and Priming Effect. The Third Level assessed how all the attributes in the Second Level Agenda Setting connect, network and interact on the mediated public sphere, thereby impacting on public opinion and on the overall implementation of the vision.

Chapter Four, titled 'Theoretical and Conceptual Clarification III' concentrates on the Nigerian media system. The Chapter with subhead, 'Media Systems, The Nigerian Media

System and National Development', captures the *Four Theories of the Press* and Beyond, the Nigerian media system based on its historical antecedents and its current state, characterising a mixture of different media systems; the regulatory framework of the Nigerian media and its role in advocacy for development. The section clearly spelled out the various attributes that define the Nigerian media system.

Chapter Five capture the methods and methodology employed in the research, which is the 'Mixed Methods Research' approach (MMR) with specific focus on Creswell and Clark's mixed methods research design. The chapter also captures the validity and reliability of the methods employed and justify the reasons for the adoption of the approach and design. Specifically, the type of research method employed is MMR (QUAN and QUAL) while the research designs used are Fixed Mixed Methods design and Convergent parallel design. Pragmatism was employed as the world view while content analysis, survey and case study are the research methodologies employed. The Chapter also captures the sampling techniques and sampling size, validity and reliability and ethical considerations.

Chapter Six is the analysis and interpretation of data for the content analysis study, titled 'Content Analysis of Four Nigerian Newspapers'. The chapter contains the analysis and interpretation of the data sourced from the four Nigerian Newspapers studied over a period of three years, 2010, 2011 and 2012 followed by discussion of findings.

Chapter Seven captures the analysis and interpretation of an open-ended questionnaire, which was used to survey the opinion of Nigerian journalists on their level of awareness and perception of the Vision; the role of the Nigerian media in the implementation of the Vision; press freedom and access to information; government media relations, and the recommendations of the journalists on the overall implementation of the plan. The chapter closes with a discussion of findings from the survey.

Chapter Eight presents the discussions, conclusion, contribution to knowledge, limitations of the study and recommendations for further research, followed by a bibliography and appendices.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION I

2.0. THE PUBLIC SPHERE AND MASS MEDIA IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to explicate the idea of the public sphere from the origin of the concept. It further delimits the discourse to the idea of the mass media as a platform for deliberation where issues of general public concern are discussed, decisions taken, and public opinion is formed on issues of national development on the basis of political action.

To achieve this, I will attempt to justify the rationale for the adoption of the concept 'public sphere' as the backgrounding theoretical and conceptual framework for this study, against which other theories and assumptions adopted in this study, are gauged. Having established this, the next section will reflect on the genesis of the concept 'public sphere' and how the term emerged. Special focus will be paid to the work of Jürgen Habermas in his famous *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962, 1989) and his conceptualisation of the term. The Chapter further looks at the conceptualization of the term by other writers and scholars as well as the various criticisms generated by the book. From the various postulations of the term, from Habermas to his critics, I will adopt my working definition of the concept, its components and dialectics. Having established what a public sphere entails, its criticisms and dialectics, I will close the chapter by focusing on how the media fit in as public sphere as well as their functions in a democratic society based on Bryan McNair (2011) ideal functions or role of the mass media in a democratic environment. The essence is to determine whether or not the mediated sphere is performing its ideal functions and to look at how the various criticisms of the sphere can play on the efficacy of the mass media as a platform for discourse on issues of general public interest. This review is expected to provide a theoretical underpinning upon which the practical application of the role of the public sphere in championing a national development plan (Nigeria's Vision 20:2020) will be assessed and ascertained. This will further determine whether the concept of the public sphere in its normative ideation and universality should be upheld and generalised in the context of Nigeria or be particularised to the democratic environment in Nigeria.

The Chapter concludes with a 'reflection' on all that have been discussed on public sphere with an attempt to establish whether or not the criticisms confronted by the mass media in ideal democracy corresponds with the various criticisms labelled on the Habermasian public sphere and how this playout on the implementation of national developmental agendas. It is hoped that this exploration will provide a good, if not detailed understanding of the role of the media as a public sphere in setting agenda on the implementation of development plans and policies.

Before I go further, it is imperative to note that the intent of this Chapter is not to engage in intensive philosophical debate on what constitutes a 'public sphere' or a 'mediated public sphere', its dialectics, structural transformation and degeneration over time. This has been written on extensively over the years by Scholars and indeed, by Habermas himself; see Habermas, 1989a, 1990 & 1991; Fraser, 1988, 1990 & 1992; Landes, 1988; Negt, Kluge & Labanyi 1988; Calhoun 1992; Benhabib 1992; Garnham 1992; Hohendarl, 1992; Chambers, 1996; Asen 1999; Kellner, 2000; Darlgren, 2001; Hoexter et al., 2002; Grbesa 2004; Thompson 2006; Johnson, 2006; Ubayasiri, 2006; Delanty, 2007; Outhwaite & Turner, 2007; Maia, 2007; Papacharissi, 2009; Susen 2011). My aim is to draw from their works in order to provide an overview of the origin and nature of the 'ideal public sphere' or 'platform' where free and unrestricted participation of individuals and groups are championed, varied ideas are presented, represented and discussed; consensus are arrived at and decisions are taken for the good of the general public.

2.2. On Why the Public Sphere as Theoretical Framework

In any discussion of the role of the media in a democratic society, the concept of the public sphere is one that should not be overlooked because it is useful in understanding how the articulation of private opinions lead to consensus and to the formation of public opinion. To buttress this point, it has been posited that ideally, what is upheld as public opinion (*opinion publique*) by nation states in 'free' or 'democratic' societies is to a large extent, a reflection of the opinion of the majority of the members of the general public of a given society, which emanates from extensive discourse and debates on issues of common concern (McKee, 2005, p. 9; Susen, 2005; Benhabib, 1992; Hohendahl, 1992, p. 99; Aronowitz, 1993, p. 91). It is 'the public of private opinion engaged in rational-critical debate (Habermas, 2015, p.117)'. According to Habermas (ibid), Emmanuel Kant used the nomenclature ''public agreement'' in reference to the term 'public opinion'. Such an agreement is 'an empirical universal, of which the thoughts and opinions of the many are particulars' (Marx and O'Malley, 1977,

p.61; Mitias, 1984; Pelczynski, 1984; Timothy Luther, 2009, p.214; Fayemi, 2011, p.60; Habermas, 2015, p.115).

The concept 'public sphere' has gained much momentum since the emergence of capitalism in the 17th to 19th Centuries and has become one of the focal points of academic debates in contemporary democratic discourses across a wide range of fields. The proliferation of interest in this subject by researchers in both academic and non-academic environments, can be attributed to the wide criticisms generated by Habermas' book, *Strukturwandel der Offentlichkeit* (1962), which when translated to English reads *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989). The effects of such a text in contemporary discourse is so strong such that scholars like McKee (2005) observe that writers in this area of research often refer or genuflect on to the Habermasian public sphere, notwithstanding the fact that the concept has undergone reconstruction since its first use in academic writing. This effect was further described as 'the Habermas effect' (Matuski, 2001, p. 237; Dahlberg, 2001, p. 2; Corner, 1995, p. 42). Such is the efficacy of the concept as far as contemporary democratic and public sphere debate and discourse are concerned.

The Habermasian effect is also evident in the recent surge in the interactivity of the public on mediated platforms, which Clayman (2004) argues to be propelled by technological advancement in the last three decades. He further asserts that within the spectrum of the broadcast media, this change has led to a transition from the traditional mode of scripted narratives and stories to a more interactive news analysis and programming segments in broadcasting (2004, p. 29). He argues how broadcast media interactivity, with it potentials of providing platform for viewers to phone-in as well as providing an avenue for citizens participation in live programmes, is gradually increasing that sense of democratic ideals of inclusivity of all in contemporary discourses. This change is not limited to 'human participation' but to the 'structural transformation' of the 'mediated interactive platform' thereby affording viewers what Shaiba (2014) called 'the means to influence and interact with programmes in new and innovative ways (*Emirates News Agency*, March 26, 2016). This is, no doubt, a clear indication of the extending frontiers of emancipatory and participatory ideals of liberal democratic societies to new democracies.

Relatedly, more recently, in Saudi Arabia, precisely in 2015, women were allowed to not only vote but to contest elections into municipal seats (*BCB*, 12 December, 2016). This according to Saudi Arabian King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al Saud, became necessary owing

to the fact that women 'have demonstrated positions that expressed correct opinions and advice'; they are now capable of engaging in rational discourse and debate on matters of general public interest in the country's public realm. You may wonder what brings the Middle East into a discourse on Nigeria as a democratic state, development and the role of the mediated public sphere. The aim is to explain the expanding frontiers of the role of the media as a public sphere, opening up platforms for participation in matters of general interest in climes that were hitherto, secluded and some set of people, such as women, are marginalised and prevented from participating in public domains of power such as politics, governance, media, and so on.

Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989), which I relied upon, majorly, as source of information on my main theoretical background for this study, is both a historical as well as sociological account of the emergence, transformation and disintegration of the 'then' existing bourgeois public sphere, characterised by representation other than direct participation (Calhoun, 1992; Kellner, 1997, 2007; Eriksen and Weigard, 2003; Susen, 2011). In the text, Habermas gave an account of the initial idea of the public sphere as well as the structural transformation of the sphere into what is today debated as the contemporary public sphere. He not only notes the importance of the text but points at the interconnectedness of various fields in trying to explain the various ways in which the idea of a public sphere fits into discourses in various sectors of the society.

Thomas Burger, the Translator of the text, in his 'Introduction' to the book, notes that it would be useful to feminist social theorists, political theorists, literary critics, comparative-historical sociologists, legal theorists and communication and media researchers. It is an immensely rich and influential book that has, in the words of Kellner, 'received detailed critique and promoted extremely productive discussions of liberal democracy, civil society, public life, and social changes (2007, p.56)' among other issues in the Twentieth Century. Bearing this in mind, I will, in the succeeding paragraphs, highlight some of the scholarly studies conducted by researchers in these fields, which were inspired by the contents of the book. The aim is to emphasize on the currency of the topic in contemporary discourse and the amount of debates and scholarly discussions it has generated over the years and is still generating. This should explain and further justify the rationale for the adoption and usage of the idea of 'public sphere' as the background theoretical framework for this study.

Media and communications researchers have so far found this book to be an invaluable resource which explains the history of literary journalism (newspapers) and the

transformation of the press into a mass mediated platform thereby broadening the scope of the mediated sphere and providing an avenue for unheard voices to be heard (gay, lesbian, queer, animal right groups) and other marginalised groups. It has also been a formidable platform in which voices that are seldom heard are raised to a higher level, with the hope of achieving equality, challenging hegemonic order, or championing other causes such as issues of development in underdeveloped and developing societies and women causes, which these authors have written on extensively: (Benhabib, 1992; Fraser, 1992; McCarthy. 1992; Zaret, 1992; Garnham, 1992; Lee, 1992; Warner, 1992; Clayman, 2004; McKee, 2005; Butsch, 2006; Wessler and Schultz, 2006; Johansson, 2006; Bayley, 2006; Darlgren and Olsson, 2006; Lax, 2006; Fraley, 2006; Thompson, 2006; Couldry, 2007; Fitzgerald and Housley, 2009; Hands 2010; Hope, 2012; McNair, 2011; Bangstad, 2013; Jackson, 2014; Hope, 2015).

Furthermore, the book is of immense importance to my research in that it sheds more light on the early structure of the public sphere and its structural transformation; it explains the composition, constituents or dialectics of the public sphere; digresses on what constitute a sphere, realm or platform (media and others); present and interpret the various forms of discourse that take place in the sphere and how meanings emerged through literary engagements and representations; and explicates the idea of normativism or idealised public sphere versus realistic sphere. The book, aside its virtues, capture laws governing rational discourses in the public sphere and across all sectors-political, cultural and socio-economic engagements.

Kindly note that the much emphasis on this book is based on the fact that it encompasses every aspect of the early postulations of the concept 'public sphere', which is the thrust of this study. The much emphasis by no means invalidate the fact that the study centres on the public sphere and its dialectics, which we shall be discussing as the Chapter unfolds.

2.3. The Public Sphere

Before the concept of public sphere came about, what was seen as something close to a public sphere (Öffentlichkeit), is a 'realm' where feudal monarchs and aristocrats use to disseminate their ideas. It was never a sphere of interaction and debate; it was not a public sphere *per se* for to use that performative meaning of publicness in this context will be misleading (Benhabib, 1992, pp.51-73; Calhoun, 1992, pp.1-50; Eley, 1992, pp.259-289; Cutler, 2007; Weintraub and Kumar, 1997; Rabotnikof, 1998; Steinberger, 1999; Butt and Langdridgge, 2003; Ossewaarde, 2007; Condren, 2009; Geuss, 2001; Susen, 2011, pp.40-42.

The Monarchs monopolised and used it as an avenue to present and represent their policies and programmes, decisions and commands, rhetorically, with no challenge, debate or questioning welcomed from their subjects. By their subjects in this context, we are referring to the bourgeoisies and proletariats- with the latter also referred to as the plebeian (Habermas 1989, p. xviii), who constitute members of the general public. What existed was a realm between the aristocrats and monarchs versus the general public, who were more or less Subjects, with no form of power to challenge their Lords. The Subjects had no say in matters of public interest that affect them.

What is termed as 'public sphere' today, was conceived in the Eighteenth Century at the advent of capitalism in Europe (Habermas 1989; Calhoun, 1992, Kellner, n.d). The idea started as discursive arenas, such as Britain's coffee houses, France's salons and Germany's places of meeting. Andrew Edgar (2006) records the first use and documentation of the public sphere to be in the year 1781.

Apart from the genesis of the public sphere in coffee houses, salons and places of meetings another parallel public sphere emerged, the literary public sphere. Habermas distinguishes between the literary public sphere and the political and traced their initial development in England. The history of the literary public sphere is traced to the era of development in art and literature in the eighteenth century, during which the novel is used by individuals as means of expressing their sense of self to the literate and contributing to broader argument. Later, it transformed to the collection of letters and essays. This, according to Edgar was later complimented by institutions such as the salon, the coffee house and the learned groups, where ideas are exchanged, debated and defended in face-to-face meetings (2006, p. 125). If this was the case, as Edgar argues, it will be safe to say that parallel history of the public sphere emerged. While one can be traced to the era of development in art and literature, the other can be traced to the coffee shops, salons and learned societies' rendezvous, in England, Germany and France (See Habermas, 1989a; Frazer, 1990 & 1992; Benhabib, 1992; Garnham, 1992).

The political sphere on the other hand, emerges through the mélange of diverse media institutions (Habermas, 1992, pp. 57-79). During this period, there was nothing like political journalism to report political debates and discussions. It has been observed that 'political debates then were conducted privately' not until 'space was provided by journalists in the

House of Commons in 1803' (Habermas 1989a, p. 62; Edgar, 2006, p.125). This singular but giant act, heralded the beginning of a political public sphere in the British parliament.

But all these spheres where but bourgeois public spheres, where members of fast growing commercial and professional classes meet, communicate, exchange ideas and reach consensus on matters of their professions and businesses (Edgar, 2006). As time passes by, the bourgeois became more powerful, taking control of the economy away from the state and its machineries and gradually having a say in government policies, affairs and in decision making. That, however, did not in any way mean that the bourgeoisie could no longer be controlled by the state, this is owing to the fact that the government still exercise control over activities in the state and they can at any time, control the bourgeois through taxation and in areas of international trade and foreign relations (Calhoun, 1992).

The state's control apparatus, however, did not in any way affect the growth of the public sphere as, modernity, enhanced by capitalist spirit in the twentieth century, gives a different way of seeing the world and the people in it; leading to the expansion of franchise and the establishment of the welfare state. This heralded the enthronement of liberal democratic ideals presently enjoyed by democratic states with visible signs in some developing nations.

The idea of a welfare state with its inherent qualities leads to the development of theories and systems such as the principles of Egalitarianism and the Enlightenment theory, and the eventual expansion of democratic frontiers as well as the transformation of the public sphere to include not only the professionals or those who could control trades, labour and households, but the majority of the public, whether rich, poor or women, who were excluded in the bourgeoisie public sphere. This era of maturity in industrialization and modernity, is referred to as the era of the 'structural transformation of the public sphere', which was hitherto, exclusive to the aristocrats and later, the bourgeoisies, before the degeneration of the sphere, which gave room to participation by many groups.

Of special interest to this study is Habermas's recognition of the role of the Enlightenment Era which paved way and propelled the ideals of modern democratic society and its structures (Habermas, 1964, 1981, 1984 and 1989a; Erikson & Weigard, 2003; Carlhoun, 1992). The enlightenment theory, as a precursor of modern democracy, championed the institutionalization of democratic ideals through the principles of egalitarianism and libertarianism. These principles comprise in essence: *equality*- that all citizens are of equal

importance in the society and should be treated equally and be accorded the same recognition and equal chances and opportunity to contribute to democratic processes. The idea of *justice*-prescribes that everyone should be treated fairly before the court of law regardless of status or other social recognitions in the society; *freedom*-emphasises that everyone should have control over their own lives and be guaranteed all fundamental human rights- invariable, to be free to contribute and participate in assembly, discourses in the public sphere and to be members of recognised civil groups and societies. Freedom of the press falls under this ideal. *comfort*- as a democratic ideal seeks to champion the idea that everyone had a right to a basic level of material welfare in an ideal liberal democratic state (Habermas, 1992; Darlgren, 1995; Price, 1995; Page, 1996; Boaz, 1999; Chambers and Costain, 2000; Nickel 2000; Bohham, 2000; Davis, 2002; Mayer & Hinchman, 2002; Gaus & Mark, 2004; Goode, 2005; Lewis, Inthorn & Wahl-jorgensen, 2005; Lilleker, 2006; Tomasi, 2012; Gaus, 2012).

These Habermasian enlightenment principles as well as his key institutional criteria for a public sphere (disregard of status, domain of common concern and inclusivity) occupy a large percentage of the ideals and principles of democratic societies. These ideals and principles have been criticised over the years by writers and even by Habermas himself. Before exploring these criticisms, however, there is need to clearly define what the concept 'public sphere' denotes. To achieve this, I shall reflect on the history of the term and the various definitions that have evolved over the years. These definitions are in constant use in contemporary democratic discourse, generating even more specific and contextualized discourses as many more contemporary societies advance towards embracing the full potentials of modern-day democracy.

What is a Public Sphere?

Though Habermas was the first to conceptualise the idea of a public sphere by providing an idealised definition of the term in his ([1962] 1989) text, other studies came up with similar as well as a bit of varying definitions of the term across different fields in the humanities. Suffice to say Habermas's conceptualization not only ignited a lot of interest and criticism from Writers but has generated other definitions of the concept. While some of the definitions are more inclined to Habermasian idea, others differ in some aspects either by including or excluding some areas captured by Habermas. Let us have a look at some of the definitions of the concept and their points of convergence and divergence from the Habermasian conceptualization of the term.

According to Habermas et al, in 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article' in the *New German Critique*:

> 'By the public sphere we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Accessed is guaranteed to all citizens… Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion- that is, within the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions about matters of general interest'. (1974, p.49; Calhoun, 1992, p.289)'.

Similarly, in the 'Introduction' section of Habermas's 1989 publication, McCarthy defines the public sphere as representing that arena 'in which state authority was publicly monitored through informed and critical discourse by the people' (Habermas, 1989, p. xi). From these definitions, the term 'public sphere', refers to different things. First, it is a public 'realm'. A realm, by its literary meaning, can be an arena, domain, an area, a kingdom or country, or sphere within which something occurs, dominates or prevails; an area of interest or activity. According to Lofland (2007), the term is widely used in contemporary discourse in everyday speech and in diverse fields such as philosophy, sociology, political theory, art, media studies, gender studies, architecture and urban planning. While the term has no consensual definitions and those offered are often imprecise and enigmatic, all the usages agree and referred to it as 'some sort of non-private arena of social life and most judge that arena to be both critically beneficial and unappreciated; what they disagree about it is its exact character (p.1). He further notes that the public realm may also be discussed under other nomenclatures such as public sphere, public domain, public order, public world and civic space.

In such a realm, what exists is a formation of 'something approaching public opinion'. This means people either as private individuals or groups, engage in debates where something close to consensus is reached and adopted as views of the majority of the participants. What this suggests is, Habermas did not assume that what is formed is automatically called public opinion in absolute terms. I will assume he realises the possibility of dissenting views within the realm. Thus, what is formed could be the opinion of the majority of the public and not necessarily the opinion of the general public.

Again, Habermas recognises the place and importance of free participation in the realm when people confer in an 'unrestricted fashion' to express their opinion on issues of general public

concern. In modern day democracy, this could denote or represent free access, press freedom, rights to free assembly and association. And by issues of 'general public concern' Habermas is referring to economic, political and socio-cultural matters that affects the public sphere as a polity. Such matters are what bring the government and the people together under a platform to discuss and debate and to take decisions concerning what affects the polity.

The extension to Habermas's definition dwells on how the activities of the state or the government is being monitored by the people. This is the watchdog role of the media aimed at checkmating government excesses and holding public office holders accountable for their decisions on issues that affect the welfare of the sovereign state and the citizens. To achieve this, Habermas's asserts that participants in the sphere not only engage in any discourse but involve in critical analysis of the subject matter, which he called rational discourse by people capable of reasoning without being influenced. Such discourse is carried out in the form of face-to-face talk, debate & discussion, or mediated through radio, television, internet and printed texts. This breakdown of the idea of public sphere will serve as yardstick for the assessment of other definitions of the term put forward by other writers.

To Andrew Edgar, the public sphere refers to 'those social institutions that allow for open and rational debate between citizens in order to form public opinion' (2006, p. 124). These rational debates can be conducted either through face-to-face communication or through exchange of letters and other written communications, and such debates may be mediated through journals, books, newspapers and electronic forms of communication.

Josef Ernst defines the public sphere as that 'distinctive discursive space' within which 'individuals are combined so as to be able to assume the role of a politically powerful force' (1988, p. 47). From Ernst's definition of the term, one can base his idea of the public sphere in relation to political power, either in terms of politicking in the concept of elections, campaign or voting. Secondly, political power can be in relation to any movement or activity or action that brings pressure on political entities, or governmental agencies, or influential personalities in a given society in order to persuade them to act (Copeland, 2014; Vlachokyriakos et. al., 2014; Stromblad & Bo, 2015). He also mentioned the composition of the sphere to reflect 'individual' participation, in which case, lexically, could mean participation by a single person or by individual groups. Ernst idea of a political powerful force thus, is vague and subject to different interpretations and misinterpretations. I would therefore like to interpret his intent or idea of the public sphere to comprise of first, a

discursive space, which is a platform. Secondly, where 'private individuals' and 'individual groups' converge. Third, the individuals meet to assume the role of a powerful political force in terms of both participation in campaign or in other activities capable of championing some kind of societal causes for the interest of those concerned or the generality of the publics.

Public sphere has also been conceptualised as 'a metaphorical term that's used to describe the virtual space where people can interact' (John Hartley, 1992, p. 1). Here, public sphere is limited to an imaginary space for interaction. Hartley did not expound on the type of communicative platform, whether face-to-face or mediated nor was he specific on the nature of the interaction in terms of debates, discussions as well as the type of representation, whether direct or through representative groups. Towing along this frame, Peter Darlgren, defines the public sphere as the place 'where information, ideas and debate can circulate in society, and where political opinion can be formed (1995, p. ix)'.

Alan McKee on the other hand, analyses the Habermasian definition of a public sphere as well as other writers' ideas on the concept and came up with a definition which adds to existing body of knowledge on what the public sphere means. He put forward something close to the Habermasian idea of the term. To him, the public sphere is where each of us finds out what is happening in our community, and what social, cultural and political issues are facing us. Secondly, it is where we engage with these issues and add our voices to discussions about them, playing our part in the process of a society reaching a consensus or compromise about what we think about issues, and what should be done about them (2005, p. 5). What McKee means is that the role of the public sphere rests on (a) as *source* of information (b) as *platform* for debate on such information. As source of information, the information emanating from this sphere could be on daily happenings in the society, on socio-cultural issues as well as the political activities going on in the society. As platform for discourse, the public sphere provides that space in which citizens engage in discussion and debate on the issues presented by injecting their voices, views and opinion with the hope of reaching an understanding. McKee, however, did not state the mode of deliberation or intention that take place in this sphere, whether interpersonal/face-to-face or mediated form of communication. In this definition, he also failed to explain the type of representation or participation that take place in the sphere, which could be either direct individual participation or through groups or a combination of both. Thirdly, he never mentioned the yardstick for participation in this sphere, whether it is open to all or restricted to certain categories of individuals.

To McNair on the other hand, the public sphere comprises in essence:

> 'The communicative institutions of a society, through which facts and opinions circulate and by means of which a common stock of knowledge is built up as the basis of collective political action: in other words, the mass media, which since the eighteenth century have evolved into the main source and focus of a society's shared experiences.' (2011, p. 18)'.

McNair, writing from the point of view of political communication, was specific enough in conceiving the idea of a public sphere by stating that it is the 'communicate institutions' of the society in which both factual information as well as opinion is spread in order to reach a consensus on political action. He went ahead to be even more specific by identifying the communicative institutions of a society to represent the 'mass media' as a public sphere. The implication of this is that, the type of communication that takes place is not interpersonal or face-to-face, but mediated using television, radio, magazine, newspapers, the internet and other forms of non-interpersonal communication.

Jostein Gripsund bases his idea of the public sphere by reflecting on the genesis of the concept and how it emerged. He conceives it as set of institutions representing a sort of 'buffer zone'. The buffer zone exists 'between the state/king and private sphere, to protect them from arbitrary decisions that interfered with what they considered private activities in an irrational way' (1992, p. 89). By this definition, Gripsund reflects on the early ideation of the term when what was in existence was the Royals/Nobles who were at the same time the decision makers and controllers of the State apparatus. Here, the public sphere thus represents a 'buffer zone', which going by the literary meaning of the word in this context could imply a neutral zone or area designed to prevent any potential act of hostility or aggression. Such a zone could 'serve to mitigate or neutralise any potential conflict (dictionary.com)'. The public sphere in this context, thus, is not a discursive space but a sphere of protection and segregation, a form of a safe haven created by the monarchs, against possible incursion by the masses. Even though this definition forms part of the initial ideation of the concept of the public sphere while tracing the origin of the concept, it has however, been criticised by Habermas himself and other scholars who challenged the admissibility of such an idea to be in contrast with what is today viewed as a public sphere (Habermas, 1992, Kellner, 2000; Calhoun, 1992, Schudson, 1992; Benhabib, 1992; Hauser, 1998, 1999; Susen, 2011).

It can be in the form of face-to-face communication, talk and debate at meetings or through written communication such as exchange of letters, memos, or mediated by journals,

newspapers, books, or through electronic forms of communication. The principles of the public sphere involve an open discussion of all issues of general concern in which discursive argumentation was employed to ascertain general interests and the public good (Kellner, 2003).

The public sphere, thus, presupposes freedom of speech and assembly, a free press, and the right to freely participate in political debate and decision-making. For more on the deliberative participatory function of the public sphere, refer to (Calhoun 1992; Ryan 1992; Boyte 1992; Bohman, 1996; Benhabib 1992 & 1996; Cohen 1996 & 1997; Cooke 2000; Kellner 2000; Dryzek 2002 & 2004; Thompson 1996, 2003 & 2004; Habermas 1989, 1992, 1996, & 1997; McNair, 2011).

From these definitions, I'm able to deduce that all the conceptualizations put forward have in one way or the other encapsulate one or two of the following components or properties, if not all, which I shall discuss next.

2.4. The Components/Dialectics of the Public Sphere

The idea of the components and dialectics of the public sphere comprises in essence, the various items that make up an ideal contemporary public sphere. I was able to deduce these from the definitions offered by Habermas himself and from the various conceptualizations of the concept by Scholars in varied fields.

First, in terms of the *features* and *actions* that ideally should take place in the sphere: Free assembly, free speech, unrestricted access, equality, consensus, inclusivity, exclusion, articulation of private opinion, formulation of public opinion. These actions take place in the form of rational debates, discussions or discourse, what I call the three Ds that represent the action that takes place in the public sphere.

Second, as a *place, sphere or realm*: It can be a real geographical location (such as an indoor or outdoor space, arena or any other visible space). It can also be in the form of an imaginary place such as virtual space, a realm, domain and other spatial entities that cannot be felt or touched.

Third, in terms of the *actors* or participants of the public sphere: Individuals, representatives, groups, organizations, social movements, institutions, civil societies, and their varied ideas and opinions.

Lastly, in terms of the *form* or type of communication that takes place in the sphere: Such as face-to-face/interpersonal communication or mediated communication with the use of radio, television, newspapers, magazines, the internet and other forms of mediated channels.

Thus, from these definitions, I deploy the concept to mean: at the heart of the public sphere in a democratic society is the idea of deliberative, participatory communication and free access to the platform for discourse by either private, public or group representation by either elected or selected representatives. The platform can be either a physical geographical area or non-physical/ imaginary realm where varied opinions or views or activities converge and engage in either verbal or non-verbal exchange of meaning. Such exchange of meaning can be either through face-to-face or mediated communication with the sole aim of arriving at a consensus adopting a legitimate bond. It is a place where the voice of the majority, the hegemonic power, is upheld while the voice of the minorities and their rights are entertained and considered, even if such minority voices contain dissenting views from what is publicly held as the general view or opinion of the majority of people within a specific public realm. May I add that such debates, even when consensus is reached while opinion is formed and adopted, the communication process continues in a circular direction as an endless process, in so far society continues to exist and dissenting views continue to challenge the existing hegemonic orders in democratic realms.

2.5. The Criticisms and Decline of the Public Sphere

A good number of writings have emerged over the years either criticising almost all aspects of *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* or enumerating and reiterating the various criticisms of the text by other Writers. The intent has always been to either offer a fresh dose of criticisms and debate on Habermas previous works, critique the existing criticisms or provide a backgrounding information so as to empirically assess the tenability of the idealistic conceptualization of the term versus its realism in contemporary polycentric democratic societies, with their inherent peculiarities. My intent coincides with the latter group of Writers. While Writers such as Garnham (1992), Calhoun (1992a), Kellner (2000), Johnson (2001), Susen (2011), and Ziolkowski-Trzak (2013), provide what looks close to full

criticism of all aspects of the Habermasian public sphere, others prefer to dwell on an aspect of it which we shall discuss. The main criticisms are on the neglect of the plebeian and promotion of gender inequality, the degeneration of the public sphere, the gradual replacement of reasoning and rationality with rhetoric and the promotion of bracketing. Studies on the general criticisms of the public sphere include: (Darlgren, 1995; Goodnight, 1992; Habermas 1984, 1989a, 1990, 1992, 1994 & [1989b], 2006; Susen, 2009b & 2010; Thompson, 1995).

Despite the public sphere's potentials viz a viz the provision of platform for public participation and debate, its initial ideals have been criticised over the years by a lot of writers. Habermas responded to some of his critics by conceding to some of the flaws his initial work had generated. Refer to his (1992) work as well as his 'A Reply to my Critics' (Habermas in Finlayson and Freyenhagen, 2011).

The first accusation against Habermas is what his critics describe as his neglect of the plebeians and the promotion of gender inequality (Habermas, [1962] 1989, 1992; Fraser, [1990] 1992; Ryan, 1992; Golding and Murdock, 1973, 1991; Negt and Kludge, 1993; Cameron, 1998; Rendall, 1999; Ku, 2000; Moore, 2003; Brettschneider, 2007). The criticism stems from the bourgeois public sphere's lack of inclusivity, that is, the domination of the public sphere by professionals or bourgeoisies and the absence of working class as well as women (Frazer, 1992; Ryan, 1992; Kellner, 2000; Susen, 2011). This was noted to encourage inequality which democratic ideals frown at. While the idea of liberalism, public sphere and democracy champions the tenets of diversity, inclusivity, equality, debate, consensus, freedom and tolerance, 'the bourgeois sphere was dominated by white, property-owning males (Kellner 2000, p.5)' the working class, plebeian, and women's sphere spheres developed alongside of the bourgeois public sphere to represent voices and interest excluded in the forum (ibid)', which is the mainstream public sphere.

In her *Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to Critique of Actually Existing Democracy* (1992), Nancy Frazer criticizes Habermas' early idea of the public sphere, confronting it with modern day approach to dealing with the concept. Frazer referred to the work of the likes of Mary P. Ryan (1992) and Geoff Eley (1992), Joan Landes (1988), in arguing that the professional or bourgeois public sphere was made up of a good number of exclusions and hegemonic dominance as against Habermas's support and regard for equality and statusless convergence in his later works (Calhoun, 1992; Habermas, 1990, 1992). Frazer not only claims the exclusion of lower social strata or the working class but women in

particular who were then excluded from participating in not only political activities but in various meetings in which matters of general public concern are debated upon and decisions taken. The result is a hegemonic male dominated bourgeois public sphere. This, she stresses, was at the cost of alternative publics comprising marginalised groups who were averted from expressing their senses of selves and contributing to the articulation of views on matters of public concern. What Frazer fails to admit is that women were not entirely relegated to the sphere of the home as carers and heads of household chores, but were also visible in the old public sphere, such as the French salons.

Arguing along this line, Douglas Kellner (2003) observes that Habermas was criticized by Negt and Kludge (1993) for neglecting this important public sphere. In a related study, Edgar (2006), towing a similar line of enquiry, notes that the problem with the then political public sphere is the absence of working class. He criticises it for being homogeneous in terms of power and economic interests, while noting that the 'conflict of economic interests that existed between the working classes and the bourgeoisie is neither debated nor politically recognised' (p.126) in the public sphere and its discourse. Simply put, only the working class or professionals were recognised. That notwithstanding, the advent of modernity with its inherent liberal ideologies and the idea of welfare state, questions the legitimacy and efficacy of such a public sphere and resolves this controversy, paving the way for an all-inclusive public sphere, as Edgar later notes, 'ideally, the public sphere should be open to all (2006, p.126)'. Similarly, Frazer further opines that in modern democracies, this idea of equal representation and participation hold sway, and the rights of the minority is protected, if not in reality, in principle.

Reacting to this criticism, Habermas acknowledges and admits that he ''underestimated the significance of oppositional and non-bourgeois public spheres (1992, p. 430) by overlooking that aspect from the onset of the history of the bourgeois public sphere, 'a dominant bourgeois public collides with a plebeian one (ibid)'. This, I will argue, is not restricted to the bourgeois era but the 'divide' has its roots from the early public sphere of the Aristocrats versus the general public. To this end, Habermas did not only embrace the inclusion of all and sundry in the contemporary public sphere in his later works but encourages the advancement of an all-inclusive public sphere.

Another criticism of the public sphere is that it has *degenerated* which has been admitted by Habermas himself in his (1962; 1989) text. He noted the structural transformation of the public sphere propelled by the twentieth century establishment of the welfare state which

heralded capitalism and led to the expansion of franchise and inclusion of other groups. He criticised the welfare state for not expanding the scope of the arena, instead, it disintegrated what he called the old 'effective' bourgeois public sphere. The bone of contention here is that it undermines public debate and the bourgeoisie's sense of self, which was grounded on self-articulation and the expression of one's taste, preferences, and personal opinion. For it has been noted that 'individuals shy away from the public defence of their tastes and opinions and rather relied on administrative economic structure to define their sense of self (Edgar, 2006, p.126). These have been supported by (Baker, 1992; Garnham, 1992; Habermas, 1992; Hohendarl, 1992; Schudson, 1992; Thompson, 1995; Kellner, 2000; Goode, 2005; Susen, 2011).

What most of the critics of this point fail to recognise and admit is that the degeneration of the public sphere is a blessing in disguise in the sense that while it has opened up more doors for smaller groups to emerge, it has set a motion in place by creating a platform which had given voice to 'other' silent groups whose existence were hitherto declared to be non-existent and are seldom mentioned in any discussion on mainstream platforms. Legally, they were not recognised too. Such groups like the gay, lesbian, queer movements and societies, the animal rights, and the movement for the recognition of women in higher religious organizations.

Before the Enlightenment Era and the dawn of Industrial Revolution, heterosexuality and patriarchy were the hegemonic order recognised, backed and upheld by the law. Even though contemporary democracy has challenged this status quo, the struggle to achieve equality in these areas look like a gradual process and a long way ahead. The triumph though, is the fact that if not for anything, such groups have been recognised officially as dissenters by modern day Western democracies. As long as they exist and continue to champion their causes, their voices would be raised to higher levels just the way women have been liberated from their former position as second-class citizens in the bourgeois public sphere to First class citizens; from Heads of house chores to breadwinners; and have been given their pride of place in different spheres across democratic societies.

Secondly, Habermas' critique of the degeneration of the sphere fails to recognise the significant structural transformation of the public sphere, which the advent of the information super high way made possible. This structural transformation is the conception of the world as a global village and the prediction of the emergence of the World Wide Web by Marshall McLuhan (1962, 1964; Berners-Lee, 1989). Funny enough, while McLuhan was conceiving

his idea of the global village through information technology (internet), Habermas was conceiving his public sphere bestseller. Both ideas were published in the same year, 1962. Paul Grosswiler's (2001) 'Jurgen Habermas: Media Ecologist?' is one of the emerging studies on the relationship between the works of these two Philosophers. For more on emerging studies on these concepts (see Grosswiler, 2010; Hands, 2010; Durham and Kellner, 2001; Moreno, 2013; Zelinka, 2014). I would therefore propose that further criticisms on the degeneration of the public sphere as fuelled by capitalism leading to massive structural change should tilt more towards Habermas inability to envisage the 'other side' of the structural transformation of the public sphere discourse in terms of the expansion of its scope and not only its disintegration. The global village and its inherent World Wide Web, no doubt has produced a 'public sphere of public spheres', a grandmaster of all public spheres. This is in terms of its scope, though. It should be noted that I do not wish to insinuate that the large scope of the internet as a public sphere is a guarantee of the quality of discourse therein. Moreover, whether such massive sphere guarantees 'equality' and 'freedom' is an area that is still enigmatic with ongoing debate and discourse.

Habermas has been widely criticised for idealizing the bourgeois public sphere and presenting a universal conceptualization of it (Calhoun, 1992; Ziolkowski-Trzak, n.d; Susen 2011). He presents what looks like a universal conceptualization of public sphere by focusing so much on it and by criticising the degeneration of the sphere and the proliferation of many groups and bogus structures through the liberal welfare state system. He idealizes and normalises the concept to be capable of fitting into different societies. What he fails to look at is that by the very nature of communication, the inequality in development, and the difference in democratic consolidations across societies, makes it impossible to idealise and generalise a public sphere. Public sphere has to be relative for there is no mediated state that can be free from relativism. To relativize is to place into context that which is to be discussed (Lyotard, 1993, p.126).

Thus, as Thompson (1995, p.711) argues, democratic societies need contextualised the public sphere to mean different things in reality and across different societies. Whatever becomes the in-house tenets of a certain sovereign realm of discuss thus, should represent the type of public sphere inherent in such a society. The principle of particularity should as such be applied to empirical analysis and assessment of the particular groups and spheres in each society for just as countries differ in terms of development, there can never be the same outcome of the efficacy of the public sphere across societies.

Some schools of thought also criticise the actually existing public sphere for replacing reasoning and rationality with rhetoric (Calhoun, 1992, Fraser, 1992; Garnham, 1992; Kellner, 2000; McKee, 2005; Susen, 2011). In contemporary politics for instance, politicians use adverts and public relations to repackage their senses of self in order to win the hearts of delegates during primaries. Once selected or elected as flag bearers, Edgar (2006) argues, the reason for the choice of such a party flag bearer and his personality is suppressed by the party and subverted. Adverts and public relations are some of the tools used to suppress real intents, and media is the vehicle used to communicate politicians' packaged intents at the altar of true representation. Public debate is also substituted by mass voting anchored by political parties, who give out only that which they think would win them the votes. In a similar vein, public debate is said to be substituted by mass voting championed by political parties who give out only that which they think would win them the votes. Reacting to this, McNair stresses the need for individuals to act collectively in making decisions about who will govern them as demanded by the political process (2011, p.17). This private political opinion of the people as a whole can then be reflected in voting and treated as collective opinion and in the form of advice given to political leaders. Also, since democracy demands that electorates make their political choices on the basis of rational decisions. The electorates must therefore be armed with information that circulate freely, if they are to be knowledgeable enough to critically debate on issues and form public opinion. This should be provided by the public sphere freely as part of its Social Responsibility, in the case of a mediated sphere and be available to all members of the society.

Fraser (1992) also notes the existence and promotion of bracketing in the public sphere. The public sphere is made up of different groups and social movements, comprising people with both similar and divergent interest. While some groups are made up of powerful individuals of like minds and social status, others are made up of lower or subordinate group of people who cannot wine and dine with the high class. This feature of the public sphere further enhances bracketing and inequality. The same applies to the use of the media as a public sphere. Although in theory, the media system encourages equal distribution of media time and space, in practice, inequality created by capitalism and enhanced by commercialism means those with economic power are endowed with the weapon to not only occupy more of the public sphere and frame what is to be considered as general public opinion but their views are more likely to be heard and treated as hegemonic (Habermas, 1992; Kellner, 2000; Goode, 2005; Eriksen and Weigard, 2003; McNair, 2011).

Thus, reflecting over these criticisms, I would conclude by emphasising that 'the public sphere should be open to all, and agreement should be secured through the force of better argument, rather than through any exercise or threats of physical force (Edgar, 2006, p.12). I will also admonish the expansion of franchise, equality, and an open public sphere in the light of the ever-expanding contemporary liberal democratic societies and the recognition of the peculiarity of individual public realm distinct to sovereign states than accepting the normativity of Habermas's public sphere as universal. Habermas's idealised public sphere can nonetheless serve as a yardstick for the assessment of distinctly public spheres across democratic societies. I will also add that the recognition of the place and importance of the public sphere in contemporary democracy and the expansion of its scope in today's globalised world can best be enhanced and achieved through the mass media, with its great potentials and unimaginable reach. Thus, the study will concentrate on the media as a public sphere.

2.6. The Ideal Functions of Mass Media in a Democratic Society

Like social scientists such as Harold Lasswell, John Bittner, Joseph Dominick and Stanley Baran, who postulate similar (if not the same) functions of the mass media vis a vis informing, educating, enlightening and entertaining the society, McNair (2011) identified five functions of the media in an 'ideal' democratic society, which were born based on the normative functions of the press. They are:

First, the mass media must *inform* citizens of what is happening around. This implies the 'surveillance' or 'monitoring' role of the mediated sphere in a democracy. They are to have an eagle's eye which is capable of collating all important information about daily happenings in the society and injecting it into the public sphere for the consumption of the public. Only when well informed can the public be equipped with the necessary knowledge to be able to participate in any rational discourse on the platform.

Secondly, the media must *educate* the public on the meaning and significance of the facts. Such a function is important in the sense that it highlights and explains the importance attached to objectivity in reporting by journalists. As educators, they are saddled with the responsibility of detaching themselves from the issues being analysed.

Third, the media must provide a *platform* for public political discourse. Once such information of general public interest is sourced and synthesised by journalists, it is expected that the mass media should provide that platform for discourse on such an issue by way of

facilitating the formation of 'public opinion' and feeding that opinion back to the public from whence it came. This encompasses the provision of space for the expression of *dissent*, without which the notion of democratic consensus would be said to be meaningless.

The media's fourth function is to give *publicity* to governmental and political institutions- the 'watchdog' role of journalism. Through the provision of publicity to political groups, the media can create awareness and checkmate the activities of public officials to keep them on tract, ensure accountability and avoid incidences of abuse of power.

Finally, the media in democratic societies serve as a channel for the *advocacy* of political viewpoints. Political parties and groups in a democratic society require an outlet for the articulation of their policies and programmes to a mass audience, and thus the media must be open to them to be able to exhibit their manifestoes and plans in order to win their support.

McNair only gave a summary of the functions of the media, leaving his readers with different opinions and interpretation of these functions. With changing trends in mass media and the global information and communication sector, the way we view, apply and use the media has been transformed beyond the traditional functions. Enhanced meanings and interpretations have been given to these functions. To understand these functions, there is the need to comprehend McNair's idea of an ideal liberal democratic society, which he premised the media functions.

McNair based his idea of an ideal liberal democracy on the works of John Stuart Mill, John Locke and John Milton. In a related study, Bobbio (1987) argues that the main concern of liberal democracy was 'to grant individuals civil liberties against the incursion of the state' (1987, p.10). While democracy presumes '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 (ibid, p.42). But at the heart of this is that these people must be sufficiently educated and knowledgeable to make rational and effective use of the information circulating in the public sphere. (McNair, 2009, p.20). Drawing these strands together, McNair identifies the characteristics of a democratic regime in the following terms: constitutionality, participation and rational choice.

By constitutionality, a democratic regime must provide agreed procedures, rules and regulations governing the conduct of elections, the behaviour of those elected, and the legitimate activities of dissenters. It should however be noted that constitutionality is not limited to these, it encapsulates the behaviour, responsibility and eligibility of the electorates, and the rules and regulations governing the various sectors of the state, all enshrined in a

constitution. This could either be written (such as in the United States) or unwritten (as in Britain), or just a bill of rights which focuses on the people's rights.

Secondly, by participation, McNair argues that those who participate in the democratic process must comprise what Bobbio terms a 'substantial' proportion of the people (1987, p. 3). This means a good or sizeable number of the population, and in essence, the majority of the people. For as Mill argues, 'only this guaranteed the rational, informed electorate demanded by democracy' (McNair, 2011, p.17). Thus, any society that deprives majority of its population the right to vote is to be viewed as 'undemocratic' or 'partly democratic. Partly democratic society, to borrow the ideas of Freedom House is a situation whereby in theory, a country is said to be practicing liberal democracy, but in practice, those in power uses their influence and social psychology to manipulate the people and get them to support their causes rather than allowing (the people) to support causes and candidatures based on rational judgement.

Rational choice (which is the third characteristic of a liberal democratic regime) emphasises the availability of choice and the ability of citizens to exercise that choice rationally. Availability of choice presupposes an even or levelled ground for political parties to exist and operate, and for citizens to be free to join any party without fear, constraint or favour, while rationality demands that these citizens must be knowledgeable or educated enough to be able to make rational choices. Having identified McNair's idea of an ideal liberal democratic society, I will now discuss the functions.

The number one function of the media in every society is to inform the citizenry about the daily happenings and occurrences in all the spheres of their lives. Information they say is power and an uninformed society is like a dead society (Hofstetter, 1999, p.1). Even before the advent of newspapers and the subsequent revolution in science and technology, information dissemination was very important; merchants and monarchs used town criers to convey information and news about the arrival of ships conveying goods, town meetings, marriages, impending war, victories, achievements, and so on. Today, communicating information and news involve the use of the mass media to reach wide heterogeneous and anonymous audiences. Also, this function of the media stretches beyond informing the people to ensuring that the message (information) conveyed impacts on the receivers or produce some effects.

Dominick (2009) used the word 'surveillance' to describe the information function of the media, which can be divided into two main types. Beware or warning surveillance describes a situation whereby the media informs us about threats caused by nature such as hurricane,

volcanoes, storms and tornadoes, or man-made threats such as terrorism, depressed economic conditions, military attack or increasing inflation. The second type is instrumental surveillance which transmits information that is not threatening to the society but is useful and helpful in everyday life. For example, news about films, new products and services, stock market prices, fashion ideas. Today, we rely so much on the mass media for information because of speedy news delivery. Most breaking news is reported on the electronic media within minutes after they happened. News across the Atlantic, beyond our environments is relayed to the whole world almost instantly and simultaneously, in fulfilment of Marshal McLuhan's idea of a global village, of no barrier to communication.

Unlike prehistoric times, when people were living in small independent communities easily surveyed; where a stranger would appear and relay information, which can easily be verified. Today, news is screened and determined for us by reporters and editors, and our conception of that which is real (if there is no eye-witness) is determined by 'this second-generation information, whose authenticity we do not usually question' (Dominick, 2009, p.30). But mere presence of different media houses and pluralism in the ownership of the media presupposes the availability of varied viewpoints about a news story which enables us compare and judge each medium's report and come up with a personal opinion, which when collated, becomes popular view point. With this plurality of the media and the availability of choices, can we still doubt the authenticity of the media? Unfortunately, we are still bombarded by fake news from the main stream media that we rely on over the years as sources of factual news stories.

Closely linked with the information function of the media is the education function, what Dominick called the interpretation function. Media in a democratic setting are expected not only to supply facts and data but to provide information on the ultimate meaning and significance of events. This function can be carried out in the form of editorials, comments, opinions and articles that analyse the causes of an event or the implications of government and corporate organizations' policies.

Most media houses carry out this function based on the in-house policy of their organization. Because in-house policies vary both in theory and in practice, information relayed by media outfits and organizations, whether private or government owned and controlled, also vary; while some are more critical and objective in their news report and analysis, calling a spade a spade, others (especially those owned and controlled by the government) portray such information in a subtle mode. McNair opine that the media may be complicit in the politicians' concealment of sensitive information by choosing to downplay or ignore

otherwise worthy story which could damage that government (if such a media is strongly committed to the government. Where then is the fate of objectivity in news reports and analysis?

Journalism as a profession is very important in the society that most members of the fourth estate try as much as possible to abide by certain professional ethics and code of conducts. Most journalists attempt to do this by cultivating an air of neutrality, reporting of issues as they are so people can judge the facts for themselves. Others focus on offering commentary and analysis from a particular point of view. As a whole, journalists are careful and encourage people to put their faith in the press by protecting sources of information, verifying the truth in information before publishing or broadcasting it, and using a variety of techniques and eye-witnesses to convey a trustworthy appearance and information to the public.

To get a credible, objective, fair and balanced information requires looking out for those media with high sense of social responsibility in theory and in practice, and or comparing news reports from different media and coming up with a personal opinion. Another way of doing this is to analyse the same news item from different media focusing on popular viewpoints.

The consequence of mass media providing different platforms is that the audience is exposed to a large number of viewpoints from columnists, bloggers, and analysts and can evaluate all sides of an issue before arriving at a conclusion. That way, the issue of credibility or reliance on a particular editor's point of view (which might not be objective) is to a large extent, put to rest.

This is one of the good things that a liberal democratic society provides; the availability of media choices that enable us make informed decisions about the ideologies and policies that govern our daily lives. This is guaranteed by media pluralism (which emphasises free and unrestricted existence and functioning of mass media outfits). Brown Onuoha in Luke Uche's *Mass Media Communication, Democracy and Civil Society in Africa* argue that free and unrestricted multiplicity of mass media organization, invariably mean the presence of diverse platforms for the debate and the representation of diverse groups, interests and groups in a political system (1999, p.118).

The third function of the media emphasises the provision of 'platform' for public discourse. A democratic society place great emphasis on the availability of choice and free market place of ideas, where people are confronted by competing and conflicting ideas and programmes and are allowed to judge amongst them and make choices. Such competing and conflicting

ideas include the presence of different political parties and ideologies, the presence of a mixed and or free economy, existence of different social orientations, the accommodation and promotion of different cultural beliefs, values and norms, and religious tolerance. It is the duty of the media to provide a levelled playing ground for all contenders to showcase their ideas to the citizens, in adherence to the core social democratic values of social justice and equality of opportunity. This includes the provision of space for the expression of dissent. If that is granted, a well informed and educated citizenry would be able to make not only informed and rational choices but be able to form public opinion and the opinion fed back to the public from whence it originated, and public opinion would be said to hold sway.

Although most media outfits claim to provide levelled platforms for political discourses, it should however be borne in mind that free market place of ideas, fuelled by capitalism, a key tenet of democratic society, breeds competition and in most cases, only the powerful determine who gets what, when and how. The same applies to the use of the media for political discourse. Some media tend to focus on or align with the dominant force in power, the most powerful political parties, the dominant religion, culture and social ideology. These dominant forces tend to overshadow the rest, if not for anything; they have the material resources to influence and control the entire system, especially the conventional or mainstream media. They can buy media space and time for advert, which guarantees them more exposure and invariably, attracting more audiences and influencing citizens' perception with their powerful and well-packaged ideas, capable of manipulating and influencing public opinion, without much persuasion, since people make decision based on information available to them, for a citizen is a rational subject who absorbs the information available to him and makes rational choices (McNair, 2011, p.23). The danger of this free market place of ideas, where the ideologies of the most powerful forces dominate the platforms for political discourse is, the media promotes liberal democratic ideals in society, which exists only in theory, but in reality, it can only be imagined.

McNair's fourth function of the media stresses the provision of 'publicity' to governmental and political institutions-the 'watchdog' role of journalism. This function confers on the media the title of 'watchdog' of the society, which is also seen as serving as 'eyes' and 'ears' of the public, and as the 'fourth estate of the realm'. This watchdog function which was embraced by most societies coming out of the ruins of socialism and authoritarianism in the 1970s and 80s, was adopted mostly by citizens facing corruption, weak rule of law, and parasitic or incompetent governments and structures unable to deliver basic services. The watchdogging role embedded in the personal ethics and in public expectations of the media

stresses that it is not enough that the media in a liberal democratic society should publicise all activities of the government and political institutions but should also check on the excesses of the government, reporting all misappropriations and acts of corruption. The watchdog media monitors the day-today activities of government, thereby helping citizens assess the effectiveness and efficacy of its performance. Investigative journalists derive their power from this function. They invest time, effort and resources to fish out and expose wrongdoing in the system. They warn citizens about the bad eggs in the system and empower them with necessary information and demands transformations and reforms. The watchdog role of the journalists should not end there, they should ensure that public office holders remain transparent and are held accountable at the end of the day.

This vigilant media as Sheila Coronel argued in her work 'Media as Watchdog' is liberal democratic orthodoxies' key to good governance. Challengers of this believe such as Leninist view the press in socialist regimes as propagandist and agitator, as partner in building socialism, rather than an entity independent and skeptical of government (2008, pp. 2-3). Also, the 'East Asian values' of the media in the 1990s which centred on the uniqueness of the people, with the citizens willing to sacrifice individual freedoms in exchange for economic well-being and development. Media's primary role is that of helping forge social consensus for strong governments in pursuit of economic growth and development of the region.

Another challenger is the School of Development Journalism fashioned in the 1970s, which preached that in poor countries, the media should veer away from the Western fixation on conflict and disaster and should instead promote developmental goals (ibid). This implies the press should not be critical and instead serve as source of information and main supporter of development.

The work of a vigilant press has also been questioned citing it as causing scandals which only raised dust for a few weeks and die, without achieving any meaningful change or reform in government. It can cause citizens to be hostile to the official involved in a scandal but that those not mean that if he comes out to contest for a public office tomorrow, they would not vote for him. For some citizens (especially in developing countries) are very poor and hungry, capable of selling their votes and consciences to the highest bidder, not minding the long-term effect it would have on their well-being. Apart from that, Coronel stated that:

'The impact of watchdog journalism becomes very difficult in some countries because of 'the unwillingness of elites to take action, the weight of bureaucratic cultures that are resistant to change, a law-enforcement system that is incapable of punishing wrongdoing, and an apathetic and cynical public' (2008, p.13).

Some Western communication and media scholars belonging to the "media malaise" school of media effects also assert that too much negative reporting undermines support for public officials, making it more difficult for them to govern effectively (Robinson, 1976; Newton, 1999; Norris, 2000; Slater, 2004; Chang, 2007; Stromback and Johansson, 2007; Stromback). Not only that, it leads to rising dissatisfaction with governments and invariably, with democratic institutions and democracy itself.

Whatever the criticisms and no matter the level of scandalous reporting, some scholars argued that it takes only a government that is ready for reform for whistleblowing by the media exposes to have any impact. Not surprised, Protess et al., (1991) were sceptical of the "mobilization model," which says that exposés, by changing public opinion and mobilizing publics, ultimately lead to policy reforms. There may be a link between them "but the link is weak and unreliable" (Coronel, 2008, p.13).

These debates, however, have not changed the fact that exposure of wrongdoing and corruption in public office can help make personnel and policy changes possible if the environment is ripe for reform, ready to embrace it and make it a reality. As Enlightenment theorists (Locke, 1960; Kant, 1996a, 1996c) have argued over the years that publicity and openness provide the best protection from the excesses of power. With this in mind, international donor agencies wanting to fund government reforms embrace and support the media in their performance of their monitoring and watchdogging function, with positive results recorded. It should; therefore, be borne in mind that watchdogging is a fluid concept and its impact is determined by the structures on ground in a particular liberal democratic society and at a given period of time. It has been clearly stated that:

'The journalist as watchdog . . . is a role that is defined differently across countries and cultures. That definition is fluid, often contingent on the existing social, political, and economic conditions and a reflection as much of the historical moment as it is of pre-existing structures and media cultures. Journalists are inspired by liberal democratic notions of the press as watchdog but they draw from the well of their own culture and history as well. They adjust their role definitions to the demands of their audiences, their news organizations, and of the times in which they live'. (Coronel, 2008 p. 9).

McNair's fifth liberal democratic function is the provision of channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints. An ideal liberal democratic society is expected to harbour or accommodate different political parties and ensure that levelled playing ground is accorded to them for the articulation of their policies and programmes to the mass audience. Media is expected to be unbiased by allotting equal opportunity to all political parties to air their views by way of political communication (Klaidman, 1987; Lee and Stuart, 1991; Wanta and Hu, 1994; Dyck and Zingalese, 2003; Niven, 2013; Groseclose and Milyo, 2005; Journalism Without Borders, 2014; Norris, 2010; CommGap, 2014).

Today, with profit-making as driving force of most media organizations, little airtime and space is allotted to political programmes for free in developing countries such as Nigeria, 'commercial considerations have vitiated the statutory mandate of the media as the fourth estate of the realm' (Odunlami and Adaja, 2015). The rest is paid for or reserved for political advertisement. The problem with such a scenario is this, more space and time is given to political party in which the majority of the incumbents are members. To gain good will from the ruling party, Media Houses compete to offer free space and time to the ruling parties. A good example is the experience of the Philippines in 2011. Media moguls, Hary Tanoesoedibjo and Surya Paloh, were Chairs of political parties. As such, the possibility of such media providing equal playing ground for political parties is ruled out, argues Abdul Bastian (2011) in an online article. Also, the most powerful political parties with the resources buy the time and space allotted for political advertisement and invariably, getting more exposure. Also, the politicking for media space has made political communication so expensive.

Those critical of this scenario are of the view that it discriminates against individual aspirants and parties without access to the financial resources required for the pursuit of this modern politics and questions the ideals of a liberal democratic society. Not only that, it leads to a relatively disenfranchised and marginalized society driven away further from the mainstream of the political process (McNair, 2011, p. 37).

Having explicates the functions of the media in an ideal society, it is obvious that these functions are in one way or the other congruent with Dennis McQuail's (1987) Social Responsibility theory of the media, which core assumptions are: (a) the media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to the society (b) media can meet these obligations by setting

high standards of professionalism, truth, accuracy and objectivity (c) the media should be self-regulating within the framework of the law (d) media should avoid disseminating material that might lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder, or that offend majority groups (e) the media as a whole should be pluralistic reflect the diversity of the culture in which they operate and give access to various points of view and right of reply (e) the public has the right to expect high standard of performance and official intervention can be justified to ensure the public good (f) media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to their employers and the market.

I will conclude by stating that the media is no doubt an indispensable tool in a democratic society, capable of informing, educating and serving as platform for political discourse. Moreover, it is a watchdog of the society and a channel for political advocacy, as McNair stated. It should however be noted that these media democratic functions are fluid and operates differently in different liberal democracies and are subject to changes as the society evolves on a daily basis, with new entrants into the democratic system and the advanced democracies forging more space for the attainment of a better democratic system and space.

2.7. Criticisms of the Mass Media as a Public Sphere

In contemporary discussions of the public sphere, the concept seems to be used differently in general discussions and in academic writings. In general discussions, the idea of the public sphere as argued by McKee and Garnham tend to tilt more towards the media as public sphere, refer to the following scholarly studies on media and the public sphere (Hohendahl, 1992; Zaret, 1992; Ryan, 1992; Garnham, 1992; Lee, 1992; Habermas, 1992; Fraser, 1992; McNair, 2011).

Academic discourses, on the other hand, concentrate on the general idea of a public sphere that encapsulates the mediated public sphere and those arenas of face-to-face communication, such as meeting of groups, civil societies, social movements and various organizations. These two forms of exchange of meaning 'refer to similar things: although they aren't exactly interchangeably (McKee, 2005, p.5). The focus on the convergence of these two, relate to their normative predispositions as forms of communication as well as their divergence. While the former employs technology such as radio, television, prints and the internet usually in an imaginary realm, the later involves interpersonal face-to-face exchange of meaning usually within a specified physical and geographical location. He sees the public sphere as bigger than just the media in the sense that, structurally, it comprises not only the mass media, in terms of the mediated public sphere but those arenas of face-to-face communication and the

various individuals, groups and social movements inherent in the general idea of the public sphere.

In his argument of the public sphere as the media, McKee (2005, p.1) observes that in everyday conversations and academic writing, there have been complaints that the media has degenerated in its roles. In terms of politics, Frank Furedi (2004) suggests that there has been a shift from politics to the personal especially by the media, such that 'public life has become emptied of its contents, private and personal preoccupations have been projected into the public sphere' (Furedi, 2004, p.4). Consequently, those passions once stirred by ideological differences and the sense of rational debates on general issues of public concern are subtly replaced by private individual's misbehaviour, troubles, personality conflicts, scandals, and other frivolities. In fact, there's a serious paradigm shift in the demand and consumption of hard news stories to more demand for rhetorical and the private lives of the famous. In fact, the private lives of politicians arguably excite greater interest than the way they handle their public office (ibid).

Others, however, claim that the media are improving such as Catherine Lumby in her book *Gotcha! Life in a tabloid world*. Lumby acknowledges the problems and the degeneration of the media. That notwithstanding, she noted that:

> The past few decades have seen an over-whelming democratization of our media - a diversification not only of voices, but of ways of speaking about personal, social and political life . . . the contemporary media sphere constitutes a highly diverse and inclusive forum in which a host of important social issues once deemed apolitical, trivial or personal are now being aired'. (Lumby 1999, p.xiii cited in McKee 2005, p.1).

The mass media provide the private and public space (sphere) in which individual's sense of self is showcased and individual varied opinions mélanges to form public opinion, which is in turn, fed to the state in liberal democratic society as advice or opinion, and the society is expected to adhere to such. McKee also acknowledges that the mass media obviously play a central role in the public sphere (John Hartley, 1996, pp.78-81; McNair, 2000, p.1; Garnham, 1992, pp.360, 364-365). Also, the public sphere plays important role in the effectiveness of the mass media. The mediated public sphere provides a *platform* for the representation of individual sense of self and the articulation of various viewpoints. It *informs* and *educates* the society through the dissemination of critical and rational thought, well-analysed and debated viewpoints, which in turn become public opinion. This public opinion is 'transformed into

communicative power, so that it can be realised as enforceable laws that will constrain and direct the actions of citizens (1996, pp. 463-90)', and ensure that legitimated decisions are made which will guide the functioning of the state. This can be seen as the *advocacy* role of the public sphere. At the same time, the mediated public sphere serves as *watchdog* of the society through the presentation of ills in the society, which beforehand had been observed and debated upon individually or as a group during face-to-face meeting of social groups and movements. If the mediated public sphere plays these roles, I, therefore, won't be wrong to conclude that the mediated public sphere is the same as the media.

Lumby's claim that the contemporary media sphere constitutes a highly diverse and inclusive forum in which a host of important social issues are presented and debated based on communicative reasoning, in order to become communicative power, is focused specifically on the tabloid media, basing it on (Jabbar, 2003) definition of tabloid media:

> Tabloid media . . . comprises large circulation newspapers and magazines, which either trivialise significant events and give unbalanced and populist treatment of important themes or provide disproportionate coverage to frivolous subjects.
> (*Al Sharg Al Awsat, 27 March 2003*)

It is not quite clear why Jabbar focuses his attack on the tabloid media with special reference to newspapers and magazines just as Lumby bases her work on the print media to. However, trivialised issues; imbalanced and populist treatment of important issues; disproportionate coverage of frivolous issues and misrepresentation of publics, groups and organizations, are crimes committed by most media organizations, whether print or electronic (Chomsky, 1988; Alger 1998; Herman and McChesney, 1997; Keane 1991; Postrel, 1999; McChesney 1999; '*Media*', 2002; Jabbar, 2003; Birchmore, 2003; Kellner 2004; McKee, 2005). That is why it's nearly impossible to 'find a group that thinks it has been represented accurately in the media (McKee, 2005, p.12)'. If all mass media in democratic societies are said to be mediated public sphere as McKee claims, treating the print media as scapegoats and the electronic media as sacred cows and golden geese does not in any way reflect fair representation.

Of importance here is the criticism levelled on the mediated public sphere. If the mediated public sphere is accused of wrong doings, it is almost the same thing as accusing the mass media as a whole. McKee refers to the public sphere as the media (2005, p.1) and identifies five major themes of concern to both ordinary and academic writings on the mediated public

sphere in the twenty-first century. They are: too *trivialized*, too *commercialized*, too *spectacular*, too *fragmented* and too *apathetic*.

The media as a public sphere is accused of concentrating on unimportant or soft news and *trivialities* such as celebrities' lifestyles, diets, sex tips, and fashion than on hard news such as political issues, policies and programmes (Hartley, 1996, p.116; Connell, 1991, p.240). Large circulation tabloid media 'either trivialise significant events and give unbalanced and populist treatment to important themes or provide disproportionate coverage to frivolous subjects (Jabbar, 2003, np)'. This is in line with the criticism labelled on the public sphere to have replaced reasoning with rhetoric.

Secondly, McKee notes that it has been observed that the media just want to make money and don't care about the quality of news items (Thompson, 1990, pp. 112-113; Lumby and O'Neil, 1994; Murdock, 1992, p. 23; 1994, p. 151; Shattuc, 1997, p. 19; McNair, 2000, p.2). This is as a result of the proliferation of competition in the media industry and the desire to maximise profit, all fuelled by the idea of capitalism. The quest in the media is the relentless pursuit of populism, rankings and award (Birchmore, 2003). This arguably explains why the British tabloid newspaper *The Sun* sells more than others (www.pressgazette.co.uk). This makes the media too *commercialised*.

It has also been observed that the media encourages *spectacular* culture, offering flashy visuals and superficial distractions. This, McKee argues is because of the demands of public culture. Audiences give limited attention to serious and important issues and reading culture is said to be declining. To this end, Birchmore argues:

> The bogus, the derivatives and the flashy and gaudy now catch the attention
> of the mass, who, sans sense are captive to a superficiality of response
> based on degradable attentional abilities… (2003, n.p)

Another concern is that popular culture in Western countries is becoming too *fragmented*. This is as a result of the influx of immigrants and the immigration policies that accommodates them, thereby leading to too many ethnicities, too many religions and too many media channels. Relatedly, Postrel observes that a lot of people are afraid that 'America will disappear- 'unless a common purpose binds [Americans] together, tribal hostilities will drive them apart,' says Arthur Schlesinger Jr in Postrel (1993, n.d)'. The point here is, the presence of too many media channels would further enhance the disappearance of Western

culture, paving way for a melange of cultures and cross-cultural consumerism. One could see this as some of the benefits of globalization. But on the other hand, it raises questions such as what would be the faith of indigenous cultures? Would existing cultures, considered pure and sacred, be desecrated? Would Conservatives accept the emerging paradigm and would it relegate hegemonic cultures to the position of the cultures of the minority? Marshall McLuhan has predicted the globalisation of the world through the internet, which has transformed the world into a global village. This is what we have today, a mega and an all-encompassing public realm.

This emerging cross-culturalism, advanced by migration raise questions such as- are the dominant cultures favourably disposed to the tsunami of the global village extending beyond the borders of the World Wide Web to a melange of cultures? Are the dominant cultures open to hybridity of culture or are they threatened? How about the media of the minorities and the minority cultures, are they endangered? These are some of the questions the fragmentation of the public sphere calls to mind and prompts for further inquiry in the field of cultural studies.

Fragmentation of the Western popular culture is said to lead to apathy, a situation where 'citizens no longer engage with politics or their governance… they become passive (Wilson, 1985, p. 99; Robinson, 1993, p. viii; 'Media', 2002, p.np; McKee, 2005, p.3). Other writers also observe that ordinary citizens, especially young ones, care less about politics and hardly contribute in the political public sphere like before (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994, p. 12). The media is to blame for making citizens lazy, passive and apolitical:

> Media [are] to blame for voter apathy . . . The voters blame the politicians. The politicians blame the voters. Nobody takes responsibility for the uninformed, uninterested population. And nobody blames what may be the largest source of voter ignorance yet: the media.' (*Media*, 2002, np; McKee, 2005, p.27).

Alongside the media are the journalists who have also been fingered in the promotion of voter apathy. A study conducted by Nicholas Baker with special focus on those who did not vote in the UK 2010 elections, shows that not only the media are to blame for voter apathy, the journalists are to blame as well. The study found that non-voters are 'more distrustful of journalists' and this is by a wide margin which could suggests that tackling the issue of non-voter apathy should go beyond the rapport between politicians and the electorates (www.survation.com); the media and media practitioners should be blamed as well.

Voter apathy also extends to the non-implementation of policies and programmes with direct benefits to the younger generations in the UK. In a Q&A session with the *Guardian*'s Helen Lewis, with the under 25s from varied backgrounds in the UK, most of them feel highly alienated and ignored. One of the under 25s, Lachlan Campbell, for example feels an apathy towards the 2005 UK Election citing 'I don't think any petition I have ever signed has ever amounted to anything.' The many e-petitions website run by the UK government churning out 100,000 signatures, isn't any assurance that the issues will be mentioned, discussed or adopted at the House of Parliament, a representative (politician) still has to debate on it and either be in favour or against. So why should voters bother contributing their opinions when even such a threshold of petitions has to be decided by a Representative? This is a good justification of voter apathy. Rational choice theorists like Habermas attribute voter apathy to the very existence of democracy. And as Tony Benn (2015) argues, democracy's prioritization of narrow interest groups give room for the isolation a voter feels within the context of representative democracy. And to vote rationally, requires little amount of political research which has little or no personal benefit to the voter. As such must people would rather not vote.

Despite all these, a 2014 study on the Scottish Referendum showed that the young can be re-engaged with the political process (*Thegardian.com*). The question is, why is this not replicated or happening in other parts of the UK even as the British Exit from EU referendum closes in? All hope is not totally lost, however, for the same 2015 Election study shows that many are still very political.

Thus, I have attempted to showcase the various criticisms and counter criticisms levelled on the mass media and the mediated public sphere have been brought to light with the aim of showcasing the truth about the evolving and changing nature of the public sphere in democratic societies. The mediated public sphere, made possible by the proliferation of people and social groups and the advancement in science and technology, no doubt, is one of the best things to have happened to Habermasian public sphere. This is because, in today's highly globalised world, with a population of over seven billion, only the mass media can reach a sizeable number of this population, as McKee argues 'you can't fit the entire population of [a country] into a town hall where they could all discuss issues that affect them (2005, p.5). It is only in the mass media that large heterogeneous and anonymous audiences can converge to discuss and exchange ideas and individual opinions.

2.8. Reflection

 Reflecting on the Chapter, I have been able to present an overview of the origin of the public sphere and the ideas behind the concept; the various debates and claims which centre on the effects of the mediated public sphere in terms of whether it has improved the role of the media or has led to the degeneration of the media. This was done by presenting the various attacks and counter-attacks on the changing effect of the media as a public sphere. Findings are that the mediated public sphere has improved over the years, creating more room and accommodating more groups and dissenting voices. At the same time, it has degenerated, meaning that the media is both advancing and degenerating. It should, however, be borne in mind that these claims and counter claims about the role and effect of the media as a public sphere, which has metamorphosed over time is mostly based on the experiences of the democratic nations of the Western world, invariably, the Western public sphere. These findings should, therefore, not be generalizable considering the different stages of development and the varying degrees of democracy across different countries of the world.

So, as Postmodernists and contemporary Scholars have challenged the universality of the idea of a public sphere and call for relativism in the application and usage of the concept, like democracy, the public sphere should be regarded as a relative term. Research in this area should be contextualized (White, 1989, p. 21; Nicholson 1999, p.10; ONeil 1999, p. 20-21) and conducted according to the practices of a given community or phenomenon at a specific time (Blalock 1984; Rorty 1985, p.165; Livingstone and Lunt 1994, p. 134-135; Nutley, Walter and Davies, 2007; Davies 2012; Hoskins, 2012; Fessler, 2015; Stanford Encycopedia 2002; Lewis-Beck et al, 2013). The reason for making such a proposal is not far from the fact that the effectiveness of the public sphere depends largely on the level of democracy in such a society; the system in place in terms of the various social movements and societies therein, the degree of press freedom, and the plurality of the media system in a given democratic society. Only then can the role of the media and the public sphere in a particular community or nation state be ascertained.

Having explained the concept of the public sphere, its dialectics and criticism, and how the mass media fit in as a public sphere, the next chapter will dwell on how agenda setting for development can be achieved in the mediated sphere. Focus will be on how the media as a public sphere provide platform for the representation of idea and debate on development plans, and how such a platform can be used to assess the different roles performed by

different stakeholders on the platform as well as how each stakeholder or attribute network with others in ensuring the successful monitoring and implementation of a development plan.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION II

3.0. AGENDA-SETTING IN THE MEDIATED PUBLIC SPHERE

3.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter discusses what constitutes a public sphere and its challenges. The intent is to provide a general overview of the role and challenges of the media in democratic societies within the context of the media as a public sphere based on Habermas' conceptualization. Having established this as the main theoretical background for this study, this chapter delimits the theoretical framework to an assessment of the agenda setting role of the media as public sphere in a democratic society.

The chapter argues that studies on agenda-setting effect of the media should focus on the mass media as a component and organ of the society and a means through which agenda setting as a function of the mass media is assessed and public opinion, gauged, by the networking of different attributes. The study argues that even when the theory is used to assess public opinion and its impact, it is seldom viewed within the continuum of a public sphere. This study hence, spawns from the lack of research on agenda setting in the media as a public sphere as well as the little available literature on this facet of agenda-setting study. This was discerned from an internet search on the topic, which employed the two words 'agenda-setting and 'public sphere' to search topics, abstracts, keywords, references and contents of publications. Weaver (2007) concurs with this type of search. The preliminary investigation found that only few studies focus on agenda setting and the public sphere. It also revealed that majority of the studies conducted in this area focus more on measuring individual topics such as issue salience, attributes, priming effects, framing, public opinion, media analysis and other areas of social research that have employed the agenda setting theory. This is consistent with findings made by Kosicki (1993), where he argues the much concentration of researchers on certain aspects of agenda setting, thereby limiting the rigour of all-encompassing research in the area.

This study, as an exception, transcends the normative assessment of the impact of the mass media based on its traditional agenda setting role which Cohen states as 'the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about (1963, p.13)'. This statement, though made about two

decades before 'agenda setting theory' was conceptualised, has none the less come to be the focal point and driving ideology behind most agenda setting research. My argument here is the need to transcend this boundary by extending the agenda setting study beyond the investigation of 'what to think about and how to think about it', to how public opinion can be formed as the basis of political action based on what has been thought about. This is where the role of the media as a platform for debate on political issues and in which public opinion can be formed, comes to play. Also, this is where the most recent theoretical conceptualization of agenda setting, the third level agenda setting theory or the networking agenda setting model, comes in.

The media is that platform which provides that enabling environment for these agenda-setting functions to be assessed. The idea of the public sphere is adopted in this study not only to assess the role of agenda setting within the context of the media as a public sphere, but to encourage research in an area, whose conceptualisation is in tandem with the third level agenda setting model- the network of attributes model. It is hoped that this would bridge the long gap and fill the vacuum created by the years of concentration of agenda setting research to 'issue salience' and 'issue attributes' and on topics related to politics and elections. To buttress the point on the over concentration of agenda setting study to issue salience, issue attributes, and public perception of elections, McCombs and Guo (2014) note that all the while, there have been two aspects of the influence of the media on the public sphere since the early days of agenda setting study. They are: the 'salience of issues' and 'public perception of issues.'

Thus, it is further hoped that this study will increase the salience of the phenomena in agenda setting studies and discourse. This attempt is by no means, an insinuation that the study of agenda setting and the public sphere is an entirely new and independent area of discourse; for as McCombs and Guo further note, the third aspect of the study is quite recent, it is the continuing evolution of agenda-setting theory. What they explained as the third aspect of agenda setting 'describes and explains the role of the news media in the formation of public opinion (2014, p. 249)', on issues of general public concern, which clearly points to the role of the media as a public sphere in agenda-setting. The emergence of this third perspective is not surprising because other media effect studies over time, have shown that 'agenda setting can change with times, adopting more sophisticated theoretical schemes, methods, and contingent variables' (McLeod et al, 1991; Kosicki, 1993, p. 118). This study, therefore, is on course since agenda-setting study continues to evolve and its focus, refined over time.

This chapter, thus, looks at agenda setting as a participatory democratic process, in which public opinion can be formed through the network of attributes, contesting on the same platform and how they correlate in making sense of the object or issue being studied. It looks beyond the assessment of issue salience, public perception and issues attributes covered by the media. There are but a few studies on agenda-setting that assessed the role of the media as a public sphere; studies such as Mcluskie (1992), Arnold (2009), Ahmed and Jia (2014), McCombs & Guo, (2014), McCombs & Lee (2014), Neuman (2014), Cox and Pezzulo (2015); Verdegem & D'heer (2015). Based on this inadequacy, this chapter advances and recommends that with the gradual increase in the number of nations moving away from authoritarian and totalitarian systems of government and embracing democracy, studies on agenda setting should be tilted towards assessing the participatory democratic elements that agenda setting theory provides. This can be viewed on the basis of how the media provides platform in which issues and attributes of objects of general public interest can be debated, opinion formed, and causes championed. More specifically, the chapter notes the importance of assessing the effect of the agenda setting theory in providing platform for networking of idea, debate, and in shaping public opinion on a national development plan or policy in a developing democratic society.

To achieve this objective, the study proposes that an all-encompassing agenda setting approach should be adopted in assessing the impact of such a development plan or policy. By an all-encompassing agenda setting study, the chapter posits that first, second, and third level agenda setting studies should be conducted on a single issue or policy such as the Nigerian Vision 20:2020. While the first level agenda setting focuses on issue salience, second level agenda setting focuses on the attributes or frame of an issue (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Kosicki, 1993, pp.101-103; Dearing and Rogers, 1994; Werner, 2010, p.329). While third level agenda setting focuses on the correlation between attributes of objects or attributes of attributes and the transfer of salience from media agenda to public agenda (GO, Vu and McCombs, 2012). Because studies in this faculty have gone beyond first and second level agenda setting to incorporate the third level, focusing on either of the three strands, will not capture the whole essence of the agenda setting process. Therefore, there is need to incorporate all the aspects of agenda-setting process in a single study of a phenomenon with different variables, theoretical underpinnings and a mix of methods.

Secondly, the chapter posits that attributes such as the three types of agendas, also called typologies of agendas, namely: 'media', 'public' and 'policy', can be assessed in a single study on a single issue of general public interest. In choosing a topic for a study on 'Agenda Setting Process', attention should be paid to whether the topic is broad enough to assess variations, attributes of phenomenon, and whether or not such variations are aimed at achieving the overall aim of the study. The choice of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020 development plan, with its various components as discussed in the introductory section of this study is, therefore, on course. It is a wholesome issue that encapsulates all aspects of the agenda setting process. The rationale for this is not farfetched. In a 1993 study by Gerald M. Kosicki on 'Problems and Opportunities in Agenda-setting Research', he notes the over reliance on a single aspect of agenda setting by most studies rather than focusing on an all-encompassing study, which Rogers and Dearing described as the 'agenda-setting process' (1996, p.56). An all-encompassing agenda setting study, as they posit is one that captures three facets of agenda, which are 'public agenda-setting', 'policy agenda-setting, and 'media agenda-setting'. To this end, Kosicki advances that 'each part of the process is incomplete and somewhat unsatisfying by itself' and further proposes that 'by combining all three perspectives, the field can come closer to what a solid contemporary model of media influence ought to be' (1993, p.101). What Kosicki tries to advance is a wholesome study in this field that measures the three agendas in an attempt to establish their effects. Only then, will an agenda setting study be said to have followed the all-encompassing process proposed by the proponents of the theory.

The adoption of an all-encompassing agenda-setting process study is also consistent with the works of (McLeod, Kosicki, & Rucinski, 1988; McLeod, Kosicki, & Pan 1991) who argue the importance of considering the antecedents of media contents (issue salience) in providing insight into the interpretation of political and social issues and their effects. What this means is that adopting an all-encompassing approach to the study of agenda-setting process can enable researchers see the connection between the various facets of agenda setting research (McCombs & Gilbert, 1986; McCombs, 1981, 1992; Protess and McCombs, 1991; Kosicki, 1993). Such a detailed and broad look is aimed at determining the general effect of an agenda setting theory in a single study, which most studies fail to assess. With these submissions, one can rightly conclude that although third level agenda setting was conceptualised in 2011, scholars in the field have for long, advanced its idea. The study thus adopts a pragmatic approach that encompass all aspects of agenda setting process, by not just limiting it to the study of the three agendas but extending it to the first and second level agenda-setting

typologies, and to McComb's most recent third typology of agenda setting- the network agenda setting. Succinctly put, the chapter explains the idea of first level agenda-setting (issue salience), second level agenda setting or attributes agenda setting (priming, framing and time-lag), and third level agenda-setting (networking of attributes and public opinion formation). The Second aspect of the study discusses the typologies or the three types of agendas that exist.

Before we I go further to conceptualise and discuss the agenda setting theory in detail, I would like to inject and argue the need to contextualize the study of agenda-setting role of the media to different societies based on the fact that nation-states differ in terms of development, democracy and the level of press freedom enjoyed by both the publics as well as the media practitioners (Norris, 2010; Werner, et al. 2010). Even within countries categorized as 'developing', studies on modernization theory and development have found that differences exist in terms of media pluralism, secularism, economic, political dimensions and social structures (Anaeto & Anaeto, 2010, p.14; Schuster, 2008). It will, therefore, be unwise to conclude that agenda setting effects in a developed society can produce the same effect on study conducted in a developing country. It will also be unwise to generalize effects of agenda setting studies within countries classified as 'developing'. Hence, the need to study Nigeria's Vision 20:2020, a national agenda peculiar to a given nation state.

To begin with, there is a huge gap in agenda setting research focusing on a development agenda or national policy implementation in developing countries, especially in Nigeria. Most scholarly empirical agenda setting research, since the Chapel Hill study, have concentrated largely on agenda setting issue salience; transfer of salience; and media framing of messages bothering on elections and politics, (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; McCombs, 2004; Camaj and Weaver, 2013; Tan and Weaver, 2007). Only but a few studies have concentrated on the role of agenda setting in national development (Norris, 1999; Omoera, n.d), and on agenda-setting and national policy implementation (Curtin and Rhodenbaugh, 2001; Birkland, 2007; Fischer, Miller and Sidney, 2007; Torgerson, 2007; Lee, An, and Kim, 2010). Though hundreds of studies over the years have looked at a broad range of non-political public issues in extending beyond America to include Europe, Asia, Latin America and Australia (McCombs, 2005, p.543), not much has been written on agenda setting effect in Africa, specifically, on a single national development agenda such as the Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. The lack of a unified and state-of-the-earth e-library system such as the OpenAthens, which provides e-library access to different institutions and organizations in

Europe and across, makes it difficult to verify if such study was ever conducted in the country. One could easily get away if he or she argues that there are limited empirical studies on agenda setting within the Nigerian context due to the lack of e-library and access to online journals and publications in most tertiary institutions. In fact, a recent study by Nwoke (2016) observe that 'no study has examined how Nigerian mass media have used its power of selection and use of language (tone)…to the power of the media as public agenda source' (p.8). And in the context of such study in Africa, he iterates that 'there has been insignificant research, if any at all, that investigates bias, frames and negativity in African media' (p.8). Based on these, an open search was conducted on the internet using 'agenda setting' and 'agenda setting in Africa' as keyword/phrase. I, however, disagree with Nwoke's submission that there are no such studies at all, which I will argue and submit in the next paragraph.

A study by John Momoh (2015), a renowned Journalist and owner of *Channels Television*, one of the emerging private media outfits in the country, seem to oppose this assertion too. Even though Momoh titled his article 'Lecture on 'Mass Media: Setting the Nigerian Agenda', the content of the write up captures both first and second level agenda setting role and dwells so much on media framing and its effects on the public agenda, with specific reference to elections. Similarly, a study by Omoera (n.d) on agenda setting and national development, stresses the need for the media to be unbiased and detached from favouring the government in their reportage and analysis of news and agenda setting for national development. This is consistent with the study by Okwuchukwu (2014) on media ownership and control, how it promotes bias, and its influence on issues selection and framing in Nigeria.

3.2. The Importance of Agenda Setting

Since the initial Chapel Hill Study of 1968, which was first published in 1972 in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, research in agenda-setting has shown that the media can set the agenda for public attention on key public issues by influencing what people think about (Dearing and Rogers, 1996; McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Peter, 2003) and by shaping the extent to which the public consider these issues important (McCombs, 2004). Similarly, over the years, Political Scientists and Sociologists have developed interest 'in how the public influences the policy agenda' (Tan and Weaver, 2007, p.729) while other studies have explained the importance of agenda-setting in educating citizens, advocating political participation and raising their level of awareness of issues associated with political and national development (Norris, 2009; Okoro, 2013; Wirth et al, 2015). These studies admit the role of the mass

media in setting agenda on issues of general public concern such as politics, policy formation and implementation, health and environmental concerns, developmental issues and other related areas of concern. The studies further admit the strength of the theory in not only telling the audience what to think about at a point in time (salient cue), but how to think about such an issue (frame/tone), over a period of time (Cohen, 1963; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Cobb & Elder, 1972; McQuail & Windahl, 1981; Lang and Lang, 1983; Rogers and Dearing 1988; Shoemaker, 1989; Rogers, Dearing, & Bregman, 1993; Reese, 1993; Kosicki, 1993, Scheufele, 1999). More recent studies that reiterate this idea include (McCombs, 2000; Sanchez, 2002; Haley, Hillary & Sidanius, 2006; Thompson, 2006; Birkland, 2007; Weaver, 2007; Tan & Weaver, 2007; Kim, et al 2012; Trussler & Soroka, 2014; Nwofe, 2015; Wirth et al, 2015). This makes this area of study important, for most of the research have tried to theoretically explain or empirically determine the relative importance of an issue in the public sphere at a certain point in time and give the audience cues about how to perceive the issue.

How the issue is perceived at a given point in time play a significant role in ascertaining general public opinion on such an issue and how it ranks in the public's agenda of priority. Fischer, Miller and Sidney (2007), are of the opinion that the relative high importance and perception of an issue is the manifestation of its power. This help policymakers in prioritising the policies to be adopted, invested upon, and the necessary laws enacted to ensure adherence to it. Prioritisation allows the community to direct its resources, time and energy to those issues the community feels should be giving more attention. Also, the ability to prioritise societal needs is very important for it breeds competition among proponents of issues who struggle to gain the attention of the media and its professionals, the public, and the policy elites (Dearing and Rogers, 1996, pp. 1-2). Because media space and time are expensive, and there are a lot of issues needing policy attention, competition therefore, becomes a part of policy formation and implementation in agenda-setting. Hence, the need for prioritization.

Relatedly, every social system as Dearing and Rogers further argue, if it is to prioritize the problems facing it, must have an agenda to enable it decide where to start work on each problem and develop a scale of preference so as to deal with issues in a hierarchy of importance. Such a prioritization becomes necessary in a democratic society or a community, with diverse interest and civil groups championing different societal causes. A community in this regard, according to MacQueen (2001), can be a group of people who are diverse but linked by social ties, common perspectives, and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings.

A good number of agenda-setting research, focus on social change and stability in communities, or what Sanchez (2002) describes as the events occurring in our environment. This change, from the perspectives of the media, can be in the way the media represent issues and the way the public receive, address and debate the issues. Furthermore, it studies the kind of meaning the media and the public infer on such issues and the outcome of such media representation and public debates on the issues, in terms of whether or not such activities maintain stability or cause social change in the society.

Similarly, study by Stromback and Kiousis, shows that most agenda setting research have focused on 'the correlation between issues on the media agenda and issues on the public agenda' (2010, p.271). The study further observes that research in agenda-setting till date has relied on content-based measures. As a result, they have seldom investigated in detail, the extent to which people have been exposed to an issue, the way they pay attention to the content of the media, what they make of the issue in contention, and how it influences their general opinion and perception of such an issue.

The need to shift base from traditional agenda setting to another level is, therefore, very paramount given that a meta-analysis by Bryant & Miron (2004) found agenda-setting research to constitute one of the most widely used Mass Communication theories. A more recent research by (Zyglidopoulos et al, 2012) reveals that agenda setting research today is shifting base from the initial focus on the 'first level' agenda setting which investigates the salience of 'issues' or 'objects' to a focus on the 'second level' agenda setting, which questions and tackle issues of 'attribute' or 'frame' and 'priming' of an issue, signifying the characteristics of an issue; the main theme of an issue and the transfer of salience from what the media portray and what the public subsequently perceive as important, respectively. Reflecting further on the importance of agenda setting, it is important to note that te agenda setting function of the mass media has evolved and continue to be more refined and developed (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002), producing both similar and differing impacts across continents, cultures and settings. Most of the initial agenda setting studies reported salience of some issues over others while subsequent research revealed direct relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda, which is termed, the transfer of salience (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Dearing & Rogers, 1996). Other studies on the other hand indicate the presence of intervening factors in the transfer of salience (Robert, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002). Some other research recorded failed agenda-setting. An example of failed agenda setting effect is a study aimed at investigating whether traditional news media sources

have an agenda setting impact on online electronic bulletin boards (EBB). Four national issues were studied. No cross-correlation and agenda setting effect were found on the issue 'abortion' (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002). Cross-correlation was, however, found in the following issues- taxes, immigration and healthcare. This is a confirmation of an agenda-setting effect on the public through the electronic bulletin boards as against the traditional media.

Agenda setting, thus, is a very important field of Mass Communication and Media Studies that has over the years, made it possible for writers, policy makers, media and the public to monitor media coverage of issues, the relative importance attached to such issues and how the media impact on the way the public perceive and make sense of issues of general public concern. This brings us to the question, what is agenda setting?

3.3. What is Agenda-Setting?

To define agenda setting, it will be wise to start by defining what an agenda is. A good number of agenda-setting studies describe agenda as any set of issues communicated at any point in time and ranked according to importance. Writing from a political point of view, Roger Cobb and Charles Elder (1972, 1983), defined an agenda as a general group of political controversies viewed at any point in time as falling within the range of legitimate concerns and warranting the attention of the polity. To Dearing and Rogers, agenda exist at a point in time, and it is 'the result of a dynamic play, which culminates from the rise and fall in the importance of different issues' (1996, p.3). This, they added, make agenda fluid in form. Agenda can be a single issue or set of issues existing at a point in time, either occupying general attention or competing with other issues for attention of the polity or warranting the attention of the public or the government. An agenda usually ranked issues in order of importance, which is done either by the initiators, the media or the public.

If agenda is described as a set of issues, what then are issues? An issue, according to Cobb and Elder (1972, 1983) is a conflict between two or more groups over matters, which could be substantive or procedural, relating to the distribution of positions or resources. This definition means that an issue signifies whatever is in contention (Lang and Lang, 1981). An issue, as opine by Dearing and Rogers (1996, p.3) is a social problem potentially and often conflictual in nature that has received mass media coverage. This make issues newsworthy and explains why proponents and opponents of issues battle it out in a public sphere (the mass media and other platforms) for their issues or policies to receive wide coverage, publicity, and the support of all stakeholders involved.

Conflict is usually that quality of an issue that makes a social problem a public issue meriting attention. Conflict of issues in agenda-setting research as Cobb and Ross argued, should not just be restricted to "what issues government chooses to act on; they are also about competing interpretations of political problems and the alternative worldviews that underlie them'' (1997, p.11). The implication is that agenda setting research should transcend beyond mere identification of these issues by the media to examining the attributes of these issues and the various interpretation of such issues by the target audience. This is the second stage of agenda setting research, which concerns attribute agenda-setting, framing, priming and so on. I will dwell further on the types of agenda setting as the study progresses.

From these conceptualizations and based on existing literature on agenda-setting study, whether empirical, theoretical, hypothetical or speculative, agenda-setting investigates issues and their relevance and hierarchy. Also, the theory studies issue salience; how issues or policies are formulated and adopted; how issues determine public opinion; the role of the media in championing programmes; timing of an issue on the media; micro and macro analysis of an issue; features and attributes of an issue; cross cultural perception of an issue and how it impacts on the polity; why issue rise and fall on the media, impacts of media publicity on issues and a host of other related phenomenon undergoing investigations under agenda setting research. Above all, agenda-setting applies its various paradigms to investigate three major issues: the media agenda, the policy agenda and the public agenda and how they interrelate or disconnect in establishing the various theoretical backdrop developed or proposed by researchers in this subject area. These three major components can be described as the three trajectories or tripartite components of agenda-setting.

3.4. The Tripartite components of Agenda-setting: Policy, Public and Media Agendas

The agenda-setting process comprises of the media agenda, the public agenda and the policy agenda, and how they set agendas individually or interrelate in setting agendas. In agenda-setting research, focus should be on the attention given by the media, the public, and policy makers on the agenda, as issues rise and fall as well as compete with one another for attention (Dearing and Rogers, 1996) and the subsequent effects of these actions. These three agendas were further conceptualised by McQuail and Windahl (1993). They posit that the *media agenda* prioritises the attention given by the media to issues and events of public interest and concern. The *public agenda* assesses the salience and knowledge of the issue or event in the minds of the public; while the *policy agenda* focuses on the issue and policy proposals of government officials and stakeholders in the society, which the media create awareness on.

What this implies in agenda setting research, thus, is that research in this area goes beyond the over concentration on assessing issue salience, which Cohen (1963) advanced, to a focus on the attributes of the objects or issues, and lately, to more focus on the complex interactions among these tripartite components of agenda setting (Kim et al, 2012).

Studies of the tripartite agendas (policy, media and public) constitute horse riding amongst the proponents of each to ensure that their point of view is more salient in the polity. An exception to this is if the focus of the study is on a single component. Therefore, there is need to conceptualize what these agendas mean. Conceptualization of these three agendas and the various debates surrounding them would provide a theoretical base for testing their application in real life situations.

The next sections will dwell on how each of these components of agenda setting sets agenda individually and how they interact, relate and network in setting a single agenda on an issue of public interest such as the Nigeria's Vision 20:2020.

3.4.1. The Policy Agenda

Policy agenda concerns with the formulation of an issue or policy and the intricacies involved in ensuring that such an issue, policy, programme or plan is placed as an agenda in the media and in the minds of the public. It also focuses on how the media ensures it becomes current in the minds of the audiences leading to the successful implementation and actualization of the plan or policy. Public policy making is a set of processes, which include the setting of agenda and the implementation of the decision (Kingdon, 2003). Usually, policies are initiated by issue proponents: these are individuals or groups of people who not only initiate an idea or come up with an issue but they also advocate for attention to be given to such an issue and help determine the position of an issue on the agenda, sometimes at the cost of other issues (Dearing and Rogers, 1996).

What issues reach the agenda and in what form they are defined has a huge influence upon political systems. When someone invests resources like money, time and efforts into propounding an issue or social problem, he becomes the proponent of it. In most cases, the proponent must have been influenced to do so based on a certain perspective or motive; they do not just set out to waste resources or invest in what is not likely to generate anything. And usually, there are a lot of competing items on an agenda at any point in time. The success of each depends on how much time and resources initiators are ready to put into realizing their planned objective.

Competition plays important role in agenda setting and policy initiators have to bear that in mind when initiating and implementing a policy. It's has been argued by Kingdon that "pre-decision public policy processes'' (2011, p.2), are a site of intense competition between actors operating in a field comprising complex interactions between policy elites, strategic actors, the media and the public sphere. Moreover, as Cobb and Ross point out, "agenda conflicts are not just about what issues government chooses to act on; they are also about competing interpretations of political problems and the alternative worldviews that underlie them'' (1997, p. 11). This explains why policy entrepreneurs, beyond successfully placing an issue on the public agenda, ensure that their preferred solution is implemented (Baumgartner and Jones, 2009; Bua, 2012). Competition, therefore, serves as major determinants of most agenda setting impact; ranging from policy making, media choice, coverage and framing. Competition also transcends to public understanding and perception of an issue as well as competition resulting from audiences' divergent interpretation of media messages.

The question is who designed and formulated the Vision 20:2020 agenda? It has been observed generally that 'affluent classes tend to dominate public policy innovations in terms of both initiation and turnout (Garrett, 1999; Smith, 2009, pp. 116–117, Jann and Werner, 2007; Togerson, 2007; Fischer et al, 2007; Birkland, 2007; Lee, Ann, and Kim, 2016). Such was the case in the formulation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. In a country like Nigeria, with democratic provisions enshrined in its Constitution, it is expected that issues of general public interest are proposed jointly by the people, their representatives, civil societies, interest groups, as well as the government (Cobb and Ross, 1997; Birkland, 2007). They recommended that policy initiation and formulation in a democratic society, ideally, should involve all relevant stakeholders- the government, the media and the people. The people in this case are categorised under civil groups and societies as well as private organizations. It does not look like the initiation and formulation of the Nigeria's Vision 20:2020 falls short of that. The Executive summary of the document mentioned the involvement of all stakeholders in the implementation of the plan, from civil societies, private and public organizations to the government itself.

On the contrary, there have been public outcries on the non-involvement of civil societies and other groups in the initiation of the Vision. An enquiry to the National Planning Commission, the government organ saddled with the responsibility of implementing the development plan also notes that the media were not part of the initiation of the policy. But based on their social responsibility to the society and as watchdogs, they are expected to play their part through the

provision of publicity to the issue. No record shows the involvement of the general public at the proposal initiation stage. No public opinion poll was conducted to find out public perception about the long-term developmental plan or to contribute their opinion. The record shows no formal engagement of the media as partners and stakeholders in the implementation of the plan. Not even the Civil Societies were involved. The group had to officially write to the Federal government complaining about their non-involvement in the plan. These are some of the setbacks that direct democratic innovations aim at curbing, the provision of an all-inclusive public sphere. The Vision 20:2020 agenda was formulated by the government, perhaps, in collaboration with consultants.

Direct democratic innovations, a tenet of the public sphere as argued by Bua (2012) emphasises on quantity, on the number of people to be involved in policy making for agenda to be set. It highlights the importance of all stakeholders to be involved in policy initiation and or formulation. But as Chambers (2001) observes, such processes have been criticised for failing to inspire high levels of deliberation among participants involved in policy initiation. If this is the case, one wouldn't be wrong to say that direct innovations reflect and promotes social inequalities. This negates on the policy of equality and inclusivity which the idea of an ideal public sphere in a democratic setting sets out to achieve. That notwithstanding, it should be borne in mind that even if an issue is designed and dominated by the elite, appropriately designed processes and methods aimed at increasing the opportunities for citizens to influence the public policy agendas may contribute to changing or reversing the elite dominance of the policy process (Parkinson, 2006, p. 170; Bua 2012, p.13). This can be achieved through the mass media as a platform in the form of letters to the editor, articles, commentaries and other mediated avenues in which public opinion can be tracked and measured.

3.4.2. The Public Agenda

Public agenda-setting as opine by Dearing and Rogers (2004) concentrates on the importance of a set of issues on the public agenda. Citizens' engagement in policy initiations on matters of public interest is very important determinant of their perception and reaction or feedback on an issue. It should be realised that such issues concern the public, thus, their input in its initiation, either directly or indirectly, is germane. An example of the use of people through representation to set a public agenda is in the formulation of the proposal on the Sustainable Communities Act (SCA), 2007, of the United Kingdom. In proposing the double devolution idea, Local Authorities were provided with the opportunity to influence public policy. This

was based 'upon the condition that they engaged their communities in formulating ideas and reached agreement with participants on which proposals to make (Bua, 2012.p.13)'. The SCA aimed at providing an opportunity for local citizens within communities to influence the government agenda through their councils. The spirit behind this as Bua argues is that locals know best where their shoes pinch, hence can best contribute to the sustainability of their areas, but most times need the central government to act before they get involved. Recent happenings in developing nations, however, show that citizens do not wait for the government to tell them where their shoes pinch, such as the Arab Spring. They do not just accept and swallow whatever policy the government comes up with. The Occupy Wall Street 2011 is one of such examples of the power of the public to challenge government policies and programmes. Another good example is the Occupy Nigeria, January 2012, in which Nigerians resisted the almost 100% hike in the per litre price of petrol. Most occupy movement protests in different countries are a revolt to government or organization's undemocratic policies or non-citizen involved initiatives.

Whether or not an issue receives public backing is very important in determining the success of such an issue or policy. This explains why policymakers tend to be responsive to public opinion on policy issues (Hutchings, 2003). Usually, there are a number of issues on the national agenda and on the public's agenda; the public know best where the shoe pinches and the way and manner they react, support or criticize an issue, depends on its relative importance to their needs and the way and manner such issue is framed by the media. This explains why a good number of agenda-setting research investigate not only the frequency of coverage of an issue by the media but how the salience of such issue is transferred to the public agenda, and how the public perceive such issue and its effect.

3.4.3. The Media Agenda

A good number of media studies attest the potentials of mass media as a viable tool for projecting key national issues and in setting agenda. Highlighting the efficacy of the mass media in the society, Tejumaiye (2005) explains how an American Philosopher once said if he should turn of his radio and television and go to bed, wake up the next morning without any news on these media of communication, with no newspapers on the newsstand, then he knows that all is not well in the world. This simply means that if there are no technical faults with all the mass media, yet there are no news stories to tell the world, then certainly, all is not well. This shows powerful of the mass media in the society. Fronting this idea, Adegoke states that "in a fast-moving world, facts cannot always speak for themselves. Unexplained facts can sometimes actually confuse and deceive" (2001, p.93) the readers and listeners. This

is why the audience of mass communication messages not only need information, but such information should be detailed, should contain the background to the issue and other follow up events relating to such issue. This would enable the public understand, make rational judgement, and take decisions concerning an issue of local, national or international importance.

Thus, this informs the need for the mass media as a tool for national mobilization, especially in a heterogeneous environment (Nwabueze, 2005; Ifeanyi, Martins and Alexander, 2012) to be proactive as well as champion and support national causes and policies. This, in agenda-setting theory, as Nwabueze further asserts is achieved by the level of coverage accorded an issue by the mass media. This invariably mean the amount of coverage accorded an issue by the mass media go a long way in determining the importance attached to such an issue by the audience. In a similar vein, some researchers assert that "the amount of press coverage that issues receive gives individuals salience cues with which they learn the relative importance of these issues" (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p. 37; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004; McCombs, 2004). As a communication mechanism, therefore, the mass media have unparalleled reach (Leask et al, 2010), able to send the same message to a diverse and heterogeneous audiences almost instantaneously. This huge role of the mass media applies in agenda-setting.

Media agenda-setting focuses on the priority of an issue on the mass media. It concerns the importance bestowed on an issue by the media in its hierarchy of importance, whether on local, national or global agenda. This is usually determined by gatekeepers who decide what should get into the public domain and what should be killed. Whatever issue is championed by the media and its relative importance is to a large extent determined by the amount of coverage given to such an issue, the angle given to such a story, the kind of conflict it generates, and the detailed interpretation given to such issue.

The media agenda also concern with the amount of time allotted to an issue by the media. This role of the media is so important that it has been observed that the press may not be successful always in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about (Cohen, 1963; Dearing and Rogers, 1996). Its substantial power in agenda-setting not only tells what to think about, but the actions to take and how we should think about such issues. This is termed media framing of issues which we shall discuss further. This can be achieved through either frequent or long-term coverage of an issue as well as the way such an issue is framed by the media.

Once an issue is publicised by the media, the attention given to it and the responses from the receiving public determines its importance on the public's agenda. Attention to an issue, whether by media personnel, members of the public, or policymakers, represents power by some individuals or organizations to influence the decision process. Once an issue is publicised and gained a strategic position in the hierarchy of newsworthy items, the work does not stop there, the proponents would continue to invest more to making sure that it continues to attract attention of the media and the people and be relevant, especially if that social change target has not been achieved. This explains why policy initiators not only place issues on the public agenda but ensure that their preferred solution is implemented (Baumgartner and Jones, 2009). Similarly, Dearing and Rogers argue that an 'issue may continue to attract attention or it may not, depending on (a) competition from other issues, each of which has its proponents, and (b) the ability of proponents of the . . . issue to generate new information about [it] so as to maintain its newsworthiness (1996, p.4)'. They further opine that whether we study issues, their proponents, the media, interest groups and their likes 'the process of influence, competition, and negotiation as carried out by issue proponents is a dynamic driving the agenda-setting process' (1996, p.4), and should not be ignored if the goal of a policy or an idea is to be achieved.

Another important role of media to be considered in agenda-setting is its exploration of risk in media coverage of events. The media is said to help in detecting the risk associated with an issue. This, argues Campbell, is achieved by "bringing attention to controversial issues" (2011, p.267). This way "the media, in effect, make risks visible and define a frame or context in which related events can be interpreted (Nelkin, 1989, p. 107)'. By bringing issues of general public interest to the people through the media, such issues are explored, discussed and in the process, create controversies, bringing out the benefits and the risks associated with the adoption of such a policy, programme, idea or plan.

3.5. The Agenda Setting Process

The agenda setting process is a new field in the study of agenda setting. It constitutes the study of first, second and third level agenda setting in a single study with the aim of ascertaining and establishing the overall agenda setting effect of a particular phenomenon based on media coverage. I shall discuss the three levels of agenda setting in detail in the succeeding sections:

3.5.1. First Level Agenda Setting or Issue Salience

First Level agenda setting is also known as issue salience. It is the first step in agenda-setting study that examines media coverage of an issue within a given period of time. What it studies is called 'salience' of an issue or the frequency of appearance of an issue in the media. Jeffrey Wimmer of the institute of Media, Communication and Information, University of Bremen, Germany, in a lecture slide defines first level agenda setting as 'the selection of object or issue for attention, which is "what to think about'' or "the transfer of salience" (n.d.), from media to public agenda. It is the degree to which an issue on the agenda is perceived as relatively important (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p.8; Ku, 2002; Thompson, 2006; Birkland, 2007; Weaver, 2007; Weaver and Tan, 2007; Wirth et al, 2010). Dearing and Rogers assert that issue ssalience offers explanation as to "why information about certain issues are available to the public in a democratic setting while others are not" (1996, p.2). They further opine that salience explains "how public opinion is shaped; and why certain issues are addressed through policy actions while others are not". These conceptualizations of salience imply that the concept is not only restricted to measuring or ascertaining the frequency of coverage of an issue but goes beyond that to include why some issues are given more coverage than others and why some issues are not covered at all.

Salience is a good indication of the amount of media coverage and publicity accorded an issue. It is so important in the prioritization of national issues on the agenda of the media, the policy makers and the public because it gives the public cues as to the type of issues that are more important in the government or policy makers' agenda.

It has been observed, however, that media coverage of an idea can have both positive and negative or adverse effects on the public (Hilton et al, 2010; Levin, 2001; Levin, Schneider and Gaeth, 1998). A positive correlation is likely to contribute towards accentuating public acceptance of an idea or policy (Ader, 1995; Levin and Gaeth, 1988; Levin 2001) while negative, in terms of its ability to accentuate risk, promote unfavorable idea or social vices like the case of the introduction of the Human Papilloma Virus vaccine in the United Kingdom in the year 2008. Though media campaign for it created the needed publicity and awareness, it is said to at the same time, encourage promiscuity (Hilton et al, 2010, p.942). This, Hilton et al further argues, is an unhelpful aspect of media coverage or salience of an issue.

A good number of empirical research have also shown that the spectrum of issues in the minds of the public is limited (Shaw & McCombs, 1977; Stone and McCombs, 1994; Stromback and Kiousis, 2010), which explain why issues proponents and media advocates

should strive hard to constantly inundate the public with information on an issue through excessive media coverage in order to maintain the salience of such an issue in the public's issues agenda. This is important for as Stromback and Kiousis argue, "decline in issue competition is one factor that may create an environment conducive to higher issue salience levels for some issues and not others" (2010, p.278). The media, thus, need to discharge it social responsibility to the general public by not only inundating them with updates on an issue of general public interest, but should give detailed analysis as well as provide room for critical analysis of news items by the public, especially when such issue is a matter of general public concern.

This is one of the ideals in which the mediated public sphere is expected to champion in democratic societies. In doing this, the public, which is expected to be rational with a good sense of reasoning, when inundated with news on an issue, will be able to make judgement and take informed decisions. Also, the media will be able to apply their sense of rationality in deciding whether or not to support a policy or programme that concerns them and the nation at large or to dismiss such an issue as irrelevant to their plights and needs.

Lately, the study had transformed from focus on salience across different aspects of the theory as I earlier mentioned, to studying the characteristics or attributes of news items, and to the study of how the various components of the theory interrelate as well as the application of these theory across cultures territorial backgrounds in the form of comparative analysis.

3.5.2. Second Level Agenda Setting: Attributes Agenda-Setting

The term 'framing' was first used in a 1980 article in *Journalism Quarterly* (Weaver, 2007). Before we go ahead to define the term 'framing', it is paramount to note that it has been argued that the term has conflicting meanings "with previous studies lacking clear conceptualization" (Scheufele, 1999, p.103). This is consistent with Entman's observation that the term has "a scattered conceptualization" (1993, p.51). Similarly, a study by Brosious and Eps (1995), posits that the concept has not been clearly explicated, it is not generally applicable, and cannot be easily translated into research questions.

At the dawn of the last decade, Kim et al (2002), iterate that there are multiple operational definitions of framing. And more recently, the same author reiterated that "framing is still a fuzzy term" (2012, p.45). These similar but distinctive studies are confirmation of the

lingering ambiguity of the concept 'framing' despite the over three decades of both theoretical and empirical studies conducted on the topic.

The ambiguity in the conceptualization of the term can be discerned from the different studies conducted using the theory and the type of problems they attempted to either proffer solution to, clarify or disprove. Specifically, Scheufele, notes that the word 'framing', has been used in different studies repeatedly to describe ''similar but distinctly different approaches'' (1999, p.103). The author's study, hammered on the approaches employed by each writer and explains how they relate and differ. A study by Hamil and Lodge (1986) found no differences between the terms- 'frame', 'schema' and 'script'. Ku (2002) studied inter-media framing effect or distinctive framing across media channels. Another study by Wicks (1992), focuses only on the cognitive categorization of issues while McCombs opines that framing, when used in the context of second level agenda-setting, concerns with "the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed" (1997, p.37). He further opined that framing should instead, be replaced by the term 'attribute agenda setting'. But Kim et al (2002) and Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) averse that framing and attribute agenda setting describe different phenomena. Relatedly, some other study tried to conceptualize framing by distinguishing it from agenda setting and priming (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Weaver, 2007). To the latter School of Thought, framing is a component of agenda setting and not a standalone theory.

A good number of studies, however, view framing from the angle given to a news story whether positive, negative, neutral, mixed, or satiric/cynical frames or tones. Such studies either focus on a single frame, two frames or multiple frames in a single study. Examples of such studies are (Keller & Block, 1995; Levin, 2001; Thompson, 2006; Haley & James, 2006; PewResearchCenter, 2007; Weaver, 2007; Pew Research Center, 2012; Trussler & Soroka, 2014; Nwofe, 2016). These are some of the framing studies that focused on investigating the angle given to a news story or what some writers, Thompson (2006), Pew Research Center (2012), and Nwoke (2016) called, tone of news.

In summary, Weaver (2007) opines that these conflicting conceptualizations boil down to a focus on either of these areas- "problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations, and treatment recommendations, as well as key themes, phrases, and words" (p.143). Thus, framing research, could focus on defining the problem associated with an issue of public concern, it can attempt to test for causality or interpret causal relationships, it can focus on

evaluating the moral stance of a phenomenon, it can also evaluate the angle given to a phenomenon or how it is treated, it can focus on the type of recommendations given. Framing study can also focus on conceptual clarification of themes, terminologies, attributes, components or characteristics of an issue.

This study, therefore, adopts the idea of framing as a component of second-level agenda-setting or attribute of an issue and not a standalone theory or model of assessing media effect, which Entman (1993 and Scheufele (1999) proposed.

Framing is seen as the media's second major process of influencing the selection of particular aspects of social problems to emphasize (Entman, 1993). It deals with "the idea that the media, by highlighting certain aspects of an issue" (Kim et al, 2012, p.45), is capable of advocating a particular "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p.52). This can be achieved by deliberately shaping the tone of news towards a particular direction or multiple directions.

Research have shown that the news media, with it powerful attributes, is capable of shaping public opinion about issues by laying emphasis on certain features of such issues when covering and reporting them. Issues like the causes of such a problem, who is responsible for addressing it, and what groups are affected by such a problem are emphasized (Gollust and Lantz, 2009). Compounding this thinking, other researchers argue that the media can shape the public's opinions about what issues are important and can emphasize particular ways of thinking about a problem (Gamson et al, 1992; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). This is a confirmation that the media is an important tool for the formation of public opinion in any society and how such an issue is framed or slanted in the process of editorial scrutiny by media organizations, go a long way in determining how the public perceive such a message and how it shapes their opinion of such an issue. It can be either in support of the issue (positive frame), against (negative frame), neither in support nor against (neutral frame), cynical representation (satiric frame) or a balanced opinion/combination of angles (mixed frame).

In issue framing studies, it is very important to consider how frames determine the agenda setting effects of news story on an issue, policy, plan or agenda. The way an issue is framed by the media provides the audience with important interpretative clues (Kim et al, 2012.p.45).

If these clues appeal to the audiences' pre-existing perception and cognitive schemata, the audience will use it in making sense of the updated issue (Scheufele, 2000) and will aid in the formation of a new perception of such an issue.

The success of framing and its ability to appeal to pre-existing opinion or schemata, depends on a memory-based model. This model assumes that the most salient issues in a person's memory becomes assessable and are likely to influence one's decision making (Zaller and Feldman, 1992; Price and Tewksbury, 1997; Kim et al, 2012). The implication of this is that the most salient frame, which is usually the result of the public being constantly inundated with certain stories based on certain news angles, influence how the people perceive such an issue. This is a clear evidence of the dependence of first and second level agenda-setting on each other, it also clearly shows how the two interact in order to set agenda and make sense of an issue.

Since the salience of an issue depends on the frequency of coverage of media message and the frequency of exposure of the audience to the message, one can rightly conclude that the more exposed the people are to media messages, whether favourably or unfavourably slanted, the better their chance of storing and retrieving such messages from their subconsciousness, especially if such messages appeal to their preexisting schemata and cognitive orientation (Scheufele, 2000; Kiousis, 2005; Lee, 2010; McCombs and). Also, the more conscious the people would be of such a message, policy, plan or programme.

How recent the people are exposed to the message also play important role in registering it in their memory. This explains the need for the audience to be constantly inundated with new information on an issue, especially if the target of the policy is yet to be realized or achieved. In tandem with this idea, Kim et al added that "by covering a certain issue more prominently or frequently, the media can increase the accessibility of the issue in people's memory" (2012, p.46).

In providing frequent coverage of issues or perspectives of an issue, media competition should not be overlooked and only those issues that would generate much interest and public debate should be prioritized. Issue proponents and the media should, therefore, bear in mind the competitive nature of media space and time and should note that coverage patterns are the product of a competitive process among multiple actors vying for finite amounts of attention and space in which to define a problem, assign blame, and suggest who is responsible for

addressing it (Blumer, 1971; Gusfield, 1981; Hilgartner and Bosk, 1988, Gollust and Lantz 2009).

This competition among issues should not be seen as limited to the issues covered by the media, reason being that whether a problem appears in the news or not, it plays a significant role by influencing the type of problems the public consider to be important (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). What this suggests is that framing should not be restricted to issues covered by the media, for through interpersonal communication, policy makers can monitor public opinion on a policy. The media in this case can serve to either bring the issue to the forefront of the public or derive those cues in which it can use to have an idea of what the public feel about an issue and to conduct a survey to ascertain the facts on ground.

Another angle to be considered in terms of media framing is the ability of the message to be delivered as intended and to illicit the desired response. Care should be taken when framing an issue; this is to avoid sending the wrong message or signal to the public, a signal which can lead to the misinterpretation of a message by the public and the intended objective, not attained. If I may take us back to the example I earlier gave on the campaign for the HPV vaccination in the UK for example, not only was the message received on a positive note, but a good number of mothers who were exposed to the media message found it to be encouraging promiscuity as well. Therefore, the media need to clearly frame and define a message without ambiguity if such a message is to be received and interpreted by the public as intended.

Of particular importance to this study is framing as a determinant of the tone of mediated message, which is in most cases, decided and influenced by the media agenda through the gatekeeping effect of the media as well as the public agenda setting role, which appears in the form of public opinion through letters to the editor, unedited or undistorted interviews with experts in a field, columns and feedbacks mechanisms.

3.5.2.1. Priming as Attribute Agenda-setting.

Issue priming in agenda-setting research is a major component of 'second' level agenda setting research. According to Kim et al (2012, p.33) 'priming is an impact that agenda setting can have on the way people evaluate public [issues]'. To Iyengar and Kinder, priming is the process whereby mass media attend to certain issues and not others in such a way that they shape 'the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for

public office are judged (1987, p. 63)', and are accepted or rejected. Priming concerns with the way people perceive and evaluate issues whether positively or negatively, with a mixed feeling, or neutral.

Its concern with how salience of an issue becomes public opinion and studies the processes involved in the transfer of this salience from the media agenda to public agenda, to form public opinion. Priming of an issue is achieved through the salience of such an issue and the way policy makers or initiators and the media, packaged a news story; the angles they give to it (framing), the frequency of exposure as well as the various interpretations it raised in the eyes of the public are of importance in determining priming effect. Media play crucial role in determining the impact of priming or priming effect; it plays the role of the conveyor of the issue or message framed by the sender and intended to have a priming effect on the public.

Decades ago, researchers such as Cohen (1963) argued that the media may be successful in telling people what to think. Recent evidences suggest that they are successful not only in telling people what to think about, but how to think about it. This suggests that the effect of the media goes beyond the cognitive processes. The effect of agenda setting process may go beyond the cognitive processes Kiousis (2005) by "influencing the attitude of the audience, telling them what is important to consider when making up their minds on issues" (Kim et al, 2012). This may play important role in shaping public opinion (McCombs and Estrada, 1997). This influence on the attitude of an audience or the way the public react or respond to an issue, is what is called the priming effect or impact of the mediated message.

Priming is a product of attribute agenda-setting research. Attribute agenda setting also known as second-level agenda-setting, as argued by Kim et al (2012) is concern with the attributes of an issue such as the reasons why people support or oppose a given issue or idea. Research have shown that the amount of emphasis placed on certain attributes of an issue by the media "plays a powerful agenda setting function" (Kim, et al 2012, p.45). The much emphasis on the attribute of an issue makes an issue salient and may shape people's perception of such an issue. Supporting this argument is the hypothesis that "certain attributes made prominent by news coverage will also become salient in people's minds" (Golan and Wanta, 2001; McCombs, 1997; Kim et al (2012, p.55). This was hypothesized and found to be true. Compounding this thinking, Kim et al (2000) opine that "as the media make certain attributes of an issue more prominent, according to attribute priming, the audience gives more weight to the same attributes when deciding whether or not to support the issue" (cited in Kim et al,

2012, p.44)'. When certain attributes of an issue are emphasized in the media, they not only become salient in people's minds but give cues to how the issue is perceived by the public.

Attributes salient is not the only aspect of second level agenda setting that the media focuses on, the media also frames an issue by assigning a central theme or themes to it. And in the process of understanding, assimilating and interpreting media messages, the audiences selective perceive media messages and form attributes based on their exiting schemata and sense of rationality. Such attributes may not necessarily be mentioned by the media in the news story, but it is usually the product of what the public make of the message, its latent meaning, and its likely effect on them. It could be based on their pre-existing belief about the issue which they acquired before exposure to the particular HPV vaccination campaign or their interpretation of the message after being exposed to it. In the case of the HPV vaccine, the public came up with an attribute 'promiscuity' which was completely not mentioned in the news story and not intended by the sender of the message as well as the media. Promiscuity as an attribute of the vaccination message was thus determined by the recipients of the message and not intended by the media to end up with some priming effect. It's a bye product of how audiences understand and interpret a media message, which is usually out of the control of the sender of the media or the conveyor of the message, that is, the media.

Even though Kim et al (2012) observe that traditionally, priming researches have consistently centred on issues of U.S Presidential elections, see (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; Willnat and Zhu, 2001), Price and Tewksbury (1997) however, opine that there are virtually no reason why other kinds of evaluations especially political evaluations, cannot be subjected to priming effect. This invariably means that any idea that is regarded as an issue, especially social issue, warranting media coverage, can be evaluated for its priming effect. Vision 20:2020 is, therefore, not an exception.

Priming theory can, thus, be seen as evaluating the media's influence on the way and manner issues are judged by the public. The outcome of which is usually, as Kim et al argued, a reflection of certain attributes of the issues that become salient in people's minds (attribute agenda-setting) and serve as important dimensions and yardsticks for the evaluation of issues among the public (attribute priming).

Thus, 'priming', ''framing and 'attribute agenda-setting' should not be misconstrued to mean the same thing. While priming deals with the transfer of salience of an issue from the media

to the public, which determines public perception of an issue, framing deals with the way the message is being conveyed, framed or packaged or the different angles given to the story. Usually, it's is the way an issue is framed by the media that determines priming and its effect Attribute agenda setting on the other hand studies the various components of an issue; the characteristics and attributes of an issue, the type of agenda (media, policy or public); It studies what aspect of a message is salient and which is not; the frame of the message (positive, negative, neutral, mixed, satirical, and so on). Finally, attributes agenda setting encapsulates the study of priming effect.

It is worth noting that there have been a lot of controversies over the definitions, similarities and differences of these terms, especially with regard to framing and agenda-setting, priming and attribute agenda setting. According to Kim et al, to some agenda setting researchers such as (McCombs, 1997,) framing should be seen as a natural extension of agenda setting and "be replaced by attribute agenda-setting" (2012, p.45). Similarly, framing, according to Entman (1993), is similar to agenda-setting. While to Kim et al (2002) and other (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007), attribute agenda-setting and framing are two different phenomena and should be treated as separate terminologies. Kim et al further argue that "agenda-setting and priming are based on a set of theoretical premises that is different from framing" (2012, p.45), while framing is a complicated term with different theoretical and operational definitions. Framing is also seen as "a process of selecting certain aspects of reality and making them more salient' (Kim et al, 2012, p.45, see also Entman, 1993). Another definition of framing is by Gamson and Modigliani (1989). They define the term as a story line or an interpretative package.

To Price and Tewksbury (1997), however, the distinction is the type of models advanced by the concepts. They argue that 'it is necessary to make a conceptual distinction between applicability-based models, such as framing, and accessibility-based models, such as agenda setting and priming" (Kim et al, 2012, p.45). In the context of this research, framing is defined as the way media portray an issue, giving it different angles and perspectives. There can be different frames within a particular media message. Some researchers such as Kim et al, however, are of the view that "simply mentioning a particular issue attribute does not necessarily mean that the media framed the issue in terms of that attribute" (2012, p.46). This contradicts the assumptions made by other agenda-setting researchers in which I earlier mentioned that the media does not only tell the public what to think about but how to think about issues. Framing thus, gives the audience the different cues to an issue; it defines an

issue; its gives it an angle, which then serve as the different attributes and properties to be deduced from such an issue. That, however, does not mean that the receiving public cannot frame the message in another direction based on their cognitive dissonance.

Another area of contention in agenda setting research is between framing of issues and agenda setting in their mode of application and operationalization. While salience in agenda setting is measured based on the frequency of occurrence of the issue or attribute in the media by way of numerical quantification, framing relies on qualitative method of data analysis. It uses categorization and thematic analysis of attributes to determine effects. That however, does not mean that framed issues cannot be further analyzed quantitatively and frequency of issues cannot be further analyzed qualitatively. There is, therefore, possible to mix methods of data analysis on an agenda- setting research depending on what the researcher sets out to achieve, which is determined by the research questions and hypotheses raised in the study. In such a situation, pragmatic approach to research, should be employed.

A clear distinction can also be made between the central frame of the story and the different attributes of a story; it is in the application of each concept using content analysis. The difference is this, framing concerns with identifying the main frame and defining the major themes while attributes concerns with keeping a tally of the various attributes and features of a story (McCombs 2005).

Lastly, one other point of divergence is between framing and agenda setting in respect to their effects. In framing model, the effect of media is felt through the terminological usage or the 'semantic differences in how an issue is described' (Kim et al., 2002, p.10). Different framing of an issue will be defined and understood differently by the audience, producing different meanings and evoking different responses and perceptions. In agenda setting on the other hand, the likely effect "is the salience of the issue itself and not the way the issue is described, that evokes audience responses in the subsequent judgments and decision-making processes" (Kim et al, 2012, p.46). The effect here is based on the amount of coverage and the frequency of exposure to such story than on the way the terms are defined.

Thus, in the context of this research, each of the above agenda setting terminologies will be discussed as separate terms. The concept of framing, salience, priming, and attribute agenda setting are used and applied as different terminologies within the second level agenda setting theory. Framing in this context refers to the central theme of a media message based on the

way the media packaged it or the angle given to such a story. Priming is the resultant action, impact or effect of the transfer of salience from the media agenda to the public agenda. Salience is the frequency of media coverage of an issue, a major frame of an issue or the frequency of issue attributes. While attributes agenda setting concerns the various sub themes, characteristics, features of news story, framing, priming, time-lag and so on. In more clear terms, framing, priming and attributes all fall under the second level agenda setting and all are forms of 'attributes' agenda setting.

3.5.2.2. Media Space and Time Lag as Attribute Agenda-Setting

Media space and time lag is considered a component of second level agenda setting study which is also called attributes agenda-setting. Space and time on the media agenda are said to be scarce resources that make agenda-setting a zero - sum game, (Zhu, 1992a). Recent competition for power amongst media houses and the desire to maximise profit has made media space and time very scarce resources and not much space is allocated to unpaid news and analysis of issues. This is bane on agenda-setting studies. This explains why policy makers and champions of plans and proponents of ideas and programmes set aside money for media time and space if maximum publicity is to be achieved, planned programmes implemented, and targets actualized.

The decision to publish the issue by the Editor is usually influenced by the relative importance of that issue over other similar and competing issues. If it is newsworthy and capable of generating media traffic, then it gets frequent coverage or mention by the media. Looking at it from media economy perspective, it means more money for the media. In an era where capitalism is the order of the day with media pluralism opening doors to private ownership of media houses, the need to compete is paramount and survival of the fittest is an absolute necessity. This explains why the media go for catchy stories that will appeal to their audiences to guarantee high coverage. This is also important because it has been found that high media coverage of certain issues not only make the issue appear to be important, but it stimulates enough interest in the topic (Roberts et al, 2002). The more an issue is covered the more awareness it creates.

Time lag is very important in agenda setting research and in content analysis. It can be the duration of media coverage of a story or the timing between media stories. It is used in determining the period of time in which an issue is covered by the media and the interval in which such issue is mentioned. This is then used in determining the agenda setting effect of a

media message, as Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo (2002) opine, it's important to study the time frame in order to know the best time frame over which media coverage has the most impact on public opinion.

Different studies recommended different time frame or time lag for determining agenda setting effect. While some suggest shorter time lag, others suggest longer time frame. For example, a study recorded that agenda-setting effects were most likely to occur when coverage was much and when there was a significant variation in the coverage from month to month (Brosius and Kepplinger, 1990). To Stone and McCombs (1981) on the other hand, it takes two to six months for a topic to be registered in the minds of a few. In a way, this means agenda setting impact is best felt when a long-term study is conducted over months, giving room for enough media coverage and exposure especially if the issue is a long-term plan. On the other hand, the optimal effect span, as opine by Winter and Eyal (1981), is between four and six weeks. This, they argue, is based on the fact that research has found that people are not likely to discuss issues they saw weeks earlier. Concurring with this thinking, Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo (2002) added that individuals discuss issues they hear in the news for only a few days. This explains the need for the public to be constantly inundated with updates about an issue through long term coverage especially if such issue is part of a long-term plan.

Controversial issues too may need a longer time lag. Longer coverage may compel people to discuss and argue more on the issue. Interpersonal communication too, and not only the media could be the stimulus of such discussion (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002). This is because it has been found that interpersonal communication, at times, interfere with the agenda-setting process of the news media by providing the public with important cues that conflict with media coverage (Wanta and Wu, 1992). Such could be said to be what led to the negative priming effect of the HPV vaccination earlier discussed.

Outside sources, especially famous and powerful personalities and their take on issues can also influence the agenda setting process thereby directing the framing of public opinion. The study by Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo (2002), shows how a comment by President Clinton in support of Obama during the latter's first tenure campaign saw a rise in the number of pro Obama supporters. In a related vein, the study noted that individuals generally have strong feelings about some issues and do not necessarily need media coverage to elicit discussions about those issues.

In addition to the positive effect of long time-lag, the time lag also produces negative effect. It has been found that media coverage can also decrease public concerns as a function of the recipient's self-involvement and interest in the issues (Wanta and Hu, 1993). The more people are exposed to an issue, the less their interest in such an issue. This can be said to be one of the negative effects of long time-lag agenda-setting research. This is a finding from only but few research, though. Hence, there is need for more hypotheses on this finding to be investigated and ascertained.

3.5.3. Third Level Agenda Setting.

Since the Chapel Hill study, agenda setting studies have concentrated on first and second level agenda setting role of the media, not until lately that Guo and McCombs (2011a, 2011b) introduced the Third Level Agenda setting model also known as Network Agenda Setting (NAS). The model asserts that "the salience of the network relationships among objects/or attributes, in addition to discrete individual elements, can be transferred from the news media to the public's mind'' (2011, p.1). This theoretical model further proposes that 'the news media can bundle sets of objects or attributes and make these bundles of elements salient in the public's mind simultaneously'' (Guo, Vu and McCombs, 2012, p. 1). Third level agenda setting, tests a more powerful hypothesis, which says that "the salience of related, networked elements on the media agenda influences the salience of these related, networked elements on the public agenda'' (McCombs, 2015, p.301).

The implication of this network of agendas is that it is no longer enough that 'issues' also known as 'objects' (first level agenda setting) are studied or the 'attributes' of an issue/object are studied as independent elements (second level agenda setting), but different objects or attributes can be studied at the same time in the form of a network of objects or network of attributes to establish their correlation in explaining a phenomenon and in the transfer of salience from media agenda to public agenda (third level agenda setting). The implication of such a network proposed to explain the idea of third level agenda setting is that the media can actually bundle different objects and attributes and make these bundles of elements salient in people's mind simultaneously. The take is that the more the media cove or report two or more elements at the same time, the more likely are the elements to be seen to be interconnected and salient in people's mind at the same time.

The Third level agenda setting model, also called the Network model borrows from other related networking models such as the associated network model (Anderson, 1983; Anderson

and Bower, 1973), the cognitive network model of (Santanen, Briggs and de Vreede, 2000). These models assert that individual cognitive nodes are interconnected (Kaplan, 1973; Guo, Vu and McCombs, 2012). These cognitive nodes, in the case of networking agenda setting, are the objects and attributes of phenomenon in a given study and their interconnectedness.

It has been observed that when the media mention objects, they end up discussing on the attributes of such objects (Guo, Vu and McCombs, 2012). These attributes can be either the person's democratic variables such as age, occupation, or some macro characteristics such as a person's political ideology, perception of an issue, and other related themes. While some attributes of objects are frequently mentioned, others are mentioned from time to time, while some others are seldom mentioned. This makes it possible for attributes of each object to be ranked ordered based on the frequency of occurrence, thereby determining the attributes with the highest frequency of coverage by the media in the case of content analysis or mentioned by the public, in the case of survey. Once the objects attributes are ranked ordered, the frequency of occurrence of each on media and on public agendas can be used to explain the correlation or the transfer of salient between the agendas as opine by the trio above, "an agenda of objects can be defined by the frequency of appearance of these objects in the content analysis data for the media agenda and by the frequency of appearance of these objects in the survey data for the public agenda'' (2012, p.53)

Research on third level agenda setting is still in its infancy. The first three empirical studies on this model establish the validity of the third level agenda setting model. The first study by Guo and McCombs (2011a), reanalysed the data used in a 2002 study by Kim and McComb on the qualification and characteristics of two US politicians, Governor of Texas and Senator from Texas. Content analysis was employed to study a newspaper, the *Austin American-Statesman* to determine the media attributes agenda while survey using telephone interview of 417 randomly selected individuals was carried out to ascertain public attribute agenda setting. The study used ten attributes to define the candidates. The first study focused on the discreet attributes of the candidates while the second, on the networked attributes of each candidate. Findings reveal the attributes most prominent in the media as well as correlation between the attributes in the network and across the agendas. A significant and highly similar network of relationships was found between the media and the public attributes agendas in the first two studies. The third empirical study was a deviation from election. It focuses on the most covered topic by the media, also known as media content on a weekly basis. Content analysis of secondary data gathered by the Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) was used. It monitored news contents of 48 news outlets in the years 2009,

2010 and 2011. For the survey, Gallup Poll results for the same years on its usual MIP question to the public with the usual question, "What do you think is the most important problems facing the country today?" was adapted. The poll also used ten attributes of the issue or object. Significant correlation was found on the media attributes agenda and public attributes agenda in 2009 and 2010, while correlation was insignificant in 2011.

More recent studies have further revealed the efficacy of third level agenda setting and the growing number of research on the new model. A study by Cheng and Chan (2015) on tracking descriptions of moral and national education in media coverage and public's minds in Hong Kong using 532 newspaper articles and 342 public surveys reveal a strong correlation between media and both on-line and off-line public attributes network agendas. Relatedly, a study by Wu and Guo (2017) on linking agenda networks between media and voters during Taiwan's 2012 Presidential election shows a position correlation between media and public agendas with the NAS model showing more predictive power at the attributes level than at the object level.

Other non-empirical studies on third level agenda setting have focused on the theoretical foundations, methodological approaches, and international empirical evidence for the new perspective (Guo and McCombs, 2015). A study by Guo (2017) assesses aggregate and individual level media effects and found that all three levels of agenda setting revealed solid evidence at the aggregate level, that is, at the level of frequency of coverage. This supports agenda setting as a three-stage process, which Kiousis, et al (2013) called the agenda-building process (First, object; Second, attribute; Third, network connections).

Thus, the inherent power in information networks observed in the above studies can best be described or compared to a network of people or a team, working together to achieve group objective. It explains the correlation between attributes of object or issue and how they are presented and contested on the platform with the overall aim of ascertaining those voices that are more heard and those least heard; and how their relationship or otherwise, help explain the general debate on the subject or phenomenon in context. Such an approach can be used to determine the different attributes or themes of the object or issue studied such as micro attributes like the gender of respondents, age bracket, occupation, and other demographic variables, to the macro components such as tone of news, source of news, the type of news, time-lag, political philosophies, intermedia agenda setting, character of candidates, news placement, and so on. An examination of these attributes in a single study can help explain the correlation between each of them and how they network in establishing relationship and making sense of the object of the study. This interconnection, relates to Habermas's idea of

the public sphere in that it provides platform for different objects and attributes to compete on the media as well as on the public's agenda, with the overall aim of showcasing how salient each is on the agendas, the debates each generates and contributes to the understanding of the phenomenon, whether equal platform is provided for all attributes, why some attributes receive more coverage than others and whether there is inter-agender transfer of salience.

Relative to this research, the study employs third level agenda setting model or the networking agender setting model, using content analysis to investigate media agender setting role on Vision 20:2020 with focus on its attributes viz a viz the type of newspaper, the thematic parametres of the Vision, the tone of news, the type of news, the sources of news and the time lag. Survey, through the use of questionnaire is used to ascertain the demographic variables of the journalists covering the Vision, their knowledge of it and of its present stage of implementation, government-media relations in Nigeria, media freedom, and whether they think the Vision is realizable. The overall aim of the two studies is to ascertain whether (a) the media has provided platform for debate on Vision 20:2020 (b) whether the media has set agenda on the Vision. This is ascertained through first level agenda setting (aggregate of publications on Vision 20:2020; second level agenda setting (study of each attribute); and third level agenda setting (study of the network of the attributes) and the transfer of salience on the issue/object from media to public agendas.

3.6. Discussion

From the foregoing conceptualization of agenda-setting and its three trajectories - policy, media and public agendas; the issue of salience; framing of an issue; issue priming and attributes agenda-setting; one can safely conclude that agenda setting is about issue salience and issue attributes, for as (Scheufele, 2000; Kim, et al, 2012, p.45) rightly observed, 'agenda setting is mainly an argument limited to the question of how frequently an issue, or an issue attribute, is covered in the media'. This is because, whether we study salience of an issue, framing of an issue, attributes of an issue, priming effect or time lag for agenda setting, it all boils down to ascertaining the frequency of coverage, the tallying of attributes, the efficacy or importance placed on such an issue, the transfer of salience from one agenda to the other and the general perception of such an issue by the different stakeholders involved or the duration it takes for any agenda-setting effect to occur. It should be noted that agenda setting in some instances produce no effect. Also, culture play important role in determining the efficacy of agenda-setting theory. As such, there are possibilities of variation in agenda setting effect across cultural settings.

Second, time lag in agenda setting research, whether short or long-time frames, produce agenda setting effects. But a long-time lag is recommended in the case of a longitudinal agenda setting study like Nigeria's Vision 20:2020 which spans 10 years from the year the committee on the implementation of plan was inaugurated, which is year 2010 to the targeted year, 2020. It will therefore require a lot of time and resources as well as the political will on the part of the policy initiators to keep the issue salient in both the media and the public agendas.

Third, the mediated public sphere may or may not provide a platform for public discourse leading to a priming effect, depending on the level of democracy enjoyed in a country. Even when such platform is provided, whatever comes out of such a platform may not be a true reflection of public opinion because of the likely interference of the sphere by the owners of media houses, the gatekeepers as well as the strong influence that the controllers of public policy or policy initiators may exert on the way news on such an item is shaped through press releases. The press releases may be nothing more than propaganda especially when such source of news is the government of a developing country classified as partially democratic, with a relatively low level of press freedom.

Fourth, scholars and researchers in the field of agenda setting should note that a lot have been written on first and second level agenda setting since the theory was propounded about five decades ago and subsequent research on the theory should be centred on the agenda setting process and should encapsulate, first, second and third level agenda setting in a single study. The present and future of agenda setting research is networking and can be better appreciated when the theory is adopted as a process and not as a study of first, second or third level agenda setting. This study, therefore, submits that to better appreciate and arrive at third level agenda setting, one must study first and second level agenda setting theories.

Lastly, agenda setting theory and its various components and paradigms is a subject still undergoing scholarly debates and has taken a new course, which is the third level agenda setting or the networking agenda setting model. Yet the efficacy of the first and second level agenda setting theories is mostly felt only in the developed world. Its applicability and efficacy as a theory outside this world is yet to be fully explored. Empirical study of this theory outside the western world is therefore, still encouraged, notwithstanding that the

developed nations are gradually moving away from the much focus on first and second level agenda setting, to the third model.

This theoretical discourse, thus, sets the pace in which an empirical investigation of the applicability of agenda setting process will be assessed in Nigeria.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. MEDIA SYSTEMS, THE NIGERIAN MEDIA SYSTEM AND DEVELOPMENT

4.1. Introduction

The chapter discusses media systems with focus on the four theories and beyond. It captures a section on African media system and concludes by contextualizing the Nigerian media within and beyond the four theories of the press. The aim is to provide a clear view of the Nigerian media system, its characteristics, how it fits into the notion of the 'ideal media' system in order to determine and better appreciate its role in democracy, governance and development.

4.2. The Four Theories of The Press and Beyond

In every discussion of media systems or comparative media systems, Researchers hardly escape from genuflecting on the popular *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956). The widely referenced book, which proposes a typology of media systems-*Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility* and *Soviet Communist*, has had its proposed normative ideals criticized over the years. It has been further operationalized, criticized and recommendations put forward on the strengths and weaknesses of each of the theories.

The authors of this book opine that each of the media theories reflects a philosophical assumption of a society, which can be categorized based on political, social and cultural indices as well as human nature, knowledge and truth. They conceptualized the four theories across the prevailing political powers, from the systems in Europe and the United Kingdom to the system in the United States. The focus was based on the relationship between the media in a given society and the political system therein as well as the relationship between the media and the government in terms of ownership and control.

Specifically, the authors argue that the *Authoritarian system* is a product of absolute states that prevailed mostly in Europe. It premises on the assumption that only the state has the power to maintain social order and to control and guide communications media. Historically, this has been tagged the most common media system. The Authoritarian theory proposes that the media, even though controlled by the government, should be used to promote social transformation other than restricting their role to the prevention of social disorder (Hallin, 2016, p.2). The theory reflects the then Nazi media system. The *Libertarian system* was prevalent in the United States and Britain. Its tenets were derived from the works of Liberal Philosophers John Milton and J.S. Mill. It premises on the assumption that truth should be

determined by free market place of ideas and on the notion that the state should step aside and allow individuals exchange ideas freely. This idea, basically champions capitalism. The fourth, which is the *Social Responsibility theory* is an offshoot of the Libertarian media system. It came about as a result of the criticisms leveled on Libertarianism. The media system was accused of promoting inequality in access to media due to the presence of large-scale media outfits and conglomerates and its possibility to promote propaganda thereby eroding rational discourse, which the Enlightenment Theory champions. Specifically, the Social Responsibility theory was propounded to correct the deficiencies of the Libertarian media system through professionalism, limited state intervention and self-regulation. Just as the Social Responsibility theory was postulated to modify Libertarianism, the Soviet Communist system was proffered as an alternative to the Authoritarian system.

The *Four Theories of the Press* dominate studies on comparative media systems for long, with faults identified by different communication scholars and journalists. The book, according to Kaarle Nordenstreng (n.d), has been greatly criticized by the critical school of communication for its analytical inadequacy and political bias since the late 1960s. Several attempts have been made to come up with complimentary conceptualizations of normative theories, especially by Conservatives. Also, criticisms of the theories have been made with various alternatives offered, but none of such attempts could be said to have completely replaced the initial four theories.

Specifically, *Four Theories of the Press* have been criticized for having limited empirical evidences and its concentration on the systems in United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, with little or non-existent empirical research outside these worlds (Hallin, 2016). A study by Ostini, et al. (2002, 2009), adjudged the theories to be obsolete and inapplicable based on its idealism and its poverty of empiricism. The four normative theories as averse by Paul (2009) have been adjudged to be too idealistic than realistic; it has failed to recognize societal changes, political transitions and the presence of other prevailing political systems such as the Scandinavian Model in the societies. Also, it has failed to recognized the peculiarity of the media in developing countries. Thus, cannot be said to represent the media systems inherent outside the systems in the countries it uses as yardsticks for judging it idea of normative press and political systems.

The theories were further criticized for 'presenting media systems as homogeneous and static, since a single philosophic orientation was assumed to guide every element of the system at all times' (Hallin, 2016, p.3). Others criticized the theories for focusing more on the dichotomy

between Soviet Communist model and Liberalism as the basis for comparative media analysis. Four and a half decades later, Merrill (2002), asserts that the book, *The Four Theories of the Press'* will never die and it shows no signs of even fading away, 'certainly not due to lack of criticism for its ethnocentric perspectives, its questionable typology and its problematic assumptions, (2002, p.133)'.

Similarly, the theories are said to have offered a rather vague and ambiguous mode of distinguishing media systems. On one hand, it proposes that 'to see the difference between press systems in full perspective, …one must look at the 'social systems' (Seiebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1956, p.2; Hallin, 2016, p.3) within which the press functions. On the other hand, it argues that the difference between press systems boil down to a focus on 'philosophy'. This is quite contradictory and raise questions on whether media typologies can best be described from ideological or philosophical points of view. The beauty in this is that one can decide to use any of the variables proposed by these Scholars, for no one has the monopoly of setting the 'ideal' variable for describing media systems.

These criticisms, therefore, limit the role of the four theories of the media as an *ideal model* of media system to be used for the purpose of comparative media analysis. That notwithstanding, researchers still reflect on the *four theories* to draw on it backgrounding ideas when writing on media systems around the world for despite its inadequacies and the much criticisms that followed it, an alternative model that can replace or invalidate it, is yet to surface, six decades after the book was published.

Prior to the Millennium, the major comparative media typologies that shifted attention of writers on comparative media systems from the *four theories of the press* are the typologies proposed by Altschull (1984), Picard (1985) and Curran (1999). James Curran proposes his typology based on the European media system. The system combined collectivist and market-based approaches to distinguish three types of market: centrally located, mandated, regulated and mixed markets (a combination of public, civic and market sectors). In the year 2000, Curran and Park propose a four-variable typology of media systems: democratic and non-democratic, neo-liberal and regulated systems (Hallin, 2016).

The work of Hallin and Mancini (2004) on comparative media systems happens to be that single study that drifted the attention of Writers from the decades-long concentration on the *four theories* as basis for comparative media analysis. The duo based their work on empirical evidences from existing work on media systems. Hallin and Mancini's typology of media

systems has influenced and dominated research in comparative media systems since it was proposed. They rooted it down to the political context and background of governance in the West. Notably, they leverage their study on the works of the following writers: polarised party systems by Sartori (1976); a distinction between consensus and majoritarian political systems (Lijphart, 1999); and between liberal and democratic corporatist patterns in policy-making (Katzenstein, 1985).

The duo proposed three models of media systems, which were differentiated on the basis of four variables. The models are: *The North Atlantic or Liberal model*. Its tenets are dominants commercial media, limited involvement of the state relating to the political economy of liberal states, a low level of political parallelism that varies, and a strong sense of journalistic professionalism. The second model, called the *Democratic Corporatist Model*, is characterized by an efficient mass circulation of newspapers with strong roots in commercial, parties and organized social groups. It promotes media parallelism and pluralism and supports a strong welfare state. The third, which is the *Polorised Pluralism Model*, is characterized by a very strong presence of political pluralism with the press closer to the political world than to the market and the mass public. In such a media system, the state plays more of an interventionist role, while journalistic professionalism is very low.

Hallin and Mancini note that some of the Western media systems operate a mixture of these models. For example, they classified the United Kingdom as possessing a mixture of the characteristics of Liberal and Democratic Populist models. France shares the characteristics of Polarised Populist and Democratic Corporatist models. Poland of 1970s fits the Polorised Pluralist model while the Netherlands shares the characteristics of the Democratic Corporatist model. Presently, both Poland and the Netherlands have moved from these models and are advancing towards the Liberal Model.

While the three models were derived from an analysis of eighteen Liberal democracies in Western Europe and America, they were based on four dimensions or variables inherent in the political and economic systems. These models were informed and shaped by four system variables: *the development of the media market; the degree and forms of political parallelism; journalistic professionalism;* and *the role of the state.*

The 'development of the media market' implies the presence of either strong or weak media circulation and the type of readership of such newspapers. The newspaper consumption in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Southern Europe were directed at the small

elites, who are mostly urban elite, educated and politically active and characterised by sophistication and horizontal communication amongst the elite, yet records low sales figure due to patronage by a few, coupled with a sharp gender readership gap between men and women. In fact, newspaper readership was tied to politics and women were exempted from that sphere, which automatically means, the habit of women reading newspapers never developed. The newspapers of Northern Europe and Northern America on the other hand were for the mass public who are not necessarily politically active. The media served as the mediating factor between the mass public and the elite, a form of vertical communication and records wide readership amongst the general public. Language also plays significant role in media consumption and in the development of the market, dividing the media market into segments.

Secondly, the degree and forms of *political parallelism* implies the nature and extent of the links and relationship between the media and political parties. It is reflected in *media content, organizational connections, tendency for media personnel to be active in political life,* serving in party or political offices; *partisanship in media audiences* and in *journalistic role orientations and practices.* This is visible in their pursuit of journalistic ideals and their belief in their traditional role of shaping public opinion through objectivity in news gathering and report, and in the analyses of issues. Political parallelism is also gauged through *external pluralism.* This is achieved by focusing on the presence of different media and their political affiliations or through *internal pluralism* reflected in the affiliations of media personnel of a given media house and how they struggle to champion and reflect their political affiliations in the media content of the organization the work for. This is usually reflected in the type of programmes they champion and the duration of time/space they accord to stories that align with their political beliefs.

Thirdly, 'journalistic professionalism' connotes the extent of media trainings, the presence of professional media regulatory and professional bodies saddled with the responsibility of ensuring that media organizations and their personnel, operate based on the codes and ethics of the profession and uphold those tenets in the discharge of their duties. This is assessed based on the *autonomy of individual/corps of journalists.* It also implies the authority exert by journalists. In reality, they rarely assert or are hardly given the right to control media houses, outright. Authority by journalists on the media can best be exercised by fellow journalists. *Distinct professional norms* are also a yardstick for assessing media professionalism. The focus here is on the ability of journalists to organize their profession and ensure a sense of identity by carving out a professional group with norms and ethics guiding their conducts.

Public service orientation as a criterion for professionalism is premised on the notion that journalism is anchored toward an ethic of public service to humanity and the adoption of the ideology of journalism as a 'public trust'. The concept, *Instrumentalisation* also plays significant role in media professionalism. It can be political or commercial. What we mean by *political instrumentalization* is 'control of media by outside actors- parties, politicians, social groups or movements, or economic actors seeking political influence' (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p.37). While *commercial instrumentalisation* is achieved through the control of the media by market forces in the form of advert placement and the subsequent demands by market forces for influence on the editorial policy or content of some media. It is therefore safe to conclude that both political and commercial instrumentalisation can threaten media professionalism.

State control, which is the fourth comparative variable avers by Hallin and Mancini holds that the role of the state involves three distinct dimensions viz a viz the strength of public broadcasting, ownership regulation, and press subsidies. It is the degree of the influence of government on the activities of the media, which is usually exerted through ownership, funding, subsidies, media laws and regulations. The authority to exert these powers are derived from Decrees and Edicts in military systems or Acts of parliaments in democratic dispensations. Specifically, these forms of control and state intervention include: libel, defamation, privacy and right of reply; hate speech laws; professional secrecy laws for journalists; freedom of speech laws; laws regulating access to government information; laws regulating media concentration, ownership and competition; laws regulating political communication especially during election campaign; broadcast licensing and regulation laws. Control through subsidies is exercised directly or indirectly through reduced postal, telecommunication and VAT rates. In extreme cases, especially in autocratic societies and some developing democracies, state control is exercised through withdrawal of adverts to the media house, seizure of licenses to operate, or journalists are denied access cards/invites to cover government events, are harassed, imprisoned and even killed.

From the foregoing discussion, Hallin and Mancini's '*Comparative Media System'*, by virtue of its typology, with its complexities and variables, therefore, represents a form of systems theory. A system comprises of interrelated elements, defined by their relationship with one another and can be better understood and operationalized based on the whole pattern of relationship that binds them. While a media system is a set of media institutions and practices that understand and interact to shape one another (Hardy, 2008; Hallin, 2015, 2016). Hallin and Mercini's media typology, with its clusters of components and variables, thus, fits into a

form of systems theory and offers a form of model for comparative analysis or yardstick for gauging, comparing and surveying how national media systems fit into the notion of what Max Weber, described as *'ideal type'*. The 'ideal type' is a form of one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present, and sometimes absent concrete individual phenomenon (1949, p.90). Such 'ideal types' provide similar and divergent patterns in media systems, and are not conceived as the actual phenomenon, but a yardstick for gauging how a media system fits into certain system, typology or philosophical assumption.

Like the *four theories*, Hallin and Mancini's typology was criticized for amongst other things, its concentration on the media in developed countries while neglecting the media in developing countries and regions such as Asia, South America and Africa. As a result, other typologies of media systems emerge and attempt to provide alternate media systems quite different from the duo's, some if which we shall be discussing.

Closely related to this research is the typology proposed by Downey, Mihelj, and Konig (2012), which was derived from the normative theories of the media as a public sphere. The theorists distinguished 'among *liberal representatives* or *liberal elites*, *participatory liberal* or *republican*, and *discursive* or *deliberative* models of the public sphere (Hallin, 2016, p.5). Like Hallin and Mancini, the proponents of the above alternate typology also found that media systems are generally mixed, comprising of two or more of the above components or models of public sphere, and not homogeneous like the *four media* models, especially with tabloid and quality newspapers.

Another study averse that Hallin and Mancini's three models and four variables can be further broken down to accommodate clusters of categories or units of analysis. For example, Brueggemann et al (2014) conducted a study in 17 out of the 18 countries analysed by Hallin and Mancini in their 2004 study. They operationalized their study based on three of the four variable components proposed by Hallin and Mancini. Specifically, they focus on political parallelism, journalistic professionalism and the structure of the media market. They exclude the role of the state, which is Hallin's fourth variable. The study found that in terms of the inclusiveness of the press market, the media pattern is unidimensional. This typology is an extension of Hallin and Mancini's with its difference only in the 'single' country it exempted and its failure to recognize *state control* as yardstick for classifying media systems. Secondly, the typology, like Hallin and Mancini's, focuses on media in developed democracies only

while ignoring developing democracies. This makes their typology flawed in terms of its universal applicability to all the countries of the world, whether developed or developing.

Another counter study to Hallin and Mancini (2004) media systems is a qualitative study by Buchel et al (2016), which produced four clusters or models of analysis as against the latter's three models. The writers, Buchel et al. broke down Hallin and Mancini's Demoratic Corporatist model into two clusters with the major differences being the role of the state. The study found that 'Northern' systems such as United States enjoy strong press subsidies with little ownership regulation while the 'Central' countries such as Germany have a good number of media ownership with a weak media subsidy. Again, this typology is an extension of the hygemonic power bestowed on Western/developed democracies while neglecting developing democracies, right from the era of Siebert, et al (1956) to Hallin and Mancini (2004) and their offspring. It is a built-on bourgeois rationality in media systems.

One reason that can be ascribed to the change between Hallin and Mancini's models and Brueggemann et al. (2016) model could be change in the media system over time, bearing in mind that the two studies were conducted more than a decade apart. Therefore, the possibility of structural and policy changes by government of the countries analysed, cannot be ruled out, especially with the increase in news convergence, participatory democracy, increased commercialization, a move towards the adoption of common professional norms and ethics across boundaries, and the continuous debates and discourse on the public sphere.

Thus, it is worth noting that most of the empirical studies on media systems were done at national level with the Western media as case study or unit of analysis. There is, therefore, limited empirical evidences of the application of the models beyond the Western world, which happens to be one of the main criticisms of Hallin and Mancini's three models of media systems. It is worth noting that the models were heavily criticized by (Couldry, 2005; Hampton, 2005, Nisbet and Moehler, 2005), especially, for excluding democracies that emerged in the 1990s, which Africa, is a part. This observation was later concurred by Mancini (2011). More recently, Mancini further opine that 'efforts to theorise about types of media systems beyond the Western world are still in their initial phase, but important contributions have been made in recent years (2016, p.8)'. Therefore, this study, with its focus on Africa, Nigeria to be precise, is timely. If for nothing, it will add to the little body of empirical knowledge and research on media systems in the developing countries.

4.3. Media Systems Beyond the Western World.

The present decade saw the proliferation of empirical studies on media systems beyond the Western world with a couple of notable studies on media systems outside U.S., Europe and U.K. For example, Voltmer (2013) wrote on media in transitioning democracies while Stockman (2013) wrote on the authoritarian media and the market in China. Similarly, Albuquerque (2012, 2017) and Guerrero and Marques-Ramirez (2014) investigate the diverse media systems in Latin American countries. Relatedly, a comparative study conducted in India by Chakravarty and Roy (2013) focuses on the country as a nation state, its diversity and common variables across the different regions of the country. Such studies outside the Western world are still obscure and in their infancy.

4.4. Media Systems Beyond the Western World: The African Experience.

In the context of Africa and of direct relationship to this research are studies conducted on African media system by Nisbet and Moehler (2005), 'Africanising Three Models of Media and Politics'. Other studies are: Shaw (2009), who wrote on the 'central role of the state'; Hadland (2011, 2012) wrote on 'journalism of association, affiliation and belonging' and Volter (2013) dwells on transitional democracies, which most African countries faced at one point or the other or are presently battling. The majority of these studies, while limiting their scope to Africa, with much concentration on South Africa, offer alternate variables for classifying African media systems. They averse one thing in common, which is that African media are characterised by an affiliation to political parties and to cultural groups inherent in each country. I shall briefly discuss some of these studies.

Nisbet and Moehler's (2005) 'Africanising Three Models of Media and Politics' is a good attempt at theorizing the African media system. The duo observed the systems therein and proposed five models or classifications of the African media systems, they are: *open democractic*, *liberalized democratic*, *liberalized autocratic*, *closed autocratic* and *repressive autocratic* systems. They focus on *political regime*, *level of press freedom* and *media control* and try to find out the link between media infrastructure, socioeconomic development and the system of government or regime. Their media systems derive their leanings from the four theories of the press with touches of autocratic, democratic and liberal ideals.

Volter (2013), theorising the media in transitional democracies, opines that countries that suffered military dictatorships, with no political ideology and room for political mobilization in their transition from authoritarian regime to libertarianism, often end up with

commercialized and apolitical media systems with weak state institutions and media reach restricted to urban areas (see also Hallin, 2016). As Hadland (2011) argues, there is the need to explore the post military media experiences of transiting, especially transitioned democratic societies. In doing so, other possible units of analyses could emerge that could invalidate Volter's units of analyses.

Hadland (2011) attempts to classify the media system in Africa using South Africa as case study. His study can be considered the closest attempt at theorizing the African media system. He compared how South African Media fits into the Hallin and Mancini's three models and found the media system to be composed of all three models. This is in tandem with similar findings by other writers on new and emerging democracies. Specifically, he employs the four variables: *professionalism, political parallelism, the media market,* and *state control* as indices for assessing the South African media system. He found that there is consensus on journalistic standard, but it has seriously deteriorated while *Professionalism* in media in the country is "affected by lack of resources for training, poor educational systems, a weak journalistic organization" (Hadland, 2011, p. 117). Thus, the verdict on South African media system is that it has varied media systems (Hallin and Mancini, 2016).

In terms of *political parallelism*, he notes that African media landscape has 'strong features of political parallelism, with media products, ownership, and audiences frequently reflecting ethnic, linguistic, racial, or clientelist features" (p.116). He laments bias in favour of the ruling party during election; instrumentalism on the rise and less autonomy of the media with an overwhelming dominance of ruling party coverage (Schreiner, 2004). Its strength can undermine the quality of democracy. Yet others are of the opinion that given South Africa's developmental challenges, with its fundamental racial and ethnic cleavages, 'a dominant majority party is exactly what is required to assure stability, growth, and the consolidation of democracy (Reddy, 2006; Hallin and Mancini, 2016, p.103)

In terms of the *media market*, Hadland used race, language and ethnicity as indices and predictors power in the consumption of media content in his analysis of the media system. while in terms of *state control*, media access to government information plays important role in assessing state control on the media and denial of right to information despite laws that allow it, is quite common in Africa (Tettey, 2001). Hadland bemoans media regulation and control by the government through press councils, tribunals, or government structures; journalists often imprisoned, victimized and the role of the media as fourth estate of the realm

seen in the bravery and resilience of journalists to fight for the right of their members and stage a formidable come back despite the setbacks that occasion their victimization.

The threat to journalistic autonomy through state control mechanisms is two-fold. First is, the commercialization of the media has put some strain on journalistic ethics and independence. Secondly, pressure on journalists by the government to adopt developmental journalism such as the use of community radio for development and be less critical of government and its policies. The herald of local community radio and the use of cell phones, have, no doubt, open up new potentials for social cohesion, mobilization, and resistance even though they have destructive possibilities that could cause ethnic, racial and national uproar that could hamper consolidation of democracy. This explains why critics of McQuail (1987) Development Media Theory opine that media freedom, while desirable and necessary especially in developing countries as tool for economic, social and political development, should be controlled (Akinfeleye, 2008; Anaeto and Anaeto, 2010).

Even though African countries are diverse in so many ways, they are homogenous in many ways as Hadland argues. They have shared historical experiences, communal values and culture; they face similar or the same risks, obstacles, challenges; a democratic state with one major political party and a host of not so popular opposition parties. The dominant party overshadows media agendas, narratives and determines topics for debate in the public domain. It uses the media as tool for the consolidation of hegemonic power, resulting in an acquisitive state.

It is, thus, pertinent to note that Africa is diverse, complex, yet interconnected with different clusters; most of the democracies are relatively new and are systematically diverse (Diamond, 1996; Hadland, 2011); most of its countries display more than one model or even all three models at one point or the other. This makes it somewhat impossible to have a single media system in the whole of Africa. Also, even within Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, variations exist in governance, political system and in the type of media system practiced based on the way each country migrated from military to civilian administration and the type of colonization it had experienced, whether policy of Association (Anglophone countries) or policy of Assimilation (Francophone countries). Therefore, South Africa, arguably the most developed country in Africa, cannot be used as yardstick for theorizing and generalising the African media system. Culturally, it cannot be a model for the African media system because of the presence of both White and Black races with two distinct cultures and ways of life. Perhaps, scholars in this field can extend research on media and culture by way of a

comparative analysis between South African media system and the media system in other biracial countries such as Chad, Cameroun, Central Africa Republic, Congo, South Sudan and Sudan.

To conclude, reflecting on the preceding examples of media systems outside the Western world by no means invalidate the fact that studies on media systems outside this geographical region is still in its infancy and mostly restricted to national level. Let me highlight that the Western world is not immune of the over concentration of research on media typologies to national level; it is a global problem that affects all. This is a gap in this field of media studies considering the high level of media pluralism and the proliferation of media houses in recent years, which is propelled by the spread of liberalism and democratic consolidation in both democratic nations and emerging democracies or as Norris (2009) describes them, 'democratic' and 'partly democratic' societies. There is therefore the need to tilt subsequent research in this area to transnational, state or local geographical arenas. This study, thus, is on course as it adds to the limited body of knowledge on comparative media systems at national level and outside the Western world, which is also relatively unexplored as summed up in the preceding paragraphs.

In the next section, I will discuss how the Nigerian media system fits into the various types of media systems discussed above.

4.5. Contextualizing Four Theories of the Press and its Alternatives in Nigeria

The section attempts to apply the various variables of media systems discussed above on the experiences of the Nigerian media with a view to conceptualizing the Nigerian media system within and beyond the four theories. The aim of which is to clearly define and come up with the variables that can be used by Scholars in describing the Nigerian media system. This study, therefore, reviews the Nigerian media system from pre-colonial days to present day experiences. The review is done chronologically and variables assigned based on each experience. Therefore, readers should have an open mind in identifying the variables from each historical event or story and should not expect the variables to be explained in clusters or in categories.

4.5.1. The Precolonial Media system in Nigeria

Language has played a significant role in shaping the Nigerian media system. In the pre-colonial era, *Iwe Irohin fun a won Ara Egba ati Yoruba,* widely acclaimed the first newspaper

in Nigeria was published in 1859 by Reverend Henry Townsend in Abeakuta, Ogun State. Though the paper was criticised as being more of a newsletter than a newspaper, Townsend was said to have used the publication as a tool for political propaganda and to maneuver power in Egba land. It was later accused of compounding issues of foreign policy and the Publisher was cautioned three times by the government in the year 1863. This could be credited as the first attack on press freedom in Nigeria. The involvement of the *Iwe Irohin* in local politics, particularly in the war between the Egbas and the Ijayes, led to a clampdown on the activities of the Europeans and their subsequent expulsion from Abeokuta. The printing press was subsequently destroyed, leading to the demise of the paper in 1867. The use of local language (Yoruba) in the paper and the involvement of the paper in local politics are clear cases of *language* and political *parallelism* (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) and (Hadland, 2011) as determining factors of the type of media system recorded in Nigeria. While the clampdown on the paper and the expulsion of Europeans from Egba land by the government as a result of their alleged use of the paper to fuel local war, is a clear example of *authoritarian media system* Seibert, et al (1956) and shows the place of *state control* (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) as yardstick for classifying media systems.

The annexation of the Lagos colony to the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria by the British in the year 1861, attracted more foreigners and opened up businesses, prompting the need for newspapers as media for the dissemination of information and for commercial purposes and advertisement; for the expansion of literacy, and for creating consciousness. These developments, led to the establishment of the *Anglo-African* newspaper by Robert Campbell in 1863. Campbell's aim was to 'exploit the growing interest in Western education and literacy by providing cheap and accessible material which would educate, inform and entertain his readers' (Omu, 2000; Ciboh, 2007, p.6). This is in tandem with the tenets of the *Social Responsibility theory* of the media (Siebert et al, 1956), Hallin and Mancini (2004) *Public Service Orientation* role of the media in society and Nisbet and Moehler (2005) *open democratic* and *liberalized democratic* principles of media systems. Campbell had a strong impulse for trade, which made him support the Colonial government in its disputes with the Egbas. In turn, the Colonial government supported him by way of advertisements. This sort of support shows the influence of government or *state control* on the activities of the media through influence of the *media market.* Similarly, the annexation of the Lagos colony and the proliferation of newspapers coupled with the influx of foreigners clearly show *media pluralism* fueled by the demands of the *media market.*

Despite the growth of the newspaper courtesy of the advertisements, its editorial policy forbade it from meddling in local politics, which made the paper unpopular amongst locals. This affected its acceptability and stunted its growth and circulation. Yet, he was not perturbed and was quoted to have said 'let no one expect that I shall, contrary to our own conviction, advocate or oppose the measures of his party or clique as a consideration for his support' (Omu, 1979, p.8; Ciboh, 2007, p.7). The statement shows Campbell's unflinching support to the colonial government and his determination to hold to the principles of his paper, pu*blic service orientation*. The paper, regarded as one of the first newspapers in Nigeria, is credited to have laid the foundation for the growth and development of newspapers, the creation of public awareness and the indispensability of such an institution in an enlightened society (Ciboh, 2007).

The paper heralded the advent of newspapers in Africa. The *Lagos Times* also known as *The Times*, was credited for paving way for militants and nationalistic press in Nigeria. The *Lagos Observer,* published by Benjamin Blackall on February 12, 1882, published society news, which exposed social and public evils. It led the struggles for nationalism and advocated for the provision of improved social amenities. This could be said to be the origin of investigative journalism and watchdog role of the Nigerian mass media. *The Eagle* and *Lagos Critic* first published on March 31, 1883 by Owen Emerick Macaulay are worth noting for strongly opposing the admission of Africans as unofficial members of the Legislative Council (Ciboh, 2007). This relates to the experiences and inherent tenets of the early Habermasian public sphere, where only the royals and the bourgeoisies were allowed to participate and contribute to decision making in public arenas. From these experiences, one can deduce *professionalism, social responsibility* and *public service orientation* on the part of the media and their owners.

The *Lagos Weekly Times*, published by John Payne Jackson and Consul Leigh later called *Lagos Weekly Record* in 1891 sets the pace as a determined agent in the clamour for racial consciousness (Uche, 1989). The paper criticized the government, its errors and blunders; it also paved way for a reappraisal of government policy and programmes, (Ciboh, 2007, p .9). Its contents were termed seditious towards the colonial government and as a result, it lost all foreign advertisements (Omu, 2000). This is a clear case of *authoritarianism* (Siebert, et al, 1956), closed and repressive autocratic media systems (Nisbet and Moehler, 2005) and *state control* of media operations (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, Hadland 2011).

Thus, Nigeria's precolonial media system can be conceptualized based on different media system models and variables. They are: *authoritarianism, social responsibility,*

professionalism, political parallelism, external pluralism, media market, state control, public service orientation and *language.* This implies that the Nigerian media system, like other media systems, such as the South African media system, the European media system, the U.K and U.S, as well as the Latin American media system, defies the use of a single model or set of variables in conceptualizing it.

4.5.2. The Pre-independence Media System in Nigeria

The pre-independence newspaper chains whether owned by private individuals, political parties, or the government, had transformed to regional newspapers, serving the interest of the regions. These papers were not nationalistic in scope owing to their support and allegiance to their communities, regions or their attachment to a particular political party.

The North established the first regional newspaper the *Gaskiya Tafi Kobo* in 1939 and the *Nigeria Citizen,* which later became the *New Nigerian Newspaper* in 1966. These papers were founded with the aim of serving as the voice of the Northerners in the country, to mobilize them to achieve their goals and fight their causes (Coker, H.I. 1968; Sobowale, I. 1985; Luke, U. Uche. 1989; Omu, F.A. 2000).

The Eastern Regional government founded the *Eastern Outlook* in 1949, which was renamed *Nigerian Outlook* in 1955. During the Biafra Civil War, it was renamed the *Biafran Sun* and later, *The Renaissance* and *Daily Star.* The *Allied Press* dominated the Western Region, and was later strengthened by the *Daily Sketch,* during the government of Samuel Akintola.

It is worth noting that at the heart of these newspapers were the interests of their regions. To support this assertion, Ciboh observe that the press that honed a convergent and belligerent tone against colonial government as a common enemy prior to independence became partisan, divergent and seldom harps of sectional integration' (2007, p. 36). They were tied to the three major and regional political parties – the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC), Action Group (AG) and National Conscience Party (NCP) (Chick (197). These newspapers only provided a sphere for the propagation of regional interests not a true reflection of national interest and programmes as Dare notes, "the press was deeply polarized along party lines and the parties themselves were divided along ethnic line" and "seldom spoke with ---- consensus on major issues of the day" (2000, p.18). This promotion of regional and sectional interest, anchored on politics was described by Sobowale as "a remarkable example of over – zealousness and irresponsible partisanship" (1985, p.32). The result of this, he further argues, was the newspapers' inability to provide:

A free flow of information among political structures and between society and policy. [The newspapers] operated primarily to strengthen the grip of the regional leaders over their followers, (leading to) the fragmentation of the country (2002, p. 22)

This act beckoned on the central government to see the need for newspapers that would promote national interest, policies and programmes. The then government of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa decided to establish the *Morning Post* in March 1961, and by August, they had started publishing the *Sunday Post*. The newspaper was managed by the Federal Ministry of Information. But regionalism had eaten deep into the fabrics of the press that even *The Morning Post* and *Sunday Post* that were supposed to be national newspapers and help forge national integration fail to recognize that they were meant to be nationalistic and not to promote disintegration in the form of regionalism or partisanship. The result was a revolt by the public against the paper before it collapsed in 1973.

Thus, as Ciboh (2007) summits, most of the early newspapers foiled inter-regional crises-riots, ethno-religious and political crises. The result was the first military coup de tat of January 15, 1966, which collapsed the First Republic. One can therefore concur with the statement that the press failed to serve as source of free flow of information among political structures and between society and policy Dare (2000) and as advocate of democratic ideals.

From the foregoing, experiences, no doubt, the pre-independence Nigerian media exhibit high sense of *political parallelism* and *instrumentalism* (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) and ethnicism (Hadland, 2011) which are against the professional codes of practice in the field.

A twist to the activities of the press was, however, noted during the civil war. In a bid to keep Nigeria as one, the press towed their official mandate in the spirit of nationalism. After the civil war, with the creation of states in 1967, came the establishment of more government owned newspapers such as *The Herald*, *The Chronicle*, *The Tide, The Renaissance*, *The Nigerian Observer* and *The Nigerian Standard*. Private newspapers present as at then were *The Daily Times*, *The Tribune*, *West African Pilot*, *Daily Express* and, the *Sunday Punch*, a daily established in 1976. These papers were critical of the then government of General Yakubu Gowan and exposed corruption and wastage in governmental administration and in the implementation of government policies and programmes. The press also championed a return to democratic rule. The press, once again, towed its official mandate of *professionalism, public service orientation* and a high sense of *external pluralism* at the same time serving as watchdog of the society, an offshoot of its *social responsibility model*. This was propelled in the hearts of the media practitioners and owners by the desire to achieve a

common goal, which is Nigeria's Independence. The significance of this sense of nationalism is the power of the media to unite all and sundry towards the achievement of a common goal, especially one that concerns the nation and of general public interest such as Nigeria's Vision 20:2020.

The Second Republic saw the establishment of more private newspapers and the pluralism of the industry. Newspapers of the period include the *National Concord*, *Satellite*, the *Guardian*, *Nigerian Call*, *Record*, *Daily News*, *Stamp Advocate*, *and Graphic*; the *Trumpet*, *Eagle*, *Daily Nation* and a host of others. The *National Concord* was founded on March 1, 1980, by M.K.O Abiola, with the aim of fostering the activities of the then ruling political party, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). Officially, *National Concord* was seen to be 'authoritative, respectable and non-tribal' (Ciboh, 2007, p.42). The paper later became more partisan and tribalistic. This affected its readership, especially in the North and subsequently reduced the circulation of the paper mainly to the States in the present South-West geopolitical zone. Another paper of the era is the *Guardian* newspaper; founded by Alex Ibru. The paper first became available on the newsstand on February 27, 1983, as a weekly, before it subsequently became a daily. The *Guardian*, which is still in existence today, is seen to be non-partisan and fosters the interests of a multi – ethnic, multi-cultural and pluralistic society (Akinfeleye and Okoye, 2003; Ciboh, 2007; Akinfeleye, 2008).

It should be noted that most of the pre-independence, independence, post-independence, and newspapers of the military era are now defunct. This was as a result of strict colonial ordinances, excessive military rule, control and regulations by the government, and lack of funds and advertisements to fund the newspaper business. A sizeable number of newspapers established during the military regimes are, however, still in existence. The exit of the military in 1999 also brought about the establishment of a good number of newspapers that are still flourishing such as the *Guardian*.

The Third and Fourth Republics heralded the return to democratic rule and saw the establishment of more newspapers (*external media pluralism*). *The Comet* was the first to be established on July 5, 1999, by Lade Banuola. It was followed suit by the *Advocate* established in 2000 by Abdulkarim Adisa. The *Daily Trust* was established by Kabiru Yusuf in 2001 and *National Pilot* by Bukola Saraki in 200. In 2002, Michael Owoifa established *The Sun* newspaper while *Leadership* was set up in 2004 by Sam Nda Isaiah. The *Companion* by Garba Deen joined the crew in 2007 with the *Weekly Dawn* by Attahiru Bafarawa in 2009. The major newspapers in existence today are: The *Sun*, The *Guardian, Vanguard, Daily*

Times, *Daily Trust*, *Weekly Trust*, *New Nigerian Newspaper*, The *Punch*, The *Nigerian Tribune*, *ThisDay*, *Leadership,* The *Nation*, and *Daily Independent* and a few others.

Broadcasting started in Nigeria with the introduction of wired radio re-diffusion system in 1933 through the Broadcast Relay Services (RDS) of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The programmes were relayed through wires connected to private loud speakers installed in the homes of subscribers (Ciboh, 2007: 132). The success of this prompted the government to establish the relay system in Lagos, Ibadan, and Kano. The Lagos RDS was commissioned in December 1935, with two studios in different locations. The RDS receive BBC services, rebroadcasts and broadcast local news much later. The RDS opened other stations in Ibadan (1944); Kaduna, Enugu, Abeakuta, Ijebu Ode, Jos, Zaria, Calabar and Port Harcourt stations were opened between 1945 and 1949 (Ciboh, 2007:137). These stations were expected to send contributions about life and living in their areas to the national programmes (Ciboh 2007: 140), for onward redistribution to the regional offices, and were received simultaneously (Oladela, et al, 1979). The broadcasting services inform and educate the people across the country and provided an avenue for the exchange of culture and religion between regions. According to I.S. Usman, then member of the House of Representatives in the First Republic:

> The NBC brought political education and enlightenment to many people in the country; that it had given a wonderful education as it scattered knowledge more easily than any other agency. [it] had acquainted many Nigerians with new ideas and ideals in literature, philosophy, science and politics; . . . It had been imparting lessons in language, history, civic responsibility; in fact, on every subject (Ciboh, 2007, p. 141).

In tandem with Usman's statement, Oladele et al (1979) opine that 'for the common man or illiterate the radio had been perhaps the best teacher'.

The Western Nigerian regional government also established the Western Nigerian Television (WNTV) and in May, 1960 it established a radio station known as the Western Nigerian Broadcasting System (WNBS). The tremendous success made by WNTV prompted the Eastern Nigerian government to start its own television broadcasting, which was established on October 1, 1960, coinciding with Nigeria's independence. While the Northern Nigeria also established its television and radio systems in 1962. The Federal government granted each region separate frequency to avoid clashes or jamming of frequency waves and saddled them with the responsibilities of serving as alternative teacher to students, due to the shortage of staff in some certain subject areas, to generate revenue through commercials, and for political

awareness. The broadcast stations, however, rather than promoting national integration as expected of them, fostered intra-regional integration and regional politics. The regional broadcasting systems also accused the NBC of "lack of sympathy to regional requirements and of not serving the whole public interest as it should (Ciboh, 2007, p.147). The Nigerian broadcast system, therefore, towed the line of *ethnicity* as a variable in media system study, just like the South African experience (Hadland, 2011) because the three regions in the country represent three ethnic groups.

With the creation of twelve States in 1967, NBC was mandated to establish a broadcasting house in each of the new States. The newly established States and their mediated public sphere provided room for different programmes with focus on the public such as talks, discussions, magazines features, documentaries, commentaries, drama, women and children programmes, life and culture, people's opinions, health and education campaign, community development, project and programmes, and festivals. The public platform also catered for the needs of locals. This signifies a return to *public service orientation* on the part of the media.

The federal government happened to be the last to establish a television broadcasting station. The Nigerian Television Service (NTS) now known as Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), went on air in April 1962. The station, NTA, was established to bring back a sense of nationalism and to propagate cultural bonds amongst the various ethnic groups in Nigeria. It was also charged with the responsibility of ensuring unity and progress of the country (Ciboh, 2007, p.175).

The dawn of democracy in 1999, heralded the proliferation of NTA stations across the federation. According to Media Facts (2006), the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), established more NTA stations, bringing the total of stations in the country to 95 and 28 affiliate State-owned stations, see (Garba, 2006). Presently, NTA is the largest television network in Africa (Ciboh, 2007, p.182), with computerized facilities, and improved quality of programs. The 'station is arguably the largest of its type in Africa, but yet to have the operational freedom required to maximise its potentials" (*Guardian*, October 18th, 2009, see also Nwulu, 2010; *NTA* 29th September, 2015), being a federal government-owned television network. Its signals are received even in rural and remote areas of the country. NTA enjoyed exclusive rights to broadcasting until 1979 when the constitution removed this exclusive right by extending it to State governments as well. The decentralization of television stations in the country further enhanced broadcast *media pluralism* in the country.

Presently, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria is the main public owned radio in Nigeria with stations all over the country. There are at least one FRCN FM station in each of the States of the federation. The radio stations are saddled with mobilizing Nigerians positively to achieve national developmental goal, emphasizing the need for effective participation in governance, and sustaining the nation's hard-won democracy in such a way that even farmers can get degree and be well educated by listening to educational programmes on radio even in their farmsteads (Ebisemiju and Niyi in Ciboh, 2007, p.158). Today, FRCN has embraced digital broadcasting and it signals can be picked from almost anywhere in the country, including rural areas. In South Africa, Hadland (2004) bemoans the high concentration of media in municipal areas, while the reverse is the case in Nigeria. Based on this, the South African media system cannot serve as a model for a country like Nigeria with decentralized broadcast system and large presence in rural areas. Its operations are not devoid of *state control* through.

In terms of commercialization of broadcasting, Commercial broadcasting was forbidden by section 14 of the NBC Ordinance of 1956 due to fear of the likely influence of sponsors on the content of NBC programmes. The States were later allowed to go commercial and NBC started accepting advertisements on October, 31, 1960. The proceeds were used to supplement budgetary allocations of the Corporation. However, during the Murtala/Obasanjo military administration of 1975-1979, the NBC was barred from accepting commercials for fear it might affect the policies and orientations of the management (Uche, 1989). This was to uphold *professionalism* in media practice. The succeeding regime of Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, however, allowed the NBC to go commercial with effect from August 1, 1987. This was aimed at encouraging public corporations to generate their own income and be self-reliant. The implication of this is that the *media market* can exert some control and influence over the activities and orientations of the media thereby negating the principle of *media professional* system.

The monopoly and abuse of the broadcast system in Nigeria by the government and by political powers (*state control*), coupled with the ideas of globalization, democratization, liberalization and plurality of the media, informed the need for deregulation of the broadcast industry. The establishment of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) in 1992, saddled with the control and regulation of broadcasting in Nigeria heralded the privatization of the broadcast sector or what others called deregulation of broadcasting in Nigeria. The deregulation of the sector had its concerns too (Ariye, E.C., 2010; Oketunmbi, E., 2006 & 2007; Akeem, A. Rauf, et al, 2013). Private televisions and cable satellite stations in the

country are expected to ensure national cohesion, security, respect for human dignity and family values, ensure fairness, right of reply, integrity, decency and good taste, as well as authenticity (Ciboh, 2007, p.195), with their licenses subject to renewal on satisfaction of some requirements. Even through pluralism was ensured through privatization, the media were expected to adhere to the principles of *professionalism* and *state control* and were applied where necessary.

During the various military regimes witnessed in Nigeria occasioned by autocracy (Siebert, et al (1956), both *closed* and r*epressive autocracy* (Nisbet and Moehler, 2005), ownership and control of broadcasting was handled by the federal government, media houses were closed down, journalists were harassed, detained, incarcerated, threatened, assaulted and even assassinated such as the case of Dele Giwa, a renowned Journalists who was killed. The situation is not different today despite the fact that the country is a partly free democracy and operates a civilian government. This year, Freedom House Organization laments that self-censorship, physical assaults, intimidation, impunity and other crimes against journalism remain major concerns in the country. Thus, Nigeria has had its fair share of *state control* whether during military regimes or civilian dispensations and is still going through some of these experiences.

Some other ways in which the Nigerian media are controlled which are in tandem with Hallin and Mancini's *state control* mechanism are through the various laws and regulatory bodies discussed in the next section.

4.6. Control and Regulation of Mass Media in Nigeria.

Like every other mass media in the world, the Nigerian mass media is controlled and regulated by different laws, Acts of Parliaments, professional code of conducts and ethics. These laws are meant to guide the members of the press and all media outfits in the discharge of their daily duties and obligations to the nation viz a viz, informing, educating, enlightening and entertaining the public. Other duties and obligations are serving as watchdog of the society, agenda-setting role, gate-keeping role, advocacy role and provision of enabling platform for public discourse, (Chambers & Costain, 2000; Christians, et al., 2009; Norris, 2009; McQuail, 2010; McNair, 2011).

In the course of the discharge of these duties, scholars argued that the mass media are bound to abuse and misuse their powers thereby overstepping their boundaries. Nations and agencies have therefore made laws to not only regulate and control the use of the mass media, but to protect the journalists from possible attack by the governments, the people, and from

other members of the public and organisations. This has become very necessary especially in non-democratic states, emerging democracies and in developing democracies like Nigeria. This section looks at the legal environment in which the Nigeria mass media operates with examples of some of the cases that bother on press freedom and possible unprofessional conducts on the part of the press too. It is expected that this section will explore the extent and present state of press freedom in Nigeria.

The constitution clearly spells out the role of the mass media; the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission issues license to media houses and has the power to withdraw such license in the case of non-conformity or abuse of laid down rules. The Nigerian Communications Commission controls all communication outfits; while the Nigerian Press Council regulates the conducts of media personnel. Other laws are: libel, slander, defamation, contempt, official secret acts, laws of sedition. These laws and regulations are said to be necessary because media personnel, in the course of the discharge of their duties, are bound to abuse and misuse their powers thereby overstepping their boundaries. Nations and agencies have, therefore, made laws to not only regulate and control the use of the mass media, but to protect the journalists from possible attack by the governments, the people, and from other members of the public and organisations. This has become very necessary especially in non-democratic states, emerging democracies and in developing democracies like Nigeria.

The dawn of democratic rule in May 1999 saw the promulgation of the 1999 Constitution, which guarantees the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion in its section 39 (Yakubu, 2009). The section reads: 'every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference'. It further reads:

> Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions: Provided that no person, other than the Government of the Federation or of a State or any other person or body authorised by the President on the fulfilment of conditions laid down by an Act of the National Assembly, shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for, any purpose whatsoever.

These provisions guarantee rights to not only free speech and the dissemination of information but right to own and operate media of communication without prejudice to laydown rules and procedures or any Acts of the National Assembly. Section 22 of the Constitution also provides for the obligations of the mass media and the tenets under which

the press should function in Nigerian democracy. These functions are guaranteed by the Constitution because the press as fourth estate of the realm has a special role to play not only as it relates to information dissemination but also in the growth and development of a nation as well as overall governance and nation building.

Chapter 2, section 39 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria titled 'Right to freedom of expression and the press' provides for the following:

> The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people.

With this, it is logical to say that the press has been empowered by law to ensure that section 14 of the Constitution tagged 'government and the people', adhere to the following objectives and obligations as contained in Chapter Two. They are: Economic objectives, Social objectives, Political objectives, Educational objectives, Foreign policy objectives and Environmental objectives. It is the duty of the press to spell out the fundamental obligations of the government to the people and 'to monitor governance and make government accountable to the people at all times (Akinfeleye, 2008, p.5)'. The Chapter also mandates the press to make the citizens aware of their duties to the country; to uphold National ethics and to portray, project and protect the Nigerian culture as well as the image of the country.

Despite these Constitutional provisions, some regulatory bodies have been put in place by the Nigerian government to monitor and control the possible excesses in the application of these constitutional rights by the citizenry and the mass media. The mass media also needs to be controlled and regulated in order to protect and safeguard the right of the individual and for security of the nation (Okoye, 2007). Non-observance of the rules made by the regulatory bodies on the bases of the constitutional provision alone is not justifiable in a court of law (Yakubu, 2009). In Nigeria, the regulatory bodies saddled with the responsibility of checking the excesses of the mass media and the various laws that checkmate the activities of the press are:

4.6.1. National Broadcasting Commission

Created by an Act of the National Assembly, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) is saddled with the responsibility of among other things issuing licenses to broadcasting houses, whether radio, television, or satellite stations; regulating and controlling the Nigerian

broadcast industry; ensuring equity and fairness in broadcasting and monitoring harmful emission, interference and illegality in broadcasting. The Commission also receives, considers and investigates complaints from individuals and corporate bodies, regarding the contents of a broadcast and the conduct of a broadcast station; establishes and disseminate a national broadcasting code; set standards with regards to the contents and quality of materials for broadcast; promotes Nigerian indigenous cultures, moral and community life through broadcasting; approves the transmitter power, location of stations, areas of coverage as well as regulate types of broadcast equipment to be used and determine and apply sanctions, including revocation of licences of defaulting stations. NBC also ensures strict adherence to the national Laws, rules and regulations relating to the participation of foreign capital, in relation to local capital in broadcasting (*NBC Online*, October 2012).

4.6.2. National Communication Commission (NCC) Act

In discussing the importance of NCC within the context of the Nigerian mass media, it is very important to have a brief look at the advent of the Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) in the country. The GSM was launched in Nigeria in the year 2011 Its introduction liberates Nigerians from the shackles of the once powerful, but now virtually insignificant monopoly of the National Telecommunications (NITEL), which insulted and humiliated Nigerians for years with their style of service (Paschal Okafor, 2011). In celebrating ten years of GSM services in Nigeria, in 2011, Okafor, a blogger, noted that GSM has not only boosted economic activities in Nigeria, but has also improved the quality of living of Nigerians with the provision of services such as affordable internet services, mobile television, electronic payment, mobile and internet banking, mobile car tracking devices, cheaper international calls. Though Okafor further admits his displeasure over the delivery of services by the network providers, he however, stated that there is one aspect of GSM services that he will be celebrating, which is the internet or data services:

> GSM has made internet more affordable and accessible than it has ever been, hence giving people like me a voice on the internet. Millions of Nigerians now access the internet via their GSM phones or a GSM enabled device. Nigerians have taken their place on Facebook, Yahoo, GMail, Twitter, and Google with millions of them visiting these sites everyday all thanks to GSM (Okafor, 2011).

To say that Okafor's statement does not represent the opinions of most Nigerians on the introduction of GSM in the country, would be an understatement; the reason is not farfetched. A good number of Nigerians have either hailed or castigated GSM providers in the country over their good as well as poor services delivery. This was done through both

online and traditional media. These potentials of the GSM as well as their inefficient services delivery necessitated the enactment of the NCC act to guide the Nigerian telecommunications industry and have made the body popular and its presence felt by communicators (Omu & Oboh, 2008).

The NCC though created under Decree No.75 of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria on 24 November 1992, presently derives its power from Section 3 of the Nigerian Communications Acts (NCA) of 2003. The Act saddled NCC with the responsibility of regulating telecommunications services and facilities in the country, creating an enabling environment for competition in the industry through fair play and setting performance standards for telephone services in Nigeria. NCC acquires wavelengths from both local and foreign satellite providers and distribute to telecommunication providers directly, and to media houses through the NBC.

4.6.3. Nigeria Press Council Act

The Nigerian Press Council (NPC) derives its power from the Nigerian Press Council Act No. 85 of 1992 as amended in Nigerian Press Council Act No. 60 of 1999. The Council was established by an Act of 1998 as the Nigerian Media Council before it was renamed. NPC was charged with the responsibilities of listening to and dealing with all complaints emanating from members of the public and organizations that bother on the conduct of print journalists and the print media as well as the conduct of any person or organization towards the press. It provides for general offences and penalties for such offences. The Act also provides for the documentation of all print media houses and monitoring of their activities, the aim of which is to censor and monitor the print media (Omu & Oboh, 2008). NPC review developments capable of restricting the flow of information and advises on measures to be taken to remedy such developments.

The Council is to also ensure that the rights and privileges of journalists in the lawful performance of their duties are protected. For example, the attention of the Nigerian Press Council was recently drawn to the alleged detention of 13 journalists ordered by Magistrate Court, No. 6, Ikeja Lagos, on Wednesday, March 4, 2012, following argument with a prosecutor who wanted the journalists out of the court (Press Council, April 2012). It was alleged that The Chief Magistrate ordered the police to arrest and detain the journalists where they were allegedly assaulted and inflicted with injuries. Reacting to that, the Press Council called on the parties involved to exercise restraint, noting that 'the court, the police and journalists, all work in the interest of the public, as such, should accord each other

mutual respect in the course of their service to the nation. NPC also warned journalists to conform to the decorum of the court and respect the judicial discretion of a judge. Details of the reason behind the alleged assault was not mentioned but would not be far from journalists' being nosy in their quest to provide breaking news stories of general interest, especially when such news are being delayed. It could also be as a result of a possible move by the court to withhold information from the general public. Assaults on journalists as well as journalists acting outside the confines of the ethics of their profession are common phenomena in Nigeria and in most developing democracies. In a related development, Mr Benedict Uwalaka, a photo journalist with *Leadership* newspaper was assaulted by mortuary staff of the Lagos University Teaching Hospital. He was there to take pictures of the corpses of the victims of the May 2012 Dana Airlines plane crash that happened in Lagos, Nigeria, in which about 153 Nigerians lost their lives. The Nigerian Press Council in a Press Release issued on September 3, 2012 condemned the attack on the photo journalist, describing the plane crash as a tragedy that visited the country and turned the entire nation into mourning. It is therefore the duty of the media to report such a mishap. The Press Council called on the hospital, its staff and members of the public to report any unprofessional conduct by journalists to the Council rather than assaulting the press or engaging in any acts of impunity.

These two are examples of some of the backlashes that the media in developing democracies face. The interventions of NPC in this respect is to show how the Council exercises its powers to protect the journalists at the same time protect the general public and organizations from the excesses of the press.

4.6.4. The Official Secret Act

This Act as Omu and Oboh argued is one of the laws inherited from the colonialists 'who felt there were some issues or news items that needed not to be published because its content could embarrass the government or reveal some secrets… (2008)'. It seeks to prevent the disclosure of any material which government considers to be classified to the members of the public. According to the Act, classified means:

> Any information or anything which under any system of security, is not to be disclosed to the public, and of which the disclosure to the public would be prejudicial to the security of Nigeria.

This Act has given government officials a good excuse to deny journalists sensitive information of public interest thereby concealing facts and breeding corruption with little or

no checks by the public. To this end, Omu and Oboh were of the view that government business is public business. They further stressed that 'if there is any secret, it should only relate to issue of national and international security because press freedom is not absolute (2008, p.179)'. Ideally, in the interest of liberty and to uphold the ideals of democracy, the power to decide what government activity should be publicised should rest with the public and not public office holders.

Another law that seeks to promote the non-disclosure of information in Nigeria is Section 97(1) of the Criminal Code Act. It states that:

> Any person who being employed in the public service, communicates facts which comes to his knowledge by virtue of his office, and which is his duty to keep secret or by any document which comes to his possession, except to some person to whom he is bound to publish or communicate, is guilty of a misdemeanour and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

Other similar laws that seek to protect government secrets from the public include: The Criminal Code Act; the Penal Code Act; The Evidence Act. Researchers have contested the justification of these laws in a country whereby public office holders make public business their private business, deny the people information on matters of public interests, and hide under these laws to champion corruption. It is hopeful that with the recent enactment of the Freedom of Information Act 2011, government business would become public business. It would also serve as check on the excessive misuse of public offices and the over reliance on the Official Secret Acts and other related Acts by public officers to conceal matters of public interest.

4.6.5. Laws of Sedition, Defamation and Contempt of Court.

These are laws that govern journalistic practice and check the possible excesses of media practitioners in most countries of the world. Law of sedition is provided for by criminal or penal code. It's aimed at preventing publication that is capable of inciting the people or any organisation against either the government or any legally constituted authority. It has been observed that in Nigeria, those who hold sensitive positions and offices tend to use their power to invoke criminal proceedings against their opponents who used the media to criticise their actions (Omu and Oboh, 2008). Most aggrieved persons or the state holds the publisher of such a seditions story responsible for any publication coming from their outfits until they are able to provide the source of such information. Failure to do so would land the media house in a criminal case and possible seizure of license and imprisonment of the owners of the media. Law of defamation according to the Free Dictionary Online is:

Any intentional false communication, either written or spoken, that harms a person's reputation; decreases the respect, regard, or confidence in which a person is held; or induces disparaging, hostile, or disagreeable opinions or feelings against a person (November 1, 2012).

Defamation can be in the form of libel or slander. While libel is any printed or broadcast defamatory news item, slander is any oral defamatory statement. Cases of defamation could be against either a private or public figure. For a private figure, it could be sustained if proven to be defamatory, but for a public figure, Scholars have argued that it is usually difficult to sustain that, for it is widely 'held that a public official alleging libel must prove actual malice in order to recover damages (Free Dictionary Online, November 2012)', which is in most cases difficult to prove. See the first recorded case being that of *NEW YORK TIMES* V. SULLIVAN, 376 U.S. 254, 84 S. Ct. 710, 11 L. Ed. 2d 686 (1964). Defamation relating to a public office holder is usually difficult to sustain because of the First Amendments law of the United States Constitution and the principle of Fair Comment, which exposes public office holders to insults and unpleasant sharp attacks from the citizenry and the media. Fair comment is one of the elements of a democratic society that stresses the need for the media to comment freely without constraints on matters of public interest. The defence of fair comment will attach to: a statement, in the form of opinion, which is based on true facts, on a matter of public interest, and without malice (Carey and Sanders, 2004). It has been observed however, that the media especially the newspapers, prefer to defend their publication on the basis of fair comment rather than rely on justification. If, however, the person or entity in which such accusations are made feels defamed, offer of amends are made to either reduce the damages or clear the name of the defamed person. Such amends according to Carey and Sanders are: to make a suitable correction of the statement complained of and a sufficient apology to the aggrieved; to publish the correction and apology in a manner that is reasonable and practicable in the circumstances; and pay to the aggrieved party such compensation (if any), and such costs, as may be agreed to determine to be payable. If an offer of amends is not accepted by the claimant in the form of out of court settlement, the defendants can proceed to court with his facts. The claimant can also initiate a court proceeding in the case of non-offer of amends or non-implementation of the terms of amends by the defendant.

Example of cases of defamation in Nigeria. In the case of Newsbreed Org Ltd. V. Erhomosele (2007) 5 NWLR PT 974 P. 499, the court declared that for the case to be said to be defamatory, it must be proven that; the word or statements complained of were untrue; that they were made maliciously; that the plaintiff suffered damage (Babajide, 2011). In the libel

suit instituted by the former Board Chairman of Nigeria Ports Authority, Bode George, against *The NEWS* magazine, *P.M. NEWS* and the *Daily Independent* newspaper, case of libel could not be sustained. The presiding Judge noted that based on the submission of the defendant, the ''claimant had been convicted to two years without an option of fine on the same facts which he alleged libel (Babajide, 2011)''. The judge added that a 'man cannot lay claim to a reputation that he never had, as such; he ruled that the case fails in its entirety. In this case, another defense for justification is that one cannot claim damages for an injury to a reputation he does not possess.

Looking at the issue of justification from a different angle, can a case of defamation be instituted and sustained in a situation whereby information about a public figure is denied, leading to publication of falsehood and damage of reputation? For example, the non-disclosure of the state of health of the former President of Nigeria, Late Umaru Musa Yar'adua who was flown out of the country for medical treatment for about three months without the Presidency issuing a press release to give Nigerians full details of his health. Yes, it is true that the President was ill, but what was not disclosed to Nigerians was how bad the illness was. Media men were left at the mercy of speculations from different angles and on confidential information from a few close allies of the Presidency who perhaps pleaded anonymity, as names were not mentioned. A similar incident occurred in 2012, when Dame Patience Jonathan, wife of Former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, left the country for more than a month. Initially, rumors and reports from the media had it that she went abroad on holiday. Later, speculations were rife that she had food poison in Dubai and was later transferred to Germany. Other newspapers, however, reported that she was in Germany for tummy tuck cosmetic surgery. Politics was played with the truth; so much uncertainty as to the true state of health of the First Lady resulted in much intrigues and the circulation and publication of half-baked information by individuals, groups and the media, too. The circulation of rumours, unconfirmed and unverified news on the First Lady's state of health inundated the mediated space such that Oluwafunminiyi (2012) observed that groups, half-truth publications by the media, and the daily peddling of both true and false rumours by Nigerians continued throughout the period of time that the First Lady was out of the country.

It is worth noting that the only official statement that came from the Presidency on the First Lady's state of health while she was away, was a plea to Nigerians to pray for her recovery. She recovered and returned back to the country after her sojourn, and that ended the talks. Till today, no official statement has been released informing Nigerians of what exactly happened to her.

Thus, from these two examples, emerging democracies like Nigeria should understand as Oluwafunminiyi states:

> For the simple fact that an individual is responsible to a people through the ballot, his life stops being private. A politician shouldn't be in power only for himself and cronies but for the vast majority of the people who look up to him for their sustainability, security and pursuit of happiness in a binding social contract, therefore, a political leader loses the respect he initially earned as a private citizen as soon as he becomes a public figure because politics in a democracy gives the vast majority of the people the democratic license to talk, punch, critique and criticise actions which initially wouldn't have been possible if such political leader were to be a private figure and family man in his home. It is therefore, the reason why issues which has to do with the health of political leaders need not be hidden or secretive (Oluwafunminiyi, 2012).

Thus, it should be borne in mind that the defense of justification all over the world is questioned by the inability of the law systems of the world to answer the question, where does one's privacy, especially a public figure, start and end? As such, complicated cases of defamation would be left to each judge to decide, in which case, appeals on unfavourable judgments can be made.

Therefore, government of developing countries like Nigeria trying hard to contend with the vast liberties of democracy, while implementing laws, need not abuse their powers by restricting the rights and duties of the mass media.

4.6.6. Law of Contempt

This law aims at providing an enabling environment for the court and law makers to execute their functions devoid of hindrance. Contempt of court is any act committed by a person, which is capable of embarrassing, hindering or obstructing the administration of justice, or diminishes its authority and dignity (Okoye, 2007). The person must have willfully contravened the courts authority or dignity, tends to impede or frustrate the administration of justice while in court, or he/she fails to comply with an understanding which he has given.

Okoye observed that Nigerian journalists often get caught by law of contempt. This they do in their reports by either declaring an accused guilty before the trial is over, insinuating that those involved would not get justice either in the face of the court (*facia curia*), outside the court (*ex facia curia*), or by showing disrespect to the Judge by way of grumbling, noise making, disturbance of peace, taking photographs, physical fight, and other forms of distractions.

It has been observed that some judges tend to be too sensitive on the issue of contempt of court when journalists are involved, thereby undermining freedom of expression and of the press. In the case of *Onagoruwa v. the Senate*, Onagoruwa, a Columnist with the *Daily Times* was said to have prejudged a case before the trial was over. The Presiding Judge ordered that he be detained in prison. The accused appealed on the ground that he has not been given a fair hearing and that the contempt was *ex facia curia* and pleaded for justice to be tempered with mercy. The Appeal Court granted his request and ordered for his release. A balance, therefore, needs to be stroke between a contempt that warrants a journalist to be cautioned and that which could lead to jailing of such journalist so as to avoid the abuse and misuse of power by judges. Also, since right and freedom are not absolute, it is the duty of the journalists and the people in general to respect and dignify the court of law, the centre of justice and last hope of the common man.

Thus, the forgoing discussion on media control and regulation has given us an insight into the laws, rules and regulations that guide the daily conduct of journalists and media operators in Nigeria. It presents the various agencies and organizations that in one way or the other control the activities of media organizations in the country. The 1999 Constitution of Nigeria states the duties and obligations of the press. The National Broadcasting Commission issues and allocates broadcast license to radio, television and satellite stations. This government body is also empowered to seize licenses from defaulters. The National Communication Commission monitor airwaves, source for satellite band waves and allocate to broadcasters through the NBC or directly to telecommunication providers. They are to ensure equitable distribution of such and have the power to suspend or withdraw licenses. These government parastatals are to ensure strict complains by broadcasters considering the powerful and volatile nature of the broadcast system. This could be a good reason why regulation of this medium cannot be left in the hands of private organizations. The National Press Council ensures professionalism in the print media by entertaining and dealing with complains about journalists as well as protecting the rights of the journalists from attack by government, individuals and organization in the possible discharge of journalistic obligation and duties to the society. The Official Secret Act is of the laws that tend to restricts journalists' access to vital information of public interest, held by the government. Instances of government hiding under this Act to deny journalists, access to vital information has been observed. The return of democracy and the proliferation of Civil Societies in Nigeria have brought about improved access to information that prior to the era, were tagged 'secret' even though such information were not tantamount to jeopardizing or compromising national security. This has led to

increase in corruption in government quarters. It is hoped that the new implemented Freedom of Information Act 2011 will give room to more access to government information by the media and make government business public business. The laws of Sedition, Defamation and Contempt prohibit the publication of items or disclosure of information that are capable of inciting the people against the government; damaging someone's name and reputation without just cause and hindering or obstructing the course of justice in or out of court, respectively. Journalists are culpable of these and cases have been reported. It has also been observed that those in government tend apply the law of sedition on utterances made by oppositions, as a way of getting back at them. Judges have also been found wanting in the abuse of power by declaring journalists guilty of Contempt of Court. Therefore, one can rightly conclude that the legal environment in which Nigerian mass media operate is still a battle ground with so many restrictions and the struggle for press freedom is a continues battle, and the country has a long way to go to reach the level of press freedom being enjoyed by developed countries. And if Nigeria is to become one of the most developed countries by the year 20:2020, then a certain level of press freedom must be reached, far better than where the country is at the moment.

4.7. Media Advocacy for Developmental Goals in Nigeria

Media advocacy for development goals in Nigeria can be explained from the point of view of the engagements of the Media in development in the country. The focus and direction of media advocacy for development goals in Nigeria varies based on time, type of government, development philosophy, and the agenda of the moment. During the military dispensations in the country, with its inherent authoritarian media ideals, a strong sense of control of the operations of the media by the state the media, in addition to advocating development goals championed by the government, struggled so hard to ensure that Nigeria returned to democratic system of government.

The 2004 Freedom of Information Bill, which was passed into law on 2nd September, 2004, is one of those struggles that the media advocated in order to give it the enabling power and free access to public information. This is aimed at granting the Nigerian mass media the power to not only function effectively as agent of development in a democratic society, but as watchdog of the society. The Freedom of Information Bill 2004 is an act that makes public record and information more freely available, provide for public access to public records, and project public records and information to the extent consistent with the public interest. The law is an important game changer for the role of media in advocating development goals because it was a progressive initiative that gave more freedom to the media than what it

previously enjoyed during the various military dispensations in the country. Of specific relevance to media advocacy of development goals in the Freedom of Information Law is the section that stipulates "rights of access to (government) records, right of access to information about government's institutions (involved in developmental goals), whether economic or national/international security'.

The second consideration is the laws and ethics of media practice, which guide and regulate journalism practice and media advocacy for development goals. According to Doki and Yusuf (2013), media laws are sets of constitutional provisions guiding and regulating media establishment and operations as well as the practice of journalism. Daramola (1999), explain the scope of media laws to include violations relating to defamation, libel, slander, invasion of privacy, contempt of court, obscenity, copyright, official secret acts, sedition and related offences that are actionable in court of law. Doki and Yusuf (2013) further defined Journalism ethics as agreed upon guidelines for safeguarding the integrity and professionalism of journalism. They cited the Nigeria Union of Journalist Handbook (1978) to explain that Journalism code of ethics in Nigeria consists of the 14-item press code of ethics adopted in 1978 by the Nigeria Guild of Editors, the Nigeria Union of Journalists and the Newspapers Proprietors Association of Nigeria. The scope of the journalism code of ethics are editorial independence, accuracy and fairness, respect of privacy, privilege/non-disclosure of sources, decency, refusing reward/gratification, non-glorification of violence, respecting rights of children and minors, national interests, social responsibility and avoiding plagiarism and copy right violation (Daramola, 1999).

The third consideration that finally defined and shaped the role and direction of the Media in advocacy for development goals are development theories and development communication. Among the major relevant development theories and communication development models that shaped and directs the Media in their advocacy for development goals are the Normative Theories, consisting of the Four Theories of the Press (Libertarian, Authoritarian, Soviet-Communist, Social Responsibility) and the Democratic-Participant Media Theory (McQuail, 1983) and Development Media Theory (McQuail, 1987). These theories defined and shaped the direction of Media advocacy of development goals by their basic tenets.

Folarin (2005) explains, however, that the Development Media Theory, which provides an understanding of the normative behaviour of the Media in developing countries, guides the direction of media advocacy of development goals. According to McQuail (1987, p.121), see also Folarin (2005), the main tenets of the Development Media Theory are as follows: (a)Media must accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally

established policies, (b) Freedom of the Media should be open to economic priorities and development needs of the society, (c) Media should give priority in their content to national culture and languages, (d) Media should give priority in news and information to links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally and politically, (e) Journalists' and other media workers have responsibilities as well as freedom in their information gathering and dissemination tasks, (f) In the interests of development ends, the State has a right to intervene in or restrict media operation—and devices of censorships, subsidy and direct control can be justified.

Eventually, Media advocacy of development goals becomes a reflection of the complexities of journalism under the influences of the interests of ownership, advertisements, government subsidies as well as political agenda from within and outside the country of operation of the Media. It is, therefore, from the practical applications of media in different societies and the empirical evidences and theoretical literature on examples of instances of the direction of Media advocacy of development goals in Nigeria, that the impact of the media in development can be gauged.

The first instance this study refers to come from a text titled *Globalization and Development Communication in Africa* (Mojaye, Oyewo, M'Bayo and Sobowole, 2008). The joint Authors, captured the role of media in advocacy in different chapters: African Music and Dance in Global Communication, (Okoro), explains how African Music transcends the borders of Africa and showcases the rich African culture to the rest of the world. Hausa Home Videos and Global Narrative Structure (Abubakar), compares how the Hausa Home Videos with the global narrative structure; Stemming the Tide of Child Abuse: Theatre as Communication Tool (Adedina and Adedina), explains the use of theatre in advocating and creating awareness of child abuse, it further proffer ways of tackling the menace; Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria: What Roles for Corporate Social Responsibility (Olatunji), captures the role of CSR in the actualization of the MDGs. Others are Interpersonal Communication in Election Decision-Making Processes in Nigeria (Sobowole); Political Communication and the Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria, (Ekeli); Evolution of a Peace-oriented Mass Media In Nigeria: A Myth or Reality, (Isola); Citizen Journalism Practice: The 21st Century Challenges for Nigerian Journalism (Adelabu); Communication for Development in a Globalised World: An Evaluative Study of Radio Jeremi Peace Broadcast in the Niger Delta (Oji), and Globalization and the Challenges of Broadcast News Reporting and Dissemination In Nigeria, (Onabajo). These chapters in the

book captured the various ways in which the mass media advocate development goals from different points of view and from different areas, using the four theories of the press as well as McQuail's Democratic Participant Media Theory and the Development Media Theory.

In a book published in 2002 by The World Bank, the role of the Media in advocating development goals was highlighted by referring to Media's encouragement and involvement in "Transparency in Government," (Stiglitz, 2002) and "Political Accountability," (Besley, Burgess and Pratt 2002). Relatedly, John Okpoko (2010), also explains role of the Media in advocacy of development goals by locating the Mass Media in Modernity and Development, citing examples with The Mass Media in Political Development and Decision-Making Process in Nigeria. He sums up by considering that Development Journalism is the foundation of Media's role in advocacy of development goals, because it defines and directs media's focus on communication for development.

4.8. Government-Media Relations

Government-Media relationships in Nigeria as well as in all countries are political, legal, economic and on national security issues. Government-Media relationship is political in the sense that it is an issue tied to the nature and types of governments and the dominant political systems operating in a country. This means that Government-Media relationships in say established democratic countries is complementarily democratic, characterized by permissiveness, licensing and encouragements for private media ownership. There is, within the liberal socio-economic and political set up of such a country, freedom with responsibility, as defined and regulated by the country's constitution. In such democratic countries with press freedom as part of the political and institutional aspect of the democracy, the Media operate with the basic freedoms the country's constitution guarantees it. As such, Government-Media relationships in these democratic countries, is cordial except where both the Media and the Government have justifiable reasons to challenge one another. If such a situation should occur, because of the nature of the country as democratic, the issue is likely to be resolved either politically or legally or in accordance with the country's democratic provisions.

A country that is not democratic and whose government and institutions are also not democratic would however, have a different Government-Media relationship that accordingly reflect the undemocratic nature of the country and its Government. Where for example, the country and Government is Theocratic, like the Islamic Republic of Iran or Saudi Arabia, Government-Media relationships is also to follow the order of the day in the country. This

means that whatever freedom the Media has in such a country, is a freedom determined by the system of governance therein. the Theocratic Values, not the Liberal, democratic values of a liberal Western democracy. Government-Media relationships in these countries and similar others like autocratic regimes, Dictatorships and Monarchies, can therefore, not be the same as the relationship of free democracies. Press freedom is not a cardinal ideology of governance and of the government in such tight states, as in Liberal Western democracies. In these authoritarian societies, Government-Media relationship can be compared to that of a cat-and mouse, living together but sharing little mutual interests, which eventually leaves both at loggerheads.

It is important to note, however, that Government-Media relationship is not so straight-jacketed as it may seem from the above differences between liberal Western democratic countries and Theocracies, Monarchies, Autocracies and Dictatorships. Government-Media relationships varies accordingly, in even both the Western liberal democracies and the Autocratic regimes because of the degree of freedom permitted based on the countries peculiar national socio-economic, political religious, legal cultural and national security provisions. Generally, Government-Media relations can be more accurately explained within context and provisions of the Four Theories of the Press, namely Libertarian, Authoritarian, Communists and Social Responsibility. Government-Media relationships are therefore summed up in these aspects that the Four Theories of the Press portray:

> The libertarian theory emerged from a premise that the government should exist solely to serve the interests of the individual. It holds that the media should serve the people rather the government and that the best way to find the truth is to have as many opinions aired as possible … The Soviet-Communist theory, prior to Glasnost, held that the media should be extensions of the state and should foster unity and social cohesiveness. The Soviets contended that theirs was a 'people's press'; The Communist party served the people and the press helped the party carry out that function . . . The Authoritarian theory merely exercise control to ensure that the media do not publish anything that might harm the state. The mass media in an authoritarian system can be private as long as they subject to licensing, prior censorship, post publication prosecution, government subsidization or some form of government control (Wilson, 1993:53-55).

In Nigeria, the Social Responsibility Theory appears to be the common ground on which government-media relationships can be built to be mutually beneficial to the government and the media, where, if obtainable, it is practiced according to its principles. Folarin, B. (2005) refers to the six postulations of the Social Responsibility Theory that explain this point. The six postulations of the Social Responsibility Theory, according to Folarin (2005) are; 1. To serve the political system by making information, discussion and consideration of public

affairs generally accessible. 2.To inform the public to enable it take self-determined action. 3. To protect the rights of the individual by acting as watch-dog over the government. 4. To serve the economic systems, for instance, by bringing together buyers and sellers through the medium of advertising. 5. To provide 'good' entertainment, in whatever 'good' may mean in the culture at any point in time. 6. To preserve financial autonomy in order not to become financial dependent on special interests and influences (Folarin, 2005, Siebert et al, 1956; Kunczick, 1988 and McQuail, 1987).

4.9. Importance of Press Freedom and Media Pluralism in the Implementation of Government Policies and Programmes.

Discourse on press freedom, generally, generates controversies. It is an area of research that is undergoing endless debates especially in the field of Communication and Media studies, and in the area of governance. There are different definitions of press freedom as well as variations in its philosophical assumptions. According to Akinfeleye (1990):

> "There are as many definitions of press freedom as there are of political philosophies of press theories. We see variations in the meaning of press freedom in the four theories of the press by Siebert Peterson and Schramm (1956)."

These controversies and contradictions of press freedom are reflected in discourse among academics Akinfeleye (1990), media professionals, Yusuf (1990), who, for instance, hold opposing views on whether or not press freedom in Nigeria needs special reconsideration. Akinfeleye (1990) posits that press freedom is "the heart of the issue" for reconsideration in the then (1990) proposed new constitution for Nigeria's transition to civil rule. In a contrary view, Yusuf (1990), opposed, stating that revisiting press freedom in the transition to civil rule constitution is "a non-issue," since press freedom in Nigeria has been elaborately defined, contextualized and entrenched in the 1979 constitution and in other amended constitutions in Nigeria. Yusuf (1990) argued that press freedom is "a non-issue" for revisiting in the new constitution by the fact that members of the Constitution Review Committee (CRC), did not call for revisiting it in the constitution under review and ones before it, since the constitution has defined both press freedom and constitutional responsibilities of the press. According to Yusuf (1990) and Akinfeleye (1990), section 22 of the draft constitution clearly outlined the role of the mass media, thus:

> "The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives and this chapter (the

chapter deals with fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy) and uphold the responsibilities of the government to the people."

He further states that:

> "while the media in Nigeria are hailed as the freest in Africa other observers have condemned them as the most prejudiced media, notorious for dishing out untruth, half-truth or publishing distorted news stories' (Yusuf, 1990).

To Akinfeleye (1990) on the other hand, press freedom in the then proposed new constitution, is "the heart of the issue" for revisiting in the constitution which is not and cannot be a non-issue." To Akinfeleye, revisiting press freedom in the new proposed constitution represents "a press freedom that is 'pure" and not adulterated as it is at present contained in the then new Constitution." However, Akinfeleye's (1990) quoted the then President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida as saying "I am proud to note that the Nigerian Press is the most out-spoken, competitive, largest and freest in African continent," is a contradiction of his statement that press freedom is the heart of the issue in the new proposed constitution and a contradiction in the nature of press freedom. The question is, what more freedom does a press already acknowledged to be the freest aspire to have, especially considering, as Akinfeleye (1990) cited, that 'the socio-political ideology of a nation is reflective of the type of press system it operates"? This contradiction of press freedom is further stressed by Akinfeleye's (1990) statement that, 'it needs to be admitted however, that no government, no matter how democratic, can give absolute freedom to its press." Mogbekwu, in Akinfeleye (Ed: 1990) quoted Siebert Peterson, Schramm (1956) and Prokhov (1970). To cement the point about press freedom:

> To those who adhere to the Libertarian theory of the Press, the Mass media functions basically to inform and entertain. Communists see press freedom to mean approaching every facet of social life and activities of every man with yardstick and criteria provided by Marxist Scientific Philosophy (Prokhov, 1970).

Furthermore:

> The Authoritarian theory regards the mass media as a 'servant of the state responsible to the powerful figures in charge of government for most of its contents at any given time (Siebert et al, 1956). The social responsibility theory accepts the role of the press in servicing the political system, in enlightening the public, in safeguarding the liberties of the individual, in servicing the economic system and providing good entertainment."

There is no doubt that press freedom leads to Media pluralism and access to information and dissemination of that information. The type of information disseminated, to whom and for what purpose however depends on the type of press freedom the media enjoys under a

particular system of government as shown above. Generally, however, media pluralism is a product of modern, democratic societies where capitalism, consumerism and free market economy thrive and monopoly is discouraged by endorsement of competition. A demonstration of this point can be seen in Nigerian media pluralism under different government, whether civilian or military (replaced with democracy since 1999), where the media is state-owned and private-owned, online and community-based. Media pluralism in Nigeria leads to a curious form of journalism, access to information and dissemination of that information for both implementations of government policies, other programmes, or other needs and purposes. These forms of journalism, according to Enahoro (1990), are Watchdog journalism, the Watchdog Journalist and the Praise Singer Journalist. Other variants are checkbook journalism, welfare journalism, brown envelop journalism and the pro-status quo journalism (Doki, 2012).

With these types of journalists and journalism as products of media pluralism, access to information on implementation of government policies and programmes can also be understood within that context. In watchdog journalism for instance, access to information on implementation of government policies and programmes are based on the surveillance function, where both the media and journalist serve as check and balance on government and against excess or abuse of power. According to Enahoro (1990),

> The work of the journalist in this direction is to watch over the interests of the people and to bark if, and when these interests are threatened. He is the crusader for social justice, public morality, civil liberties and human progress. Watchdog journalism does not only reflect public opinion, but guide and also lead it.

Enahoro (1990) cites Rivers (1975) and further explained that in watchdog journalism, the posture implies that:

> The mass media serves as the bulwark of the citizen against tyranny of the majority, the intoxication of power, the grinding oppression of authority and the mindless expectation of the underprivileged by the privileged, Specifically the mass media and particularly the print media have a clear and unshrinking duty to criticize and appraise the occurrences of the moment (Rivers, 1975).

The reserve is the case in pro-status quo journalism, where, the media and the journalist both serve the interests of the government, the general socio-economic, political and cultural dispensations as well as the status quo, by underplaying the watchdog function and showing little interests in investigative reporting (Doki, 2012). In this type of journalism, access to Information on Implementation of Government Policies and Programmes and dissemination

of information is for that purpose mainly, with sprinkles of human-interest stories for variety. This type of journalism eventually leads to checkbook journalism, brown envelop journalism and welfare journalism, where the journalist and the media access information from either the government or the power that be and disseminate it for their own welfare and survival of their own media, because they get money and favours in addition to their salaries. Praise singing journalism and the Praise singer journalists are however a dangerous brand of media pluralism in Nigeria. According to Enahoro (1990), the praise singer journalist and praise singing journalism use sentiments and hypocrisy and are "the megaphone of the establishment. They are sycophants whose role is to fabricate lies to the detriments of the people. The praise singer journalist and the praise singing media use propaganda and disinformation/misinformation for their selfish ends.

4.10. Media Deregulation and its roles in Checkmating and Balancing News stories from Government Sources.

There are strong arguments in favour of private media proliferation and their roles in information dissemination, checkmating and balancing news from government sources. Most of these arguments showcase advantages of private media ownerships in this role and disadvantages of government-ownership of media. According to Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova and Shleifer (2002), private media proliferation is desirable because:

> "Government monopoly in the media would distort and manipulate information to entrench the incumbent government, precludes voters and consumers from making informed decisions and ultimately undermine both democracy and markets, where as private, independent media supply alternative views to the public. Moreover, competition among media ensures … unbiased and accurate information.

The main issue against government-ownership of the media is the secrecy with which governments operates, a secrecy which private media seem to be after, based on the belief that secrecy is against freedom and the right to know. This does not mean however that the private media or private-media ownership is a panacea for everything. Mogbekwu (1990) arguing in support of involvement of the government in media ownership, as temporary guidance measure, states that, *"media that are not controlled by government are likely to owe allegiance to their various sources of financial sustenance"*. Mogbekwu suggested therefore that,

> If the media in the developing countries, particularly those of Nigeria, are to have a fair chance to develop, if the media are to remain an effective vehicle for the resuscitation and maintenance of local culture, and if the people of Nigeria are to become better informed, about themselves and

about one another, then it is necessary that the government becomes involved.

The predominant view however favours private-media ownership and proliferation, not government ownership, for their roles in checkmating and balancing news stories from government sources. Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova and Shleifer (2002), discovered in their arguments for private media ownership that "government ownership of the media is higher in countries that are poorer, that have more autocratic regimes and where overall state ownership in the economy is higher, all of which cast doubt that state ownership of the media is beneficial." To them therefore, private media ownership is better and more beneficial because it thrives on press freedom and human rights and individual liberties which encourage openness, transparency and accountability in government.

4.11. Influence of Advertising Revenue on Media Economic Survival and Developmental News Coverage

The role advertising revenue plays on media economic survival and developmental news coverage cannot be taken for granted or ignored. Advertising revenue appears to be the best media economic survival strategy that can enable the media not only survive, but also be relatively independent to pursue developmental news coverage. The weakest alternative to advertising revenue is subsidy, either by government or other forces. But subsidy is costly and can hinder freedom, since the support given in its name always come with strings attached. Advertising revenue however are marketing exchanges services the media provide, which, in that sense can hardly be restrictive to press freedom, although advertisers also have their own preferences which the media eventually have to conform with. The general arguments here is that conforming to advertiser's preferences for advertising revenue is more benevolent and less harmful to the media and press freedom than the emasculating influences of subsidy, where the media have to satisfy the whims of its subsidizers, whom in most cases are government.

It is for this reason, therefore, that the World Bank in 2002, undertook a public enlightenment campaign by publishing a book titled The Right to Tell: Role of the Mass Media in Economic Development. In the book, World Bank highlights influences of advertising revenue on media economic survival and developmental news coverage, by treatise on The Media and Markets in the United States (Herman, 2002), The Corporate Governance Role of the Media (Dyck and Zingales, 2002), Media Ownership and Prosperity (Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova and Shleifer, 2002), Media as Industry: Economic Foundations of Mass Communications,

Owen(2002), and Media in Transition: The Hegemony of Economics (Carrington and Nelson, 2002).

4.12. Reflection

The chapter discusses the four theories of the press and its alternatives, the European models and the African models as basis for the conceptualization of the Nigerian media system. The application of the four theories and its alternatives in different countries have shown that most countries operate a mixture of different media systems. Nigeria is not an exemption. The application of the various media system models to the Nigerian context from the precolonial, to colonial and to the present day, revealed that the Nigeria media system, like the media system in other countries, is made up of a combination of models. Specifically, the Nigerian media system at one point or the other, have exhibited the following characteristics or distinguishing features. The features are: *media pluralism*, *external pluralism,* high and low *professionalism, political parallelism, public service orientation, instrumentalism, state control* (Hallin and Mancini, 2004); a*uthoritarian* and *social responsibility media systems* (Seibert, et al, 1956); *open democratic* and *liberalized democratic, closed* and *repressive autocratic* principles (Nisbet & Moehler, 2005); *media market, ethnicity* and *language* (Hadland, 2011), amongst many other variables used in defining media systems.

The chapter further capture the various laws and regulatory bodies governing journalistic practice and the regulation of the mass media as well as how these laws, ethical codes and regulatory provisions enhance and affect the operations of the mass media in the country over the years. Laws such as defamation, sedition, contempt and the official secrets act are some of the regulatory mechanisms employed by the government, impacts a great deal on the operations of the mass media in the country. On one hand they provide room for media practice and professionalism, on the other hand, they set rules and regulations to restrict the activities of journalists, not only to guard against the misuse of press freedom, but in some cases, to guard against being challenged by the media and the public, especially in autocratic system.

The chapter concludes with the importance of media advocacy in development based on the social responsibility role of the media, which plays a huge part in the implementation of development programmes as well as government-media relations, which ensures that the media are given the free hands to operate within the confines of the laws of the land and the ethics of their profession. While deregulation paves way for media pluralism, which gives

room to private media to participate in governance and to checkmate the activities of the government as part of the media's watchdog role, the government and advertisers can always exert control over the media through their preferences for advertising and its revenue as well as the emasculating influences of subsidy.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. RESEARCH METHODS & METHODOLOGIES

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The introductory chapter of this thesis discussed the background to the study, research aims, objectives and questions, organization of the research and vision 20:2020 at a glance. This is essential to set the tone for a review of relevant literature and set up the research methodology, which guides the study. In explicating the topic further, a review of relevant data and extant literature generated discussions on the most salient facets of mass media. An enunciation and review of mass media in Nigeria, agenda setting, public sphere and analysis of agenda-setting study were highlighted and discussed.

Consequently, based on the literature reviewed, pertinent concepts within the mass media and agenda setting were identified. This provided the platform for the construction of a conceptual framework (CF). The CF was detailed to guide the entire research and delineate boundaries of the study. It is the researcher's map of the territory being investigated (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Rogers (2012). It is the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs your research as a key part of your design (Miles and Huberman, 2004; Robson, 2011; Sage, n.d). It sets and defines the scope of the study and describe the relationship between variables. It is essential in order to focus on exactly the aspects of the people you are researching on (Rogers, 2012). Conceptual framework further shows the concepts and inter-connections between the concepts which lead the sequence of the various topical issues and infuses clarity and understanding of the research effort (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Thus, the conceptual clarification and the interconnectedness of the theories, models and variables in the preceding chapters inform the type of research method employed in this study.

This Chapter, thus, discusses the research methodology employed in the study. Therefore, the research method and philosophical assumptions, research design, sample and sampling, techniques of data collection and analysis, ethical issues, and validity and reliability are discussed. This is essential to illuminate the research as a process and scientific inquiry and to demonstrate trustworthiness and credibility in the findings of the study. The Chapter, thus, presents the entire methodology used in the study and presents Mixed Method Research as the most suitable research method for this type of study that encapsulates different research questions, objectives and theories and models.

5.2. Methodology for the Research

To guide the study, a research methodology was adopted. According to Clert, Gacitua-Mario and Wodon (2011, p.8), "a methodological approach involves a theory on how a research question should be analyzed". This implies that any broad approach to the scientific study of a phenomenon, which specifies how the research question should be asked and answered, refers to research methodology (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). It is essential to clarify this, as methodological obfuscation exists in research. In this research, the Mixed Methods Research (MMR) also known as the Third Research Community was adapted as the chosen method or approach to drive the research journey from the research questions to data analysis and interpretation.

MMR is defined as "a research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program" (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007b, p.7; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p.7). This approach or method is "a type of research design in which QUAL and QUAN approaches are used in types of questions, research methods, data collection and analysis procedures, and/or inferences'' (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003a, p.711; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:7). Teddlie and Tashakkori further assert that MMR works "pimarily within the pragmaist paradigm and interested in both narrative and numeric data and their analysis" (2009, p.4). The choice of MMR as the method for this study is borne out of the need to achieve the research objective by adequately answering the research questions which are both quantitative and qualitative and requiring the use of multiple research methods, methodology, techniques and tools of data collection.

The Mixed Methods Research (MMR) have for long been widely used in social and behavioral science research to combine depth (Qual) and breadth (Quan) in a single study (Greene, Caracelli, and Graham, 1989). The mixed methods research emerged as an alternative to the quantitative and qualitative research methods (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Over the years, the research approached has evolved, 'developed and progressed with rapid and increasing acceleration and velocity' (Freshwater, 2013, p.299). It has transcended beyond the debate of methodological dicthotomy that restricted access to data and and data analyses (Mesel, 2013), providing researchers with 'a moment to further refine, distill, contend, and contest both the territory that has been created for and by MMR an to determine and influence the emergent path' (Freshwater, 2013, p.299). This is the present stage of debate on this approach.

Despite the growth in the use of MMR in social and behavioural science research, there has been a lot of controversy over its applicability, mainly between Purists who believe in the sanctity of either Quantitative or Qualitative research, and Pragmatists, who believe in the use of both numeric (Quantitative) and narrative (Qualitative) in a single study. This is called the 'Paradigm Debate' or controversy. To lend credence to this debate, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), noted that some 'mixiphobes" also known as researchers who subscribe to either Qual or Quan methodologies, have debated the methodological correctness of the MMR (Boyatzis, 1998), in a span of decades. Despite the controversies, MMR has continued to evolved as the third or alternative research community to pure Qualitative and pure Quantitative methods. Recent studies have explored and advanced the applicability of the research approach, studies such as (Scott and Briggs, 2009; Dellinger and Leech, 2007; Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007; Feilzer, 2009; Mertens, 2011; Sandeloswki, et al, 2012; Similarly, Flick, et al (2012), wrote on how quantitative and qualitative data can be triangulated to fit into the pragmatic world of MMR while Hesse-Biber and Johnson (2013), Freshwater (2013) and others, dwelled on the trouble with the use of the method. Hesse-Biber and Johnson wrote on the complexities of mixing methods and offered directions for possible future engagements with the approach. The duo recommended, among other things, the adoption of a multi-level research design to provide a fuller contextual understanding, especially when dealing with complex issues; the integration of differences; the kind of knowledge MMR produce; and the adoption of multi-level research design. This has also been described as the paradigm debate or war (Gage, 1989). It is interesting to note that most of the arguments rest on the incompatibility of the QUAL and QUAN traditions hence, the need for an alternate research method, the MMR. This gave birth to the incompatibility thesis, which is based on the presumed philosophical discord between the combined orientations or approaches, which recognises the distictiveness and unigue attributes of each of the two methods and how each can complement or supplement the other. To this end, Creswell and Clark (2011), opine that the two research methods can be adopted and mixed in a single study to make sense of a phenomenon based on five reasons viz a viz, a need exists because one data source may be insufficient to explain a phenomenon; a need exists to explain initial findings of either a narrative or numeric based study; a need exits to generalise exploratory findings; a need exists to enhance a study with a second method; a need exists to best employ a theoretical stance; or a need exists to understand a research objective through multiple research phases.

This study, thus, employed a mixture of the following rationales to meet its objectives. First, one data source is insufficient to explain the impact of the mass media on the implementation of Vision 20:2020. In the content analysis of the Nigerian newspapers studied, the researcher

felt it is not just enough to study publications on the Vision in order to determine total number of occurrence; this wouldn't make sense of the relationship between the variables-mass media and Vision 20:2020. Qualitative data are hence, used to make sense of the total number of publications. The study, thus, further sampled the different attributes of the Vision and how each contribute in making sense of the overall study. Similarly, in the survey which was conducted on Nigerian journalists, qualitative and quantitative data were merged to not only ascertain the deep opinion of journalists on the Vision, on issue of press freedom, and on government relations, but their responses were quantified to aid generalization. Also, adopting two methodologies of research in the study gives room for robustness, which is in tandem with Creswell and Clarks (2011), need to enhance a study with a second theoretical method. Futhermore, the study best employed multiple theoretical stances- Habermas idea of a public sphere; McNair's idea of ideal mass media in a democracy, and the Agenda Setting media theory to prove a need to employ theoretical stance that will complement one another and aid in explaining a phenomenon.

Thus, a study of this magnitude designed to ascertain the effectiveness of the Nigerian mass media in providing the needed platform for Vision 20:2020 debate and its implementation requiring deeper understanding and the application of various sources of evidence and procedure is best suited as MMR.

Furthermore, based on the contributions of other MMR writers, the adoption of MMR is in tandem with Creswell and Clark's five reasons for the adoption of MMR, which enable the achievement of several purposes that this study encapsulates such as triangulation (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2006), complementarity (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner, 2007; Bryman and Bell, 2015), development, expansion, and initiation (Greene, Caracelli, and Graham, 1989). These rationales provide added value in employing MMR in this study. The philosophical assumptions that guide this methodology are worthy of note.

5.3. Justification for Choosing Mixed Methods Research

Both QUAN and QUAL research methodologies have inherent strengths and weaknesses. The choice of one methodology means embedding methodological limitations in a study. However, the combination of QUAN and QUAL methodologies helps to maximise the strengths of both while reducing the limitations of both approaches (Johnson and Onwuebguzie, 2004). This reasoning underpins the use of the MMR in the present research. In addition, since the research question guiding the entire research effort is consistent with

the mix of both quantitative and qualitative world views, this study, thus, can best be conducted using the MMR approach.

Furthermore, several Researchers including Bryman (2006) posit that MMR would enhance the quality of a study. According to Rossman and Wilson (1991), the combination of QUAN and QUAL data enables confirmation or corroboration of each other, helps to elaborate or develop analysis, providing richer details and assist in initiating a new line of thinking through attention to paradoxes or surprises and providing fresh insights. To this end, methods triangulation in this study enriches data collection, analyses and interpretation of research findings (Yin, 1994) and enables a researcher to concurrently or simultaneously generate and verify theory in the same study, thereby, providing stronger inferences (Molina-Azorin, 2012). The two approaches, quantitative and qualitative are adopted in the study to be mixed in a way that has complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses (Johnson and Turner, 2003). To support this, a study by Mazzola et al (2011) shows support for the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods as the two types of measures provided different information about the variables.

The table below, summarised the rationale for the adoption of MMR. This is consistent with reasons advanced by other MMR researchers including Morse (1991) and thus informs the research design.

Table 1: Rationales for the use of MMR

Researcher	Dimension for Rationale	Description and Benefit
Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989)	**Triangulation**	Seeks convergence, corroboration, and correspondence of results from different methods
	Complementarity	Seeks elaboration, enhancement, illustration, and clarification of results from different methods.
	Development	Seeks to use results from one method to help develop or inform the other method.
	Initiation	Seeks to discover paradox and contradiction, new perspectives of frameworks, recasting questions or results from one method with questions or results from the other method.
	Expansion	Seeks to extend the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components.

Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p. 62)

Table 1.1 : Summary of Rationales for the use of MMR

Researcher	Dimension for Rationale	Description and Benefit
Bryman (2006)	Triangulation or greater validity	Refers to the view that both QUAN and QUAL research could be combined to triangulate findings
	Offset	Suggests that research method associated with both QUAN and QUAL research have strengths to draw on weaknesses to minimise
	Completeness	View that that a more complete or comprehensive account of a phenomenon can be achieved by the researcher
	Process	QUAN research provides an account of structures in social life, but QUAL research provides sense of the process
	Different research questions	Both QUAN and QUAL can answer different research questions
	Explanation	One method is used to explain findings in the other
	Unexpected results	Suggests that QUAN and QUAL can be combined when one generates surprising results that can be better understood when the other is employed
	Instrument development	Contexts where QUAN and QUAL are used to develop research instruments
	Sampling	One approach is used to achieve sampling of cases
	Credibility	Employing both QUAN and QUAL enhances integrity of findings
	Context	Cases in which the combination is rationalised in terms of QUAL research provides contextual understanding coupled with either generalizable, externally valid findings or broad relationships among variables uncovered through a survey.
	Illustration	Use of the QUAL data to illustrate QUNA findings
	Utility or improving the usefulness of findings	Suggests that combining the two methods can be more useful to practitioners and others
	Confirm and discover	The use of QUAL data to generate hypotheses and using QUAN research to test them within a single project
	Diversity of views	Refers to combining researchers' and participants' perspectives through QUAN and QUAL research respectively and uncovering relationships between variables through QUAN research while also revealing meanings among research participants through QUAL research.
	Enhancement or building upon quantitative and qualitative findings	Entails a reference to making more of or augmenting either QUAN or QUAL findings by gathering data using a QUAN or QUAL research approach.

Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p. 62-63)

5.4. Research Design

The research questions inform the methodological choice of this study. The need to answer the research questions adequately necessitates the employment of a relevant research design. The research design is the framework that details, directs and guides the entire research (Wilson, 2010). Thus, akin to a compass, the research design as a navigating device, leads the researcher to his destination.

The research design presented here adopts John Creswell and Vicki Clark (2011) 'fixed mixed methods design'. In this type of design, the use of quantitative and qualitative methods is predetermined and planned at the start of the research process and then the procedures are implemented as planned (2011, p.54). The choice of this design is informed by the fact that at the onset of this research, that is, the proposal stage, based on the research questions adopted, the researcher envisaged collecting both *qualitative* and *quantitative* data to answer the research questions as well as achieve the objectives of the study. This implies the use of a combination of methodologies, methods, techniques and procedures. Mixing methods for this research is applied at the following levels: the study's purposes, conceptual framework, research questions, methods and validity considerations (Creswell and Clark, 2011, p.59).

Several other research designs abound within the MMR school of thought. These designs include the convergent parallel, the explanatory sequential, the exploratory sequential, the embedded and the transformative research designs (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). Thus, the research design further takes the form of a 'convergent parallel design' (Creswell and Clark, 2011). This type of design is called by many names such as simultaneous triangulation (Morse, 1991), parallel study (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998), convergence model (Creswell, 1999), and concurrent triangulation (Creswell, Clark, et al., 2003). The convergence parallel design occurs when the researcher collects and analyses both qualitative and quantitative data during the same phase of research process and then merges the two sets of results into an overall interpretation. This design is evident in this research in that the data collected in the content analysis of newspapers were both qualitative and quantitative and the analysis was an infusion of qualitative and quantitative strands. Similarly, in the questionnaire, some of the questions were open-ended requiring the responded to provide in-depth answers, giving deeper and new insights (Farrell, 2016) while others are closed-ended, prompting respondents to answer with Yes or No thereby prompting answers to be strictly limited. Note, the closed-ended nature of the questionnaire is limited to the questions requiring respondents to answer either yes or no, no options were given. The questionnaire was also analysed quantitative and qualitatively using narratives and quantities, the integration of thematic and statistical data

(Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) to make sense of the responses. This approach was possible in answering the research questions owing to the fact that the study adopts pragmatic philosophy.

5.5. Pragmatic Philosophical Assumption and Justification for its Adoption.

The paradigm war is centred on the conflict between the competing world-views or philosophical partners of the QUAN- Positivism and QUAL- Constructivism on philosophical and methodological issues (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Researchers in both divide identify and stress on the contrasting features of both paradigms on philosophical issues including epistemology, ontology, axiology, the generalizability of findings and causal links between variables under investigation. According to Merten (2003), a paradigm is a worldview which is complete with the assumptions that are associated with that worldview. Based on the dichotomies between the existing paradigms, methodologists argue on the incompatibility of paradigms. The incompatibility thesis is based on the supposed link between research methods and paradigms of enquiry (Sale, Lohfeld, and Brazil, 2002). The view is that if the underlying premises of the different paradigms differ, then the methods associated with these paradigms cannot be combined (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

However, mixed methodologists are of the opinion that the pragmatic employment of the different research methods in a study in a way that supports answering the research questions to strengthen theory is essential. This research paradigm "supports the use of mix of different methods as well as modes of analysis and continuous cycle of abductive reasoning while being guided primarily by the researcher's desire to produce socially useful knowledge'' (Feilzer, 2010, p.6) Thus, combining research methods, which pragmatists championed, would help in the integration of several theoretical perspectives (Brewer and Hunter, 2006). Consequently, instead of arguing about philosophy, researchers are better focused on choosing a method of research that works.

Hence, on a paradigmatic basis, MMR researchers suggest the use of an alternative paradigm known as *"pragmatism"*. This suggests that the QUAN and QUAL approaches are not dichotomous but rather distinct (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) and the strength of one in a research can augment for the weaknesses of the other. And therefore, MMR with its pragmatic tenets should be the main driver of social and behavioural science research in other to make complete sense of phenomenon.

The next page contains a table detailing the differences between the philosophical assumptions of the three methodologies including MMR.

5.6. Philosophical Assumptions of Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods Research

Table 2. Philosophical Assumptions of the Three Research Approaches.

Dimensions of Contrast	Qualitative Research	Quantitative Research	MMR
Methods	QUAL	QUAN	Mixed methods
Data analysis	Thematic strategies	Statistical analyses	Integration of both thematic and statistical analyses
Paradigms	Constructivism	Positivism	Pragmatism
Form of Data	Narrative data set	Numeric data set	Narrative plus numeric data sets
Sampling	Often purposive	Often probability	Probability, purposive and mixed
Research Questions	QUAL research questions	QUAN research questions	QUAL plus QUAN research questions
Types of studies	Ethnographic research	Correlational, survey	MM designs
Validity/ Trustworthiness	Trustworthiness, credibility, and transferability	Internal and external validity	Inference quality and inference transferability

Adapted from Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009, p.22).

Thus, the paradigm foundation for this type of research is pragmatic philosophy. A pragmatic philosophy emphasises flexibility of research techniques, collaborates multiple epistemological stances, and views research as 'holistic endeavour that requires prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulations'' (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2005).

Pragmatism is the philosophical partner of the mixed methods research (Howe, 1988; Morgan, 2006). The MMR researchers are of the view that pragmatism enables the combination of the QUAN and QUAL orientations and is epistemologically coherent (Howe, 1988). Pragmatism is the philosophy that guides and shapes how researchers see the world and carry out research (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2016). Based on this worldview, the practicality of planning and executing a sound research is preferred to the deep details, arguments, and complications of the debates on various philosophical assumptions. This research follows this line of reasoning, seeking to understand the lived experiences of research participants on the impact of mass media in the provision of platform (public sphere) for debate and in setting agenda for the discourse on Nigeria's Vision 20:2020.

MMR researchers are Pragmatists, which enables them adopt methods and techniques necessary to achieve the research objectives. Thus, within the pragmatism paradigm, concepts

are seen to be useful only where they support action (Kelemen and Rumens, 2008). The importance of this paradigm is that it is useful in reconciling objectivism and subjectivism, contextualised experiences, values and facts and generates accurate and rigorous knowledge ((Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2016). Hence, understanding and appreciating the roles that concepts, theories, hypotheses, research findings, interconnect and play in specific contexts is essential to pragmatists. Achieving these, points to the appreciation and utilisation of the key philosophical issues- epistemology, ontology, and axiology.

Consequently, acknowledging reality, the pragmatic researcher begins with a statement of the problem, with a view to contributing practical solutions to the study of a phenomenon to inform future practice. Therefore, the research problem and research questions in this study guide the chosen research design and research strategy. This is consistent with the pragmatist view as the research outcomes are more important than the abstractions of reality. As a result, support is provided for the "compatibility thesis"- that the use of the QUAL and QUAN methods in a single research is acceptable. Thus, QUAL and QUAN are compatible and the chosen methods for this research.

Table 2.1. Differences between the Three Different Research Paradigms

Criteria of Contrast	Constructivism	Positivism	Pragmatism
Methods	QUAL	QUAN	QUAN and QUAL (MMR) Best methods are adopted for research
Epistemology	Subjective point of view	Objective point of view	both objective and subjective points of view depending on the stage of the research cycle
Ontology	Multiple constructed realities	Objective reality	Objective, comprehensible external reality
Logic	Inductive	Hypothetico-Deductive	Both inductive and Hypothetico-deductive
Generalizability	Time and context bound statements	Time and context-free statements	Both validity and transferability issues are important
Causal linkages	Not possible to distinguish cause from effects	Causes precede effects	Causal relations exist but are hard to identify

Adapted from Tedlie and Tashakkori (2009, p.88)

5.7. Research Methodologies, Techniques/Instruments of Data Collection

Mixed methods of data collection and analysis are used in this research. This involves the use of mixed: data collection strategies, data collection instruments, data sources and data analysing tools. The data collection strategies involve the use of both quantitative (Probability sampling techniques) and Qualitative technique (purposeful sampling techniques). The choice of this was informed by the research questions, which seek to assess both qualitative and quantitative data on the phenomenon. Content analysis and questionnaire (open-ended and closed-ended) were adopted as instruments of data collection.

This research employed a mixture of research methodologies and instruments of data collection to achieve its overall objective. They are: Survey (questionnaire), Content Analysis and Case Study.

5.7.1. Survey

Survey research is a non-experimental method of enquiry that provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of it. It includes cross-sectional and longitudinal studies using questionnaires or structured interviews for data collection, with the intent of generalizing from sample of a population (Babbie, 1990). It is a method of gathering information from a number of individuals, a 'sample' in order to learn something about the larger population from which the sample has been drawn'' (Ferber, 1980). It encompasses any measurement procedures that involve asking questions from respondents, which can be anything from a short feedback to an intensive in-depth interview (Trochim, 2006). Survey research are used for non-experimental descriptive designs that seek to describe reality, establish the prevalence or incidence of a particular condition or collect information on attitudes and behaviour (Mathers, et al., 2009). Survey is an observational study (Bennet, et al., 2011). Survey research "involves the collection of information from a sample of individuals through their responses to questions'' (Sagepub, n.d). It is the "systematic observation of social and economic phenomena" (Groves, 2011, p.861). Survey is carried out through the administration of questionnaire or by conducting an interview. Survey is adopted in this research to sample the opinion of Nigerian journalists on various aspects of the Vision 20:2020 plan using a questionnaire.

Questionnaires are used in a study that expects participants to use self-report to express their attitudes, beliefs, and feelings toward a topic of interest. It requires a level of reading ability that might not be present in the population (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Also, it is very useful in gathering opinions of a large population. Questionnaires can be open-ended, closed-

ended or both. This study employed a combination of open-ended and closed-ended questions to give room to Responded to express their opinions on each of the questions in the best possible way and to give a monosyllabic response, either YES or NO to the questions asked. The questionnaire employed a combination of (QUEST-QUAN and QUEST-QUAL), with Respondents required to either answer in the affirmative or against or give their personal objective opinion of the subject in their own words.

The mixed nature of the questionnaire generated data for the survey aspect of the research. The data were then sorted into Likert Scales and themes used in deconstructing and answering the research questions. Data sourced using this method was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, in tandem with the mixed methods approach design adopted in the study.

5.7.2. Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research method used in describing and analyzing manifest and latent communication and media content in a comprehensive manner. This is done through evaluation, classification, and tabulation of the frequency of occurrence of concepts, their meanings, semantic relationships, and inferences about messages in a given text. According to Berelson, it "is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communication" (1952, p.18). It is "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1969, p.14). Content analysis as a research methodology and a method of data analysis, is defined by Weber as 'a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text (1990, p. 9).' He further asserts that these inferences are about the senders of a message, the message itself, or the audience of the message. To Krippendorff, it is 'a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use (2004, p.18). Similarly, Bryman (2012) defines content analysis 'is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner" (2012, p.290). To sum up these definitions, content analysis is the systematic method of identifying, studying, generating meanings and analyzing words, concepts and relationships in a text and within the context of their usage.

In the early days of conceptualization of the term, Content Analysis was applied majorly as a quantitative method (see Berelson 1952), but over the years, the methodology has metamorphosed from the much focus on the frequency of appearance of latent contents of

communication, words or themes, to a study of the latent content of communication (Bryman, 2012), which qualifies the methodology as both quantitative and qualitative, thereby paving room for the adoption of mixed methods content analysis.

Content analysis is one of the most widely used research methods in communication and media studies due to its numerous advantages, some of which, according to Bryman (2012) are- it is transparent; it allows for longitudinal study with ease; it is unobtrusive and non-reactive; it is highly flexible thereby applicable to all kinds of unstructured textual information; and allows information to be generated about social groups especially renowned personalities that accessing them could be difficult. The disadvantages of the methodology come from- how authentic, credible, and representative the publication tends to be difficult to ascertain by the analyst since it is a secondary data; in terms of the interpretation of latent meanings, the chances for an invalid inference drawn is very possible; there could be problems drawing a boundary between manifest and latent meanings. Nevertheless, content analysis is still the most potent and reliable means of studying documented information. the benefits of conducting content analysis.

This research methodology, technique and instrument of data collection is adopted to study 4 Nigerian newspapers. Specifically, the research methodology was employed to study the frequency of coverage of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020 by four daily newspapers (first level agenda setting; the attributes of the phenomenon as portrayed in the newspaper (second level agenda setting), and how these attributes network to make sense of the whole Vision within the context of 'the media as a public sphere' (Third level agenda setting). The study, thus, did not focus on one or two aspects of agenda setting, it rather investigates the 'agenda setting process', which is all-encompassing.

5.7.2.1. Assessing Agenda-setting effect in Newspapers

The agenda setting section of this thesis adopts content analysis of four Nigerian daily newspapers to ascertain the role of agenda-setting in the implementation of Nigeria's vision 20:2020. The choice of varied newspapers for study is informed by the numerous and longtime held belief that newspapers vary in their ideological orientations (Groseclove & Milyo, 2005), and that geographical locations of the media and the culture therein affects and determines the orientation. A good number of researchers demonstrate media's influence across cultures and settings (Seale, 2003). Culture play important role in determining how individuals receive, understand and interpret media messages, the type of media and its freedom also differ across countries. Each media has its orientation and principles and usually conforms to the prevailing culture in such a setting. As a result, the outcome of media agenda

setting research in a particular clime may differ from a similar research carried out in an entirely different cultural setting. I have discussed this extensively in the previous chapter, see (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1956; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Couldry, 2005; Hampton, 2005; Nisbet and Moehler, 2005; Hadland, 2011; Downey, Mihelj & Konig, 2012; Voltmer, 2013; Brueggemann, et al., 2014; Hallin, 2016; Butchel, et al, 2016), being the notable studies on media systems across the world. These studies found similar and differing media systems across the countries selected for the studies.

The choice of newspaper is also informed by Chapman and Chapman's opinion that newspapers have wide readership and, no doubt, act as an important source of information and influence on behavior (see also Hilton et al, 2010). Hilton et al further asserts that the newspapers read by more affluent people contained more useful educational information and are likely to contribute to increasing the gaps in knowledge amongst members of society. In Nigeria for example, presently, a tabloid newspaper on an average, costs N300 (0.85 USD). In a country where about 77% of its citizens live below poverty line and adjudged the poverty capital of the world (IMF, 2018), newspapers can be said to be for the affluent. The problem is, when the affluent receive more informed and analyzed information through newspapers, it's capable of leading to a situation whereby knowledge disseminated by the mass media is received unevenly by members of the society, a reflection of Tichenor and colleagues 'knowledge gap hypothesis'. On the other hand, over the years, in rural settings especially in developing nations, educated traditional rulers and opinion leaders read newspapers and disseminate information about happenings in their country and the world to the locals. In this way, they serve as medium for publicity and public enlightenment. The key word here is education as a universal solvent in reading and analyzing key issues covered by the newspaper; education 'has the conjoint effect of increasing individuals' attention to the news media and sensitizing them to a wide range of issues appearing in the news (McCombs, 2004:410'. It should however, be noted that the well-educated do not show greater tendency to argue against an issue or erect psychological barriers to acceptance of an issue in the media than those less-educated (McCombs, 2004). The role of education in the reception of media news between the well-educated, less-educated and uneducated is an area that is still undergoing debates. One thing that is certain is, as regard reception and analysis of news in the newspapers, only the educated can. The uneducated who cannot read and write, will always depend on what they hear from the educated ones and this can contain noise and may not be the exact information carried by the newspapers or a true reflection of media content. The uneducated in this sense, have to depend on other sources of information such as radio or

television to be able to get first-hand information and make informed decisions regarding the content of news.

Stromback and Kiousis argued that whether newspapers or television are the most powerful in salience transfer is an issue that is still undergoing scholarly debate. According to McCombs (2004), a good number of empirical researchers have found that about half the time there is no much observable difference in the agenda-setting effects of newspapers and television. The reason could not be far from the unique potentials of each medium. While television enjoys the power of multiple sensory effects of vision and sound, (Stromback and Kiousis, 2010), newspapers enjoy a larger news carrying capacity. That notwithstanding, it has been found that the other half of the time, 'newspapers have the edge by a ratio of about 2 to 1 (McCombs 2004, p. 49). A study by McClure and Patterson (1976) also found stronger agenda-setting effects in newspapers compared with television. Thus, whether television or newspaper is more appropriate in agenda setting research or has more effect is still a bone of contention. For the purpose of this study, however, one of the rationales for the choice of newspaper to study the agenda-setting effect of the media, is based on McComb's finding that the newspaper, half of the time, has an edge over the television. Another reason is what I feel the ease of access to archived news stories in newspapers in Nigeria.

Also, the much credibility conferred on newspapers due to the ownership status (mostly privately owned), adds to the choice of newspaper for an agenda-setting study. In many countries, especially developing democracies, many television stations are partly owned and controlled by the government; this can 'diminish the credibility of television news' (McCombs 2004, p. 49). The lack of credibility of television compared to newspapers could also be extended to the radio station since as a broadcast medium; it is heavily owned and controlled by the government in most developing democracies such is the case. Nigeria is one of such developing democracies. Compared to the internet on the other hand, there is much credibility on the traditional media (radio, television and newspapers/magazines). The Gate-keeping theory which allows news to be edited controlled and checked for authenticity and credibility by the traditional media, does not hold much sway on the internet due to its porosity and lack of enabling legal environment that will control and regulation it operations in most developing countries, Nigeria inclusive.

Why study four hard news tabloids and not broadsheets, soft news tabloids or magazines? Unlike what is obtainable in most of the developed countries, In Nigeria, a developing nation,

most of the serious newspapers with the highest circulation figure per day are produced in tabloid format. Broadsheets are not common in Nigeria and even when available; they tend to take the form of some specialized weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, quarterly or seasonal prints, and not the conventional daily newspapers format. Nigerian serious news tabloids combined the characteristics of both the serious news tabloids and broadsheets; offering the most simplistic messages in advocating policies as well as offering what Hilton et al, while describing the broadsheet, called 'some level of critical commentary and competing views (2010: 945)'. These Nigerian tabloids are patronized by mostly government officials, politicians, Executives, the affluent, professionals and the average working class. In essence, there are no daily broadsheets for the rich or high business executives, except for specialized newspapers. Because this study investigates a serious issue of public interest, soft newspapers are not ideal because of their coverage of mostly sensational issues. Magazines are not ideal either because they are not published on a daily basis. Magazines are also not likely to give the needed amount of coverage that would show the impact of salience or generate the needed public opinion traffic on an issue of general public interest like the vision 20:2020. It would not also generate the needed data and large scope for this content analysis. Another bane of magazines is the cost of a copy. An average Nigerian serious news magazine costs three times the amount of a copy of daily newspaper; about 400 Naira (roughly $2.80), on an average. Nigerian hard news tabloids, therefore, remain the best print media option for this study. These shortcomings of the other media add to the rationale for the choice of newspapers for this agenda-setting study.

Mass media's edge over interpersonal communication also informed the need to study a mass medium (newspapers) for its possible effect in agenda setting. The potentials of interpersonal communication in agenda setting should however not be ignored for a study by Wanta and Wu (1992) opine that research examining the role that interpersonal communication plays in the agenda-setting process has been extremely mixed up, other studies have however, found that interpersonal communication can enhance agenda-setting effects (McLeod, Becker, & Byrnes, 1974), can inhibit the effects of agenda-setting (Atwater, Salwen, & Anderson, 1985; Erbring, Goldenberg, & Miller, 1980) or can have no effect at all as found by (Lasorsa & Wanta, 1990). Examinations of the effects of interpersonal communication have therefore produced mixed results (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002). This edge of the mass media over interpersonal communication as well as its other potentials earlier mentioned confirms the rationale for the choice of newspapers for a content analysis.

5.7.2.2. Newspapers Selected and Selection Strategy.

I purposively selected four Nigerian daily tabloids for the analysis. Three of the newspapers *Vanguard, ThisDay* and *Punch* fall within the 10 newspapers with high circulation figure across the country (Media Reach OMD, 2005, www.answersafrica.com). The fourth newspaper selected, *The Nation,* is relatively new, but with high circulation figure in the country, especially in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, which is the seat of governance in Nigeria.

ThisDay

Published by Leaders & Company Limited, *ThisDay* newspaper hits the newsstand on January 22, 1995. The newspaper, with head office in Lagos, was established by Nduka Obaigbene. It won the award for Newspaper of the Year in its first three years of publication with its breaking news of the first arrest over 1995 coup and the imprisonment of former Head of State & President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo, and the late Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. The paper was the first to also report the demise of the first President of Nigeria Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as well as an exclusive report of the recovery of the stolen billions of naira by late Head of State, General Sani Abacha. According to its website, the newspaper "appeals to both young and old because of its straight forward news reporting, strong editorial content, lifestyle features and business coverage" (*ThisDay*, October 2012) is known for political & business reporting as well as reporting breaking news stories. It prides itself as an agent of change in the industry by being the first paper to introduce full colour printing, back page sports with advertising, back page opinions, all-gloss fashion, and style magazine in its weekend editions. The newspaper serves as pacesetter to other newspapers with many of its innovations copied by other newspapers. As a global player, pursing the vision of the world from an African perspective, *ThisDay* has spread its tentacles to the world and has brought world leaders and personalities from all spheres of life to Nigeria through its Annual Award. The likes of Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Kofi Annan, Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, Condoleezza Rice, General Colin Powell, former Mexican President Vicente Fox & former Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, and so on, have graced the Award ceremony and were recognized and awarded for their services to mankind.

In terms of democratic struggles, this day was at the forefront of the battle against military dictatorship in Nigeria and the quest for a return to democracy. Its reporters were at one point or the other harassed and detained by the military for the paper's involvement in this struggle.

Vanguard

Vanguard Media Limited, publisher of *Vanguard* newspaper was established in 1984 by Mr. Sam Amuka a veteran journalist and Columnist. The paper's first publication hit the news stand on Sunday June 3rd, 1984. The newspaper with the motto: "Towards a Better Life for the People" aim at serving Nigerians through commitment to free enterprise, respect for the rule of law and good governance (*Vanguard*, September, 2012). *Vanguard* is made up of the *Daily Vanguard*, *Saturday Vanguard* & *Sunday Vanguard*, with other titles taken care of specialized interests. According to its website, *Vanguard* penetrates into all the nooks and crannies of Nigeria, circulating a total of 120,000 copies with a print run of 130,000 copies daily. Embedded in the heart of *Vanguard* are core values of "equity, fairness, integrity, people centeredness & excellence, with a vision "to be the best media group with the widest read through innovation backed by excellent service delivery, highly motivated human capital and latest technology" *Vanguard's* mission is "to impart positively on [its] readers / clients and society by providing high quality, relating knowledge, political stability and economic prosperity" (*Vanguard*, September, 2012).

Punch

The *Punch* Newspaper was founded by James Aboderin & Sam Amuka. It started a Sunday edition and subsequently, featured its daily edition in 1976. The newspaper combines political news, social events and other broad issues to appeal to its target audience and to survive. Towards the end of the second republic, political conflicts ensued, which changed the ideals of the newspaper and subsequently led to the parting of Aboderin and Amuka.

One notable issue in the history of the *Punch* was the editors' ears for news, which made them aware of the intending coup of the Second Republic that toppled the Shehu Shagari led government. The *Punch* newspaper is being circulated all over Nigeria.

The Nation

Launched on Monday July 31, 2006, *The Nation* daily newspaper is published by Vintage Press Limited. According to its online edition, the paper prides itself as 'a quality, national, newspaper with credible and dependable information' (*The Nation*, September, 2012.). *The Nation* also stated that it is not beholden to any interest group and its loyalty is to the nation. The paper prides its achievements basing it on its vision to be Nigeria's newspaper of first choice among discerning readers, had won awards and recorded achievements in the following areas: the newspaper is the second most read newspaper in Nigeria according to a

2009 survey by ADVAN, AAPN, MIPAN, who are major players in the advertising industry in Nigeria; it is the most national newspaper with very strong presence in all the geo-political zones, thus making *The Nation* Nigeria's truly national newspaper; it is the highest circulating newspaper in some of the States in Nigeria, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Uyo, Yenogoa, Ado Ekiti,/Akure, Abeokuta, Jos/Bauchi, Makurdi and Ilorin, and the second largest in Ibadan, Benin, Warri and Kaduna State; it is the third most circulating newspaper in Abuja, the nation's political capital; Kano, the commercial capital of Northern Nigeria, Enugu, Aba, Maiduguri and Lokoja. Also, the paper is the fourth leading newspaper in Lagos, the nation's commercial centre; the first on the newsstands nationwide; circulates same edition nationwide; *Nationsport*, an 8-page daily pullout; an attractive innovation in sport journalism; their *Newsextra* is their unique way of colourfully touching the grassroots by digging out human interest stories; it is an authoritative newspaper in the forefront of breaking major news and reporting well-researched exclusive stories; it parades a galaxy of brilliant and perceptive columnists daily; has a unique style of reporting and writing in elevated language, concise – yet detailed analysis, and clarity of thought, and strong subscription base in Lagos guarantees the paper on the tables of vital discerning readers. (*The Nation* online, September 2012).

With these successes recorded within a relatively short period of the existence of *The Nation* newspaper, it is thus obvious that the paper is keeping to its mission of providing the general public with information they need to be free and self-governing in a democratic society, providing the general public with information they need to be free and self-governing in a democratic society, vigorously championing a return to fundamental principles of federalism, believing that it is the arrangement that can best advance the multifarious interests of citizens in a country of many nations and faiths such as Nigeria, and serving as an independent monitor of power and hold those entrusted with its exercise accountable.

Freedom, Justice, and Market economy are *The Nation's* cardinal principles with its target audience being business and political elite, the affluent, the educated, those in leadership positions in all spheres of life; the upwardly mobile and policy makers. With this choice of audience, it is evident that the nation aims at serving as a representative, a voice, and a mediator between the common man and those at the helm of affairs in all sectors of the country other than depending on profit made through sales of newspapers to the masses.

5.7.2.3. Conceptualization of Themes/Categories for Agenda Setting

Like the works of Altheide (2002) and Chapman & Chapman (2005), this study analyses newspaper articles for both manifest and latent content to ascertain the attribute of the publications. Manifest contents are those explicit content of an article (Chapman & Chapman, 2005) while latent content involves the investigation of the unseen attributes of an article. It studies the deeper and unintended themes of an article (Clarke & Everest, 2006). The study also tows Chapman and Chapman (2005) final coding framework, which records the publication, date and headline of issues to be analyzed. It also studies the tone (frame) of each article towards vision 20:2020. This could be positive, negative, neutral or mixed. *Positive* tone is viewed in the light of publications that favour, champion, support, advocate or advance vision 20:2020, or suggestive of other ways of implementing and actualizing the plan. *Negative* tone is any article that moves for the vision to be either dropped, condemns it, thinks it's not realizable, gives a pessimistic view of the vision or is generally unfavorable towards the issue. Such issues generally stare up debates on the topic in question. A *neutral* tone article neither encourages nor discourages the implementation of vision 20:2020; it neither supports nor condemns it. While *mixed* tone articles are those that present both positive and negative sides of the issue without having to favour any of the sides. Such a balance view of an issue would inform and enlighten the audiences as well as provide them with both sides of the coin to enable them engage in constructive debates on the issue or form an opinion on the issue based on available information at hand. These tones determine the framing of vision 20:2020 and play important role in determining public's perception of the issue.

Time lag also informed the choice of newspapers for this study and forms a major component of this research. Zhang et al observe that time lag has continued to be a contentious issue in agenda setting research. Research by (Wanta & Hu, 1994) suggested shorter time lags to be more appropriate for seeing agenda-setting effects. The same research also acknowledged that newspapers, especially national papers, tended to have stronger long-term effects on audiences. This research in addition to studying other aspects of agenda-setting employs a long time-lag to study Nigerian newspapers, mostly national newspapers, with circulation in all the states of the federation. They are: *ThisDay, The Nation, Vanguard* and *Punch.* A long-term study of these newspapers is aimed at investigating how current Vision 20:2020 is in the public sphere in terms of both media coverage and people's exposure to the issue and its

impact on their attitude towards the issue as well as the debates the issue has generated in the mediated sphere.

In assessing the first level agenda setting effect, the study adopts Acapulco's Third Perspective on agenda-setting also known as the Natural History Typology. This first stage of agenda setting, studies the frequency of occurrence of a single issue on the agenda. The typology 'uses aggregate measures to establish salience of an issue' (McCombs, 2004, p.31). The single issue in the context of this study is Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. The typology also measures the percentage of salience of such an issue against the percentage of public citing it (McCombs 2004, p.31) to determine its impact, also known as priming effect.

The Second-level agenda-setting research model adopts in this research studies the different attributes of the issue, specifically, the tone of news, the source of news, the type of news, the manifest attributes of news, time lag, cognitive effect, and all other properties of an issue or objects relating to an issue in the news media that meaning can be induced or deduced from. Agenda setting at this level 'is concerned with how objects are portrayed in the news media and whether this coverage can influence public perceptions' (Wanta and Mikusova, 2010), rather than the frequency of occurrence or coverage of such news item on agendas.

The thrust of this type of agenda setting, therefore, implies that the study of the effect is not only restricted to the portrayal of objects and issues in the news media, but encapsulates how such portrayal aids in determining public perception and the coverage patterns of such an issue or news item in the media.

Each object or issue in the news media has numerous attributes that can be associated with it (McCombs et al, 2004; Golan, Kiousis and McDaniel, 2007). These attributes can be induced or deduced from the phenomenon under investigation. To achieve the objectives of this study, therefore, Ghanem (1997) categorization of second-level agenda-setting attributes is employed. The writer proposes a number of dimensions to assessing second-level agenda setting viz a viz subtopics or cognitive elements, affective attributes or tone of coverage.

Subtopics or cognitive attributes involve the study of factual pieces of information that are linked to an object in the news' (Wanta and Mikusova, 2010, p.223). These factual pieces of information are the manifest attributes of an issue and can include the various properties associated with an issue (Ghanem, 1997; Gunter 2006; Golan and Kiousis, 2007; Wanta and Mikusova, 2010). It can also be on intermedia agenda setting (Golan, 2006), contingent

conditions of issues or object attributes (Miller and Wanta, 1996), can study the sources of news on the media (Wanta and Foote, 1994) or attitudinal effect (Kiousis, 2003).

Affective attributes or tone of news as a second-level or attribute agenda setting on the other hand studies the tone or frame of news, which can be positive, negative, neutral, balance, satire and mixed frames, according to studies conducted by (Block and Keller, 1995; PewResearchCenter, 2001, 2007, 2012, 2016; John, 2000, 2013; Thompson, 2006; Golan, Kiousis and McDaniel, 2007; Wanta and Mikusova, 2010; Wellinger, 2010; Nwofe, 2016). Framing attributes can also be categorized using 'relevant' or 'irrelevant' as primary definers (Hall, et al, 1978; Kosicki, 1993). But in this study, only the following frames are employed: positive, negative, neutral and mixed.

The third-level agenda setting effect is assessed based on the findings from the first and second level agenda. Third level agenda setting focuses on the network of issues of issue. It ideal for any study of an issue with different attributes or can be used in accessing the relationship between different issues and how they connect or interrelate in making sense of an issue. This study employs agenda setting theory and situates the media as a public sphere which *informs*, *publicise*, *educates*, *advocates* and provide *platform* for discourse on an issue (McNair, 2011, pp.18-20); the public sphere as that distinctive powerful discursive space in which 'individuals are combined so as to be able to assume the role of a politically powerful force' (Ernst, 1988, p.47). It is that platform which serves as a 'means of furnishing citizens with the most important information, from the point of view of their political activities, and of streamlining and guiding public discussion' (McNair, 2011, p.18). To Habermas, the public sphere is that 'realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed'' (1974, p.79).

These roles of the mass media as a public sphere as succinctly defined by these Scholars is the theoretical framework adopted in this study and situated within the context of agenda setting theory to explain the third-level of agenda setting media effect. Here, the impact of the media is assessed based on how it creates awareness on Vision 20:2020 and all its attributes, as well as how these attributes network in the public sphere to set agenda on a single issue in the country.

5.7.2.4. Newspaper Search Strategy

The search period was from 1st January 2010 to 31st December 2012. This time frame was selected to encompass the period when the Implementation Committee was inaugurated and

commenced into action. Publications with headlines or titles on Vision 20:2020 were sorted from the four newspapers and the contents were scrutinized. Also, special attention was paid to news stories and articles on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to ascertain if there was any mention of Vision 20:2020 in the stories. What informed the focused on the MDGs is, the second stage of the implementation of the Vision 20:2020, as stated in the blue print, is to work in par with the framework for the implementation of the MDGs.

Newspaper publications on Vision 20:2020 were sorted manually in the depository of an organization. The newspapers were already compiled month-by-month and bonded with a hardcover for ease of retrieve. The newspapers were sorted with the aid of an Assistant based on daily publications and each paper was scrutinized page by page. A total of 134 articles were identified. It should be noted that since the study focuses on four newspapers, there is possibility of duplication of the same story by more than one newspaper. That notwithstanding, each news story whether it appears in all the four newspapers, is treated as a separate exposure. The possibility of missing articles or an oversight of some articles on the topic due to human error cannot be ruled out since the newspapers were sorted manually. To minimise such error, however, the bonded copies of newspaper publications were double checked with special attention paid to page numbering to ensure that none of the pages of the newspapers was left out.

It has also been observed that occasionally, some newspapers had their page numbers cut off while binding. In such instances, especially if Vision 20:2020 news story appears in such a page, the preceding and succeeding pages were used to determine the missing page number. And in other instance whereby this approach did not seem to work, the name of the bound newspaper in question, the specific month and the title of the news story were used instead. The title of such a news story was also compared with the titles of the other 133 articles to avoid duplication of the same story.

It is also worth noting that out of the 134 stories sorted and analysed, only one came from MDGs office and no news story or article originating or credited to MDGs office made mention of Vision 20:2020, despite the fact that the Nigerian Government adopted the MDGs as its second phase in the implementation of the Vision.

5.7.2.5. Data coding

The total publication that was sorted and determined quantitatively was defined and categorised thematically for ease of qualitative discourse. Initially, the publications were categorized into source of news, type of news, tone of news, and vision 20:2020

parameters/manifest attributes. Each of these main categories was sub-categorized and assigned codes. The content of each publication was then read in its entirety, word-to-word, line-by-line, with special attention paid to headlines, sub-headlines and the lead paragraph; these are all what the journalists might consider encapsulating the most newsworthy aspect of the story (Chapman and Chapman, 2005; Hilton *et al*, 2010, p. 943). The intent of this type of thorough reading of text is to be able to digest and identify the various attributes of the news story to aid in the analysis and interpretation of the data. The final coding framework was drawn; it recorded the serial number, headline, date of publication and page number. A coding sheet or table comprising of eight columns was drawn, each representing the aforementioned categories.

5.7.2.6. Newspaper Data Sorting and Analysis.

The publications were scrutinized and analysed for both manifest and latent content (MayRING, 2000; Altheide, 2002; Clarke, Friedman, and Hoffman-Goetz, 2005; Lee, 2014). The manifest content refers to the part of the story that is explicitly stated (Hilton et al, 2010, p.944). Latent content involves the study of deeper and in some cases, unintended themes (Clark and Everest, 2006) with the aim of making inferences. In determining the manifest content, I searched for the source of each news items, the type of news, and the manifest attribute or parameter of the story. For the latent content, I searched the tone of each news story to be able to determine and distinguish whether such story carry positive, negative, mixed or neutral tone on Vision 20:2020. The coded sheet was then entered into a Microsoft Excel sheet, after which the data was transferred into SPSS 18. The coded data was analysed to ascertain frequencies and correlations, and the result gotten was used to infer meanings to the processed data. The various attributes and their codes can be found in the next section below.

5.7.2.7. Newspaper Coding and Thematic Analysis.

The initial stage of analysis was to sort the publications based on each medium *Vanguard*, *Nation*, *ThisDay* and *Punch,* and on a yearly basis *2020, 2011* and *2012*. The data was then sorted and categories were deduced to form a coding sheet. Each newspaper had an eight-column coding sheet and each sheet contained publications of a particular newspaper on a yearly basis. A total of twelve coding sheets with eight columns were formed. The four newspapers were assigned three coding sheets, each representing years 2010, 2011 and 2012. The sheets contain rows whose total number depended on the number of publications found

in a particular year and in a particular newspaper. This simply implies that the number of rows varies depending on the newspaper and the year of publication.

The eight-column coding sheet has the following categories representing each of the columns, *serial number, date of publication, news title, source of news, tone, type of news, manifest attributes* and *page number*. These categories were deduced and emerged based on the intent of the researcher to bring out categories and themes from the data that will ease comprehension of the publications, deduce relevant themes that will aid in data coding and analysis and be able to answer the research questions as well as aid in proving the validity of the instruments and methods used. The *serial number* column for example is to aid in determining the total number of publications sorted. While the *date of publication, page number* and *news title* were included to proof the validity of data and instrument used. They were also included to serve as valid source of data to those who may wish to further determine the interval of publication, for reference, to those interested in studying the application of semiotics in news title, and for verification of claims and findings made in this study.

The remaining four categories: *news title, source of news, tone,* and *type of news,* formed the basis of induction and deduction of meanings for the study. Each of the four categories was sub-categorised to form sub-themes. The four groups or categories are: Category A: Source of News; Category B: Tone of News; Category C: Type of News and Category D: Vision 20:2020 parameters/manifest attributes

5.7.3. Case Study

The study also adopts case study as a research methodology. It is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a programme, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. We study cases for both their uniqueness and commonality and we study it not because we want to learn about other cases, but because we want to learn more about that individual case, we have an intrinsic interest in exploring that case (Stake, 1995). Based on this idea, the research studies Vision 20:2020 to learn about the whole plan as well as media coverage of the plan within a certain period of time, which makes case studies time-bound or time-specific; Cases are bound by time and activity (Creswell, 2009). Specifically, the research is restricted and time-bound to media coverage of the phenomenon in 2010, 2011, and 2012, which validates

Yin offered four reasons why researchers adopt case study approach, one of which is 'to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under

study' (2003, p. 545). The study employs this methodology because it focuses on a particular developmental policy (Vision 20:2020) and the impact of the mass media on its implementation. The context here is the 'Nigerian media environment', bearing in mind that media systems differ across countries and boundaries. This further validates Miles and Huberman's (1994) definition of case as, 'a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context' (p.25).

Baxter and Jack (2008) opine that 'one of the common pitfalls associated with case study is that there is a tendency for researchers to attempt to answer a question that is too broad or a topic that has too many objectives for one study' (p.546). In order to avoid this, Stake (1995), Yin (2003), and Baxter and Jack (2008) recommended that researchers limit their choice of case study by setting certain boundaries: Definition and context (Miles and Huberman, 1994); Time and activity (Stake, 1995) or time and place (Creswell, 2003). Therefore, this research is delimited by *definition* and *context* to the scope of the mainstream media system in Nigeria; the agenda setting process; Habermas notion of the public sphere; and the Vision 20:2020. It is delimited by *time* and *activity* to media coverage of the phenomenon in years 2010, 2011, and 2012. Lastly, it's delimited by *time* and *place* to 2010, 2011, 2012, within Nigeria, and the Nigerian Media system.

The study employed a mixture of different types of case study; this is in tandem with the overall mixed methods research approach employed in this thesis. First, the study is an *exploratory* case study in the sense that its studies situations in which the phenomenon being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes (Yin, 2003, Lotzkar and Bottorff, 2001). The study fits into this notion based on the fact that the findings yield results and adds to the body of knowledge in many facets: comparative media systems, the public sphere, agenda setting and mixed methods research approach. It is *descriptive* case study in that it describes a phenomenon and the real-life context in which it happened (Yin, 2003; Tolson, Fleming, & Schartau, 2002). In the context of this research, the study investigates the impact of the mediated public sphere and agenda setting within the Nigerian context. The research is a *multi-case study* owing to the fact that it explored differences between and within cases with the aim of drawing up similarities and differences in variables (Campbell and Ahrens, 1998; Yin, 2003; Baxter and Jack, 2008). This is validated in this study in the 'Nigeria media system' versus the 'ideal media', 'agenda setting' & 'public sphere'; first, second and third level agenda setting; content analysis, case study and survey). The study draws on how these variables differ as well as co-relate at different points in the study. The thesis is also an *intrinsic* case study in that the researcher has a genuine interest in the case, which is the

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Vision 20:2020, and the intent is to better understand the case (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003; Hallström, Nolan, & Lundh, 2005) within the context of media studies. Finally, the study adopts *instrumental* case study by virtue of the fact that its aim is not limited to understanding the Vision 20:2020, but to explain how the media as a public square and the idea of agenda setting process, impact on the implementation of the Vision. Looking at it from this angle, as Stake (1995) notes, the case (Vision 20:2020) is of secondary interest and plays a supportive role with the aim of facilitating our understanding of the other variables involved (public sphere, agenda setting and media). Hence, the case is looked at in detail and in depth, with its context scrutinised and its activities detailed (Stake, 1995; Baxter and Jack, 2008; Luck, Jackson, & Usher, 2007).

In a nutshell, as a case study, the research employed a mixture of five types of case study or rationale for choosing and studying a case (Vision 20:2020), these are exploratory, descriptive, multiple-case studies, intrinsic and instrumental.

This explains the need for more understanding of the research topic and to validate or corroborate quantitative and qualitative scales. A robust design of this nature is aimed at converging the extent of media coverage of Vision 20:2020; the opinion of the journalists and the theoretical frameworks underlining this research.

5.8. Method of Data Analysis

Owing to the fact that the research adopts mixed methods and mixed methodologies, parallel mixed method of data analysis was further employed. It involves two separate processes: quantitative analysis of data using descriptive/inferential statistics for appropriate variables and qualitative analysis of data using thematic analysis related to the relevant narrative data (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009:266). Inferences were then drawn from both the qualitative and quantitative analysis. With this method comes the possibility of informal 'cross talk'' (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009) between strands during the analysis. This is a situation where both qualitative and quantitative data mélange and relate in a bid to answer a research question. Using this method, inferences made from these analyses were integrated/ synthesized to form meta-inferences that forms the conclusion of the study. The data were sorted and analyzed using computer software, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), Simple Statistical Analysis and Frequency tables, and manual coding sheet.

5.9. Method of Selection/Recruitment of Participants

Purposive sampling technique is used to gather qualitative data for the study. It is defined by Teddlie and Tashakkori as 'selecting units based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study's questions (2009, p.170, Maxwell, 1997, p.87). It involves deliberately selecting people for the important information they can provide that cannot be sourced from other choices. While Creswell and Clark defined it as a technique in which 'researchers intentionally select (or recruit) participants who have experienced the central phenomenon or the key concept being explored in the study' (2011, p. 173). The aim is to ensure that data sourced for the research are valid for the context of this research and from people who have experienced the phenomenon first hand or are custodians of information on it.

Thus, multiple purposive techniques were employed. The techniques involve the use of a combination of at least two of the purposive techniques, either sampling to achieve representativeness or comparability, sampling special or unique cases, or sequential sampling technique (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009, p.174). In the case of this research, I used a combination of sampling methods to achieve representativeness or comparability, and sampling special or unique cases. Sampling to achieve representativeness or comparability is used to select a purposive sample that closely represents a broader group or cases or to set up comparisons among different types of cases. Sampling special or unique cases also known on the other hand, focuses on an individual or a specific group of cases (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009, p.174). The study adopted the two methods of sampling explained to select journalists that served as Respondents in the research. Specifically, to ensure diverse representation by the media, journalists were selected from News Agency, print and broadcast media in Nigeria.

5.9.1. Sample Size

Four Nigerian daily newspapers were purposively selected based on their circulation figure for the content analysis. A further sample size of 30 journalists was deliberately selected by the researcher with the aim of achieving representativeness and comparability. According to Teddlie and Tashakkori, in purposive sampling, a small sample of usually 30 or fewer cases can be selected to form sample size for research involving the collection of qualitative data. As such, I selected 30 journalists representing media houses (radio, television and newspaper/magazines) to provide information on the Vision 20:2020.

The quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection are employed to answer the research questions adequately. Thus, an integration of interviews, semi-structured (open-ended) questionnaire and content analysis of newspaper publications are chosen to enable the collection of rich and rigorous information (Creswell and Clark, 2011). This method is essential to access journalists and government officials whose lived experiences are vital for a comprehension of the impact of the mass media on the implementation of the Vision 20:20 in Nigeria. Equally, the data will be useful in agenda setting, public sphere and all other aspects of the topic. An approach that supports method triangulation, useful as a method check to see if methods with different strengths and weaknesses do support a single conclusion (Maxwell, 2013). The relevance of this strategy is that it reduces the risk that the conclusions of the research reflect the biases of a single method. Hence, ethical issues are significantly minimized.

5.10. Validity and Reliability

To test the quality of the research, two essential tools of Validity and reliability are employed. Validity refers to the extent that the researcher has measured what he/she intended to measure in the study. Thus validity in mixed methods study of this sort is seen as " employing strategies that address potential issues in data collection, data analysis, and the interpretations that might compromise the merging or connecting of the QUAN and QUAL strands of the study and the conclusions drawn from the combination" (Creswell and Clark, 2010).

Nonetheless, within the qualitative strand of the research, trustworthiness is the preferred term seen as a substitute, and analogue, for design and measurement issues in QUAL (Guba and Lincoln, 1985). The authors further suggested four criteria *including credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability* to indicate the quality of data and the QUAL study (Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009).

Consequently, the following strategies including *prolonged engagement, member checks, thick description and a reflexive journal* have been employed to ensure quality in the study. *Prolong Engagement* is used by researchers to ensure validity. Quality time was spent on the field with the research participants, which provided scope for the researcher, enabling me to be aware of the contextual factors and multiple perspectives of the respondents. This is essential as Vision 20:2020 is a long-term policy direction of the Nigerian government, designed to span different democratic dispensations, based on the existing four-year tenure sytem. Thus, people's perspectives on their realization change frequently depending on the

immediate goals of every administration and this could play on the implementation of this long-term vision.

Member Check, based on the open-ended nature of the questionnaire, which requires that the respondents for the survey freely comment on each of the questions, the researcher implies that member check has been established. Furthermore, phone calls were made to the participants to further establish if they actually participated in the research. This was made possible by the provision in the participant's consent form requiring respondents to provide a few of their personal details such as the organization they work with, their phone numbers and email addresses, amongst other things. Written comments from these cases confirm that the researcher captured appropriately and interpreted the views of the research participants accordingly. This strategy is useful and relevant owing to the fact that it has generated credibility of the researcher's interpretation of participants' perceptions. This is thus, taken as *evidence* regarding the researcher's account (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

Thick Description in the study is evident in the use of interview, which enables the researcher collects detailed and varied rich data that provide a true picture of what is going on (Becker, 1970). The analysis captured verbatim statements expressed by the participants in their own words and some were featured in the analysis without any filter.

Reflexive Journal as a criterion for gauging validity and reliability of data and instrument in research, which focuses on the influence of the researcher on the research setting or the subjects, is often seen as a problem in QUAL study. Since Mixed Methods was used to collect data in this strand of the study, it becomes pertinent that the researcher gives an account of the approach used (Tufford & Newman, 2012), through self-questioning and reflection as suggested (Patton, 2002). Therefore, the preceding chapters and above sections on the research reflect and clearly capture the interconnection between chapters, methods and methodologies adopted while the final chapter of this thesis summarises their points of convergence in making sense of this study. While trying to achieve this, it was impossible for the researcher to completely eliminate actual influence on the subjects and setting during the study. However, I understand my influence and used it productively in the course of the research. This reasoning is consistent the approach suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) and Maxwell (2013).

5.11. Ethical Issues

Informed consent was sought and gotten prior to engaging with the research participants. Details of the research were made available to research subjects, and anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. This settled the Respondents and enabled them release details of their experiences in the course of covering the Vision.

5.12. Discussion

The Chapter discusses the research methods, methodologies and design of this study. It captures the robust nature of the study and how all the components and variables were merged, for what reason and at what point. The study adopts a Mixed Methods Research approach to investigate the impact of mass media on the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. The Chapter argues that MMR approach is best suited for this study and was adopted based on the fact that at the onset of the study, it was envisaged that both qualitative data (narrative based & subjectivity) and quantitative data (numeric based & objective) are necessary in making sense of the phenomenon. To this end, pragmatic philosophical assumption and paradigm was employed to give the researcher the free hand to mix methods, methodologies and techniques all with the aim of achieving the research objectives. The two studies (content analysis and survey) were conducted in parallel in tandem with Creswell and Clark (2010) mixed methods design typologies. At the stage of data collection, analysis and interpretation, the study adopts fixed mixed methods design for each study.

The study further mixed methodologies and techniques. Content Analysis, Case study and survey were employed in this research. Content analysis was conducted on 4 Nigerian daily newspapers to ascertain the frequency of publication of news on Vision 20:2020, on the attributes of the Vision, and on how all the attributes relate with the main subject (Vision 20:2020). This is aimed at showcasing the connectivity of the different parts of the Vision and how their interactivity and networking help in making sense of the whole. The Survey focuses on ascertaining the opinion of Nigerian Journalists on the Vision, their expectations of the policy makers of the Vision, their level of engagement in the coverage of the issue, and how free they are to cover it. Case Study was adopted to explore in-depth a programme, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals within a context and is usually case bound. Different types of case study were employed: *multi-case study* because the study merged different cases- Nigerian Mass media, Vision 20:2020, Agenda setting, and Public sphere. Also, *descriptive case study* was employed to explain in-depth the phenomenon; *intrinsic case study* to focus deeply on the main case, Vision 20:2020 and *instrumental case*

study to depict how Vision 20:2020 relates to other variables and sub-cases. Such approach can be adopted in a robust study with various cases and variables (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003; Hallstrom et al, 2005).

Theoretically, the study mixed a number of theories and models to make sense of the variables under study. Notably, Habarmas' idea of a public sphere, McNair's ideal media in a democracy and the agenda setting theory of the media were studied for their correlational relationship in making sense of the phenomena and variables.

At the level of sampling, the study adopts purposive sampling which involves deliberately selecting people that can provide information on the phenomenon. Furthermore, multiple purposive sampling, which combines at least two techniques of sampling was employed. The multiple purposive sampling techniques employed are: sampling for representativeness and comparability and sampling special or unique cases (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Consequently, four Nigerian daily newspapers were deliberately selected to provide data for the content analysis study on the bases that they fall under the ten best mainstream newspapers in Nigeria with the highest circulation figure. While thirty Nigerian Journalists were purposively selected across news agency, broadcast and print media, to ensure representativeness and comparability as well as the selection of special or unique cases.

Thus, the methodology chapter comprises combination of multitude research methods, methodologies, theories, instruments and techniques to achieve the objective of this robust study and mixed methods research, with its inherent pragmatic approach, guides this research every step of the way and contributes to the ever-growing body of knowledge on the use of different mixed methods typologies, at different stages in a single study in tandem with

CHAPTER SIX

6.0. ANALYSIS OF AGENDA SETTING STUDY.

6.1. Introduction

This Chapter is the first section of the primary research conducted in this study. The study adopts agenda setting theory of media effect as theoretical framework to assess the impact of the media in the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. To assess the impact, this Chapter adopts 'First', 'Second' and the most recently conceptualised 'Third' level agenda-setting effects of the mass media.

6.2. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The following research questions have been constructed to guide this content analysis. The study employs the following questions to question below is used to assess first level agenda-setting effect

Q1: Is Vision 20:2020 salient in the four Nigerian newspapers *ThisDay*, *Punch*, *Vanguard* and *The Nation* and across the three years 2010, 2011 and 2012?

And to assess the second level agenda setting effect, the question below was constructed.

Q2. What are the cognitive attributes/sub-topics of Vision 20:2020?

Q3. Is there a transfer of attribute salience from policy to agenda to media and public agenda?

Q4. What are the affective attributes/frames/or tones of Vision 20:2020?

The following hypotheses were developed to answer Q4:

> H2: Vision 20:2020 is framed positively across the four newspapers in 2010, 2011 and 2012
>
> H3. There is transfer of positive frame from policy agenda to media and public agendas

To assess the third-level agenda setting effect, which aims at assessing whether the media as a public sphere has provided platform for debates in which public opinion can be formed, the study discusses how both first and second level agenda setting role has impacted on the Vision, before drawing up inferences. The question goes thus:

•Q5. Has the media provided platform for discuss on the issue and the formation of public opinion in the form of a public sphere?

All these questions and hypotheses were employed to ascertain whether the media has set agenda on the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020.

6.3. Themes/Categories Used

As stated in the preceding Chapter, there are major themes and categories that formed the bases of these analyses. They are: Source of news, types of news, tone of news, attribute of news and time lag, with each of the major categories having sub-categories. These we shall analyse and discuss.

6.3.1. Category A: Source of News

Category A is also referred to as 'Source of news'. The source of news is usually the 'Who' in a news story which is part of the 4Ws that journalists use in encapsulating what is newsworthy in their reports. The 4Ws is a control analysis model of communication propounded by Harold Lasswell (1902-1978). They signify WHO, says WHAT, to WHOM, through WHAT channel, and HOW or with what EFFECT (Communicationtheory.org). Sigal (1973) affirms that it's the 'who' in a news that makes a story than the other attributes of news; this makes the source of news the most important element that shapes the news. The importance of the 'source of news' in communication studies have also been reiterated in the following studies (Gans, 1980; Strentz, 1989; Ibrahim & Hasim, 2005; Ibrahim & Pawenteh et al, 2011). These writers also viewed the source of as not only the centre of the news story, but the personality or organization behind the release of such a news item, press release, article or documentary.

According to Gans, there are two major sources of news, the *'knowns'* and the *'unknowns'*. The knowns are usually the elites such as the celebrities, government officials, the government itself, and the famous like the Heads of government, Ministers, official spokespersons of government and non-governmental organizations and their likes. While the unknowns are usually persons that do not belong to the higher hierarchy, rather are 'non-elites who become relevant sources because of their connections with certain news events as eyewitnesses, victims and families of victims (Ibrahim & Pawenteh, et al 2011, p.4)'. In the context of this study which focuses on the public sphere as platform for inclusivity and debate, the study did not restrict the sources of news to Gans two main categories, but it further divided the categories into smaller independent units.

About six sources of news emerged based on the initial analysis of the newspaper publications. The study categorises these sources as sub-themes. They six sub-categories or sub-themes are: (a) Government press release/statement: Vision 20:2020 office, MDGs office, government agencies and parastatals, government owned institutions, all facets of government, interview granted by civil/public servants in positions of authority. (b)Private individuals/general public (c) Private organizations, companies (d) Pressure/interest groups, civil societies, religious groups, professional bodies (e) International organizations/NGOs, foreign government (f) Media/Editorial

A look at these six news sources shows that each of them fall under Gans (1980) 'known' news sources or the 'unknown' news sources, see also (Ibrahim et al, 2011). All of these are important as far as this study is concerned for they either represent those in higher hierarchy or those in lower hierarchy of society, meaning, they belong to either the government and other news makers or the general public and ordinary man on the street or an organization.

The sub-categories or themes that represents the sources of news are assigned serial codes 1, 2 3,4 ,5, 6, respectively, each representing the above themes for ease of manual coding. The table below showcases the themes and their codes.

Table: 3.

Group/Category A: Source of News	Manual Analytical Codes
Government press releases/statements	1
Private individuals/General public	2
Private organizations, companies	3
Pressure/interest groups	4
International Organizations/NGOs, Foreign Government	5
Media In-house News/Editorial	6

6.3.2. Category B: Type of News.

What constitutes 'type of news' is usually an embodiment of the different ways in which information is packaged and disseminated to the public by the media. The British Broadcasting Corporation on its website refer to this as 'types of newspaper articles'. The BBC categorises this into three- *news articles*, which in most cases make headlines and inform people about daily happenings both locally and international. Second, is the *feature*

articles, which explore news stories in more in-depth than the news articles. The third type of news is *editorials, columns* and *opinion pieces*, usually in-house write ups or opinions sent in by the public or columnists. To the Canadian Parliament on the other hand, type of newspaper story can be that story which is *factual* and reported strictly based on facts; it can be a *promotional* material that seeks to get the reader to support or endorse a particular idea, object, policy, product or services; it can be *interpretative* which is usually written in the form of in-depth reporting of a news items, and it can be *feature* story or article.

There is no doubt that all the types of news mentioned above constitutes what is referred to as types of news in daily usage. This study, thus, seeks to encapsulate the various types of news and further classified them into the following four groups to fit into the context of this study:

Editorials/in-house articles: Specifically refers to any news item written by the Editors of the newspaper on Vision 20:2020.

Commentary/public opinion/Letter to the Editor, Columnist, feature Articles: This comprises of both feature articles and public opinion.

Headline stories/Front page news: Headlines or front pages news are the news that appear on the cover page of a newspaper. Such news stories specifically signify the much relevance and emphasis attached to such a news story or topic. An assessment of whether the story on Vision 20:2020 appeared as a headline news will go a long way in determining the relevance attached to the Vision by the media in its Agenda setting.

Factual news story/news articles: These are general news stories that specifically inform the public about a breaking news. It can be a headline story or a story contained in other pages of the newspaper.

Below detailed the various type of news and their corresponding numeric codes.

Table 3.1. Type of News

Type of News.	Codes
Editorials/ in-house articles	1
Commentary/public opinion/Letter to the Editor, Columnist, Feature Articles	2
Headlines/Front page news	3
Factual News story/News articles	4

6.3.3. Category C: Tone of News

Lately, McCombs, Holbert, Kiousis and Wanta (2011) emphasised on the importance of analysing story tones or tone of news in communication and language studies. They see tone of news as an important aspect of news framing which has long been overlooked in empirical studies (see also Hart, 2014). They further assert that news stories are denotative and connotative, conveying both substantive information and tones and emotions, respectively. Lexical tone analysis in the context of framing can be positive, negative or neutral (Entman, 1993; Hart, 2014). Framing is so important in that it 'promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993, p.52).

Tone of news, whether intentional or intentionally infused into the story by the source to create a particular perception of the news item in the minds of the audience can also be packaged with elements of bias especially in political communication (Harts, 2014p.254). In the context of this study thus, tone of the Vision 20:2020 news is analysed to ascertain the slant or general perception of the stakeholders (government, general public, organizations and the media) in the implementation of the Vision.

Based on the initial reading and sorting of the newspapers, four tones emerged from the news stories. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the tones used as bases of analysis in this study are positive, negative, neutral and mixed.

Positive is seen in the light of favouring, championing, supporting, advocating or advancing vision 20:2020, or news stories that suggest other ways of implementing and actualizing the plan. It has also been referred to as 'good news' meaning stories with positive tones (Harcup & ONeill, 2001).

Negative tone is any article that moves for the vision to be either dropped, condemns it, thinks it's not realizable, gives a pessimistic view of the vision or is generally unfavorable towards the developmental agenda. Such stories are also called 'bad news with negative overtones (Harcup & ONeill, 2001).

Mixed tone articles are those that 'confuse the reader about the intent of a story' (John, 2000, 2013). Such stories present both positive and negative sides of the issue. What journalists called a balanced report of an issue. It explains the flaws in the plan, condemns at the same time proffer solutions to the attainment of the plan.

Neutral articles neither encourage nor discourage the implementation of Vision 20:2020. Such a story is neither positive nor negative.

The table below shows the tones used and their corresponding codes, respectively.

Table 3.2. Tone of News

Tone of News/Framing	Code
Positive	1
Negative	2
Mixed	3
Neutral	4

6.3.4. Category D: Vision 20:2020 Parameters/Manifest Attributes

This category, Vision 20:2020 Parameters/Manifest attributes encompasses the various areas or sectors that the Vision 20:2020 development plan intends to address to achieve its goal as contained in the policy document. The parameters were derived from the Vision 20:2020 policy plan handbook titled '*Nigeria Vision 20:2020: Economic Transformation Blueprint'* (2009). An assessment of these parameters is intended to find out if all the thematic areas of the Vision are covered by the media in their reportage of the issue. There is a total of 7 thematic areas/attributes, but for the sake of this research, another attribute has been included and tagged as '*general news on Vision 20:2020'*. This thematic area represents other general news about the Vision which cannot be tied to a single thematic area but contains general information about the Vision. A run through of some of the publications informed the need to create this thematic area as one of the bases of analysis.

The eight attributes have been assigned numeric codes 1, 2, 3 to 8, sequentially for ease of identification, data management and analysis as it was done to the three thematic categories discussed above. The table below shows the attributes and their corresponding codes.

Table 3.3. Vision 20:2020 Parameters/Attributes

Vision20:2020 Parameter/Attributes	Code
Education	1
Health	2
Manufacturing	3
Polity	4
Infrastructure	5
Macroeconomy	6
Agriculture	7
General news on Vision 20:2020	8

These categories and sub-categories vividly presently and explained above formed the basis of the analysis of the newspaper used in this study. The table below is an example of the coding sheet in which the data for the analysis and interpretation was drawn from.

6.3.5. Data Analysis, Interpretations and Findings

The data that was entered into coding sheets was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Below is the rundown of all the analysis.

Codes used in SPSS analysis and their meanings.

SN = Sources of News

TN = Tone of News

TYN = Type of News

VPM = Vision 20: 2020 parameters/manifest attributes

YR = Year

Below are the areas in which the study investigated, their analysis and interpretation as well as the findings.

6.4. First-Level Agenda Setting Analyses

First level agenda setting assesses the total frequency of the Vision 20:2020 across the four newspapers in the three years selected for this study. The question goes thus:

Q1: Is Vision 20:2020 salient in the four Nigerian newspapers *ThisDay*, *The Punch*, *Vanguard* and *The Nation* and across the three years 2010, 2011 and 2012?

This question is in two parts:

a. First part assesses the salience of the issue 'Vision 20:2020' across the four daily newspapers selected for the study while,

b. The second part assesses the salience of the Vision on yearly basis: 2010, 2011 and 2012.

In determining the extent of media coverage of vision 20:2020 news, the total *frequency of coverage* of the issue was calculated on yearly basis across the three years 2010, 2011, 2012. Refer to the below table for the analysis.

Table 4. Total salience of Vision 20:2020 across the three years: 2010, 2011, 2012

YR

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2010	73	54.5	54.5	54.5
	2011	45	33.6	33.6	88.1
	2012	16	11.9	11.9	100.0
	Total	**134**	**100.0**	**100.0**	

From the above table, in the year 2010, Vision 20:2020 news appears a total of 73 times (54.5%) across the four newspapers. In 2011, the total news coverage of Vision 20:2020 across the four newspapers is 45 (33.6%). While in the year 2012, publications recorded across the four newspapers is 16, equivalent to (11.9%).

Table 4.1. Salience of Vision 20:2020 across the four newspapers in 2010

ID

2010		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	*VANGUARD*	19	26.0	26.0	26.0
	NATION	11	15.1	15.1	41.1
	THISDAY	13	17.8	17.8	58.9
	PUNCH	30	41.1	41.1	100.0
	Total	**73**	**100.0**	**100.0**	

The above table shows that in the year 2010, *Vanguard* has 19 (26.0%) publications; *The Nation* has 11 (15.1%) publications; *ThisDay* has 13 (17.8%) publications, and *Punch* has 30 (41.1%) publications.

Table 4.2. Salience of Vision 20:2020 across the four newspapers in 2011

ID

2011		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	*VANGUARD*	13	29.5	29.5	29.5
	NATION	4	9.1	9.1	38.6
	THISDAY	11	25.0	25.0	63.6
	PUNCH	16	36.4	36.4	100.0
	Total	44	100.0	100.0	

From the above tabular distribution detailing the frequency of exposure of Vision 20:2020 across the 4 newspapers in the year 2011, *Vanguard* has 13(29.5%) publications; *The Nation* has 4 (9.1.1%) publications; *ThisDay* has 11(25.0%) publications, while *Punch* has 16 (36.4%) publications.

Table 4.3. Salience of Vision 20:2020 across the four newspapers in 2012

ID

2012		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	*VANGUARD*	8	50.0	50.0	50.0
	NATION	2	12.5	12.5	62.5
	THISDAY	2	12.5	12.5	75.0
	PUNCH	4	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	16	100.0	100.0	

The total frequency of publication was also analysed based on the total coverage of the issue by individual newspaper across three years. The aim of this is to check for validity of instrument used and to be certain that the researcher arrives at the same total frequency of publications using two different methods. Details of this is contained in Table 2.2.0 below.

Table 4.4. Total Frequency of publication by each Newspaper.

 ID

2010 – 2012		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	*VANGUARD*	40	29.9	29.9	29.9
	NATION	17	12.7	12.7	42.5
	THISDAY	26	19.4	19.4	61.9
	PUNCH	51	38.1	38.1	100.0
	Total	134	100.0	100.0	

From the above table, the total coverage of Vision 20:2020 by each of the newspapers across the three years is:

Vanguard has a total of 40 publications representing 29.9% of the total publications. *The Nation* records 17 publications over a period of 3 years representing 12.7%. *ThisDay* has a total of 26 publications over the three years with a percentage of 19.4%, and *The Punch* covers the issue with a total of 51 publications across the 3 years with a frequency of 38.1%.

The results in the three tables above implies that Vision 20:2020 is salient across the three years studied, and across the four newspapers. This is a confirmation of first-level agenda setting effect, which says the media tells the public what to think and determines the perceived relevance of such an issue in the public domain (Cohen, 1963; Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p.8; Ku, 2002; Thompson, 2006; Birkland, 2007; Weaver, 2007; Weaver and Tan, 2007; Wirth et al, 2010).

6.5. Second-Level Agenda Setting Analyses

Second-Level agenda setting studies the attributes of issues as well as the transfer of salience from one agenda to the other or from issues or objects in news to attributes of such issues. As discussed in the previous chapter and at the beginning of this chapter, attributes of issues can be cognitive or sub-topics, or affective also known as tones or frames of issues or issue attributes.

At this level, the study assesses the following components of the issue attributes:

First, the *cognitive attributes* or subtopics of Vision 20:20202. Specifically, the following were assessed:

Intermedia salience of issue attributes across the four newspapers

The sub-topics or issues of issue, which are the type of news and the parameters of Vision 20:2020

The source of news on Vision 20:2020

The time-lag of news coverage on Vision 20:2020

H1. There is transfer of attribute salience from policy agenda to media and public agendas?

Secondly, the chapter assesses the *affective attributes* of vision 20:2020, which is the frame or tone of news on Vision 202:22020. Frames used are: positive, negative, mixed and neutral. To assess the affective attributes, the following hypotheses were proposed:

H2: Vision 20:2020 is framed positively across the four newspapers in 2010, 2011 and 2012

H3. There is transfer of positive frame from the policy agenda to the media and public agendas.

Q2. What are the cognitive attributes or sub-topics of Vision 20:2020 as covered by the media?

6.6. Intermedia salience of issue attributes across the four newspapers

To assess this, the study checks for the salience of the Vision 20:2020 in each of the newspapers. Here, each of the newspapers is treated as a cognitive attribute of Vision 20:2020.

VANGUARD

Table 5.0. Total Frequency of coverage by *Vanguard* 2010, 2011, 2012.

ID

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid VANGUARD	40	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.1. Total Frequency of coverage by *Vanguard* across 2010, 2011, 2012.

YR

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2010.00	19	47.5	47.5	47.5
	2011.00	13	32.5	32.5	80.0
	2012.00	8	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

From the above table, *Vanguard* had 19 publications (47.5%) in 2010; it had 13 publications (32.5%) in 2011 and 8 publications (20.0%) in 2012, bringing it a total of 40 publications.

THE NATION

Table 5.2. Total Frequency of coverage by *The Nation*

ID

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NATION	17	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.3. Total Frequency of coverage by The Nation 2010, 2011, 2012.

YR

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2010.00	11	64.7	64.7	64.7
	2011.00	4	23.5	23.5	88.2
	2012.00	2	11.8	11.8	100.0
	Total	17	100.0	100.0	

The Nation had 11 publications in 2010 (64.7%); it recorded 4 publications in 2011 (23.5) and had 2 publications in 2012 (11.8%).

THISDAY

Table 5.4. Total Frequency of publication by *ThisDay* 20, 2011 & 2012

ID

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid THISDAY	26	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.5. *ThisDay* Frequency distribution by year 2010, 2011, 2012.

YR

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2010.00	13	50.0	50.0	50.0
	2011.00	11	42.3	42.3	92.3
	2012.00	2	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	26	100.0	100.0	

From the above table*, THISDAY* had 13 publications in 2010 (50%); it recorded 11 publications in 2011(42.3%) and had 2 publications in 2012 (7.7%).

PUNCH

Table 5.6. Total Frequency of Publication across 2010, 2011 & 2012

ID

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid PUNCH	51	100.0	100.0	100.0

From the table above, *Punch* has a total of 51 publications across the three years 2010, 2011& 2012.

Table 5.7. *PUNCH* frequency distribution by year: 2010, 2011 & 2012.

YR

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2010.00	30	58.8	58.8	58.8
	2011.00	17	33.3	33.3	92.2
	2012.00	4	7.8	7.8	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

In the year 2010, *The Punch* newspaper has 30 publications (58.8%); in 2011 it has 17 publications equivalent to (33.3%) and in 2012, it records 4 exposures which is equivalent to (7.8%) of the total publications from this newspaper.

From the above analysis, findings revealed that the media covers Vision 20:2020 a total of 134 times over a period of three years. It also shows that each of the newspapers recorded some level of coverage of the issue on a yearly basis. The frequency of exposure of the issue in the media is an indication of the extent of media coverage of the issue (attribute salience). This also reflects media's role of informing and publicising issues and the plurality of the media in the coverage of Vision 20:2020.

Secondly, it has been found that all four newspapers studied accorded media space for the plan to be publicised to the public over the period of three years studied. This is a confirmation that all the newspapers are in tune with the implementation of the Vision and have provided that enabling mediated sphere for discourse on the plan. This is a confirmation of intermedia agenda setting, a component of cognitive attribute second-level agenda setting effect.

6.7. The sub-topics or issues of issue, which are the type of news and the parameters of Vision 20:2020

To ascertain this, I analysed the various *types of news* on Vision 20:2020 as well as the *Vision 20:2020 parameters/manifest attributes.* The first analysis aimed at showcasing the various forms of news writing in which the Vision 20:2020 news was packaged and disseminated to the public. These can be found in the succeeding table below.

Table 6.0. Frequency Distribution of Types of News

TYN

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	*Editorial/In-house Articles	2	1.5	1.5
	*Commentary/public opinion	51	38.06	38.06
	*Headlines/Front page News	0	0	0
	*Factual News / articles	81	60.44	60.44
	Total	**134**	**100.0**	**100.0**

From the above table, *editorial/in-house* articles had 2 publications (1.5%). Secondly, *commentary/public opinion* had 51 publications (38.06%). *Headlines/front page news* had 0 publications (0%), while *factual news/articles* had the highest number of publications 81(60.44%).

In answering this question, I also analysed media coverage of *Vision 20:2020 parameters/manifest attributes.* This is aimed at understanding whether the public is generally informed about all the thematic areas of the Vision.

Here, the study ascertains the salience of what is called cognitive attribute or sub-topics in agenda setting (Ghanem, 2007). These are objects or properties or subtopics or thematic areas of the Vision.

Table 7.0. Frequency Distribution of Vision 20:2020 Parameters/Manifest Attributes

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Education	23	17.2
	Health	7	5.2
	Manufacturing	7	5.2
	Polity	10	7.5
	Infrastructure	29	21.6
	Macroeconomy	18	13.4
	Agriculture	1	.7
	General news on vision 20:2020	39	29.1
	Total	134	100.0

The analysis shows that *education* had 23 publications (17.2%); *health* recorded 7 (5.2%) publications; *Manufacturing* had 7 (5.2%) publications too; *Polity* 10 (7.5%) publications; while *Infrastructure* had 29 (21.6%) publications. *Micro economy* had 18 (13.4 %) and *Agriculture* had only 1 (0.7%). *General news on Vision 20:2020* was the highest with 39 publications equivalent to (29.1%).

From the above analysis, it has been found that all the parameters/thematic areas of the Vision 20:2020 has received some media publicity, signifying that public awareness on all the areas have been provided by the media, with none of the parameters ignored in media reportage.

Secondly, it has also been found that the media inundated the public with information about the Vision using different forms of news writing thereby providing both instant news stories and in-depth analysis of the issue. The news appeared in the form of news commentary,

public opinion, and letters to the editor, interviews, editorials, features and articles. A striking discovery by the study however, is that none of the 134 publications on Vision 20:2020 appeared as *headlines/front page story*.

It is also worth noting is that it has been found that only one publication on MDGs and from MDGs office mentioned Vision 20:2020. This is quite an interesting revelation considering that though the Vision 20:2020 policy document stated that Stage II of the implementation of the Vision focuses on the attainment of the MDGs, yet the MDGs office does not seem to relate its activities in par with the actualization of the Vision 20:20202. This brings to mind and questions if at all the government is working in collaboration with the MDGs or it is simply banking on the attainment of MDGs as a yardstick for the actualization of its Vision 20:2020 plan.

6.8. The sources of news on Vision 20:2020

This question aims at determining if all sectors or all the stakeholders involved in the implementation of the Vision are represented in reports about the issue by the media. This will help in determining if the media provide platform for all the stakeholders to discuss and contribute to the implementation of the Vision. The stakeholders here are the tripartite components of agendas, which are the media, the public and the policy makers (Windarl, 1993; Dearing and Rogers, 1996). In the context of this research however, the various sources of news that forms the agenda are divided into 5 groups to show the pluralistic makeup of the stakeholders; this is based on the sub-categorization of sources of news proposed by (Gans, 1990).

In determining this, I sorted the various *sources of news* on Vision 20:2020 as detailed below.

Table 8.0. Frequency of publications based on the Source of News (SN) across the three agendas-public, media and policy.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	*Government press release	68	50.7	50.7
	*Private individuals/general public	25	18.7	18.7
	*Private organisations, companies	8	6.0	6.0
	*Pressure / interest groups	23	17.2	17.2
	*International organisations/NGOs	8	6.0	6.0
	*Media/ Editorial	2	1.5	1.5
	Total	**134**	**100.0**	**100.0**

From the above table and out of a total of 134 publications observed, news from Government Press Releases (GPR) was 68 (50.7%). News stories from Private Individuals/General Public (PI) was 25 (18.7%); news from Private Organizations and Companies (PO) appeared 8 times (6.0%). News from Pressure and Interest Groups (PIG) appeared 23 times (17.2%). News from International Organizations and NGOs (IO) was 8 (6.0%); while Media Editorial (ME) had 2 (1.5%).

From the above analysis, it has been found that the mass media has provided platform for all stakeholders involved in the implementation of the Vision to contribute to discourse on the issue. This is evident by the fact that there were news stories on the Vision from all the stakeholders that formed the sources of news for this study. Different groups contributed to discussion on the topic; groups such as private individuals/general public, private organizations/companies, pressure/interest groups, civil societies, religious groups, professional bodies; international organizations, Non-governmental organizations and foreign government, and media editorial, were all represented in the discourse in the mediated public sphere. This confirms the submission by that no longer do we have policy implementation that is housed within the plurality of established institutions of government and professionals alone, but 'we have s story of a plurality of policy orientations'…also in diverse publics of civil society…the multiple organizations whose voices now enter into the domain of policy discourse' (Togerson, 2007, 26).

The mediated sphere, newspaper in this context, has provided that 'distinctive discursive space (Ernest 1988, p.47)' and 'those social institutions that allow for open and rational debate between citizens (Edgar 2006, p.124)'; 'where information, ideas and debate can circulate in society, and where political opinion can be formed (Darlgren 1995, p.ix)', with the voice of the majority heard while the minority voices are considered in the implementation and actualization of any policy agenda of general public interest.

6.9. Time-Lag Second-level Agenda setting

The study also reveals that media coverage of the issue has dropped over the years from 73 publications in 2010, to 45 in 2011 and 16 in 2012 (refer to table 2.0). This reflects the dwindling of agenda setting role of the mass media over the three years covered. This massive drop in agenda setting role of the mass media over the three years studied is a clear indication that the plan is losing its initial position across the agendas and calls for the need for all stakeholders, especially the policy makers to keep inundating the public with

information on the Vision throughout the life cycle of the agenda. This is very necessary for as it has been argued, people are not likely to discuss issues they saw or read weeks ago. Hence the need to constantly keep them informed so as to stimulate enough interest in the topic (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002).

Secondly, it has been found that the Vision 20:2020 remained salient in the news in the three-year period studied. This finding overrides other assumptions that the optimal effect span of a news item on the media agenda is between 4 to 6 weeks (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002).

6.10. There is transfer of attribute salience from policy agenda to media and public agendas (attribute priming).

This question ascertains whether the amount of news coverage of the Vision coming from the government as a source of news on the issue has generated news on the issue from the public, media inclusive. The aim of which is to be able to explain whether or not media coverage of news items on Vision 20:2020 coming from the government as a source of news has generated reaction, feedback or has led to discourse on the issue in the public. This test the efficacy of transfer of salience from one agenda to the other that is, attributes priming effect of mediated messages in agenda-setting.

To determine this, the study investigates if there's correlation between news coming from government sources (GP) and news from public sources- Private Individuals PI; Private organizations, PO; Pressure Groups, PIG; International Organizations, IO; Media Editorial, ME. All these variables are termed 'Public Opinion' (PO). It checks for correlation between news from government sources (GP) versus Public Opinion (PO). News from government sources/press releases was checked against news from the other 5 sources (PI, PO, PIG, IO & ME, and were individually tested for correlation. The table below detailed the analysis.

Table 9.0. Government Press Releases versus Perceived Public Opinion

GI/PO

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
GI	68	50.7	50.7	50.7
PO	66	49.3	49.3	49.3 100.0
Total	134	100.0	100.0	

From the above table, Government press releases had a total of 68 (50.7%) publications while news from the rest of the sources that constitutes public opinion had 66 (49.3%) publications.

The below table tests for correlation between policy makers/initiators (Government) on one hand versus Public agenda/Media agendas, on the other hand where government press releases represent news from policy makers while perceived public opinion represents news from the media and the public agendas, coded as GP versus PI, PO, PIG, IO & ME. Note, this analysis seeks to test and explain the relationship between the tripartite components of agenda setting (the policy makers' agenda, the media agenda and the public agenda)

Table 9.1. Correlation between GI & PI, PO, PIG, IO & ME (PO)

Correlations

	GP	PI	PO	PIG	IO	ME
GP	1					
PI	-.443**	1				
PO	-.233**	-.121	1			
PIG	-.410**	-.212*	-.112	1		
IO	-.233**	-.121	-.063	-.112	1	
ME	-.114	-.059	-.031	-.055	-.031	1

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Based on the correlation result above, there is a significant correlation between news from government sources GP and news from PI, PO, PIG, & IO. Correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2 - tailed) and at 0.05 level (2-tailed). This implies a positive, linear relationship and transfer of salience from the government to the public agenda. While no significant correlation exists between government sources (GP) and the media (ME) as source of news. Correlation is negative. This implies that agenda setting by the government did not result in transfer of salience to the media agenda since news on Vision 20;2020 was never captured as an editorial by the media.

6.11. What are the affective attributes/frames/or tones of Vision 20:2020?

The following hypotheses were developed to answer this question:

H2: Vision 20:2020 is framed positively across the four newspapers in 2010, 2011 and 2012

H3. There is transfer of positive frame from policy agenda to media and public agendas.

The first hypothesis aims at ascertaining the general tone of Vision 20:2020 as framed by the media. The intent is to give us an idea of the general perception of the Vision by the government, the public and the media itself based on how the media framed the news in their reports. To determine this, the study focused on the *tone of the news* (TN), which is also referred to as the frame of the news. In this study, tone has been categorized into positive, negative mixed and neutral. The table below contained the distribution of the tones used and their frequencies.

6.12. Tone of News (TN).

H2. Vision 20:2020 is framed positively across the four newspapers in 2010, 2011 and 2012

Table 10. TN

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Positive	119	88.8	88.8	88.8
	Negative	7	5.2	5.2	94.0
	Mixed	6	4.5	4.5	98.5
	Neutral	2	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	**134**	**100.0**	**100.0**	

From the analysis, a total of 119 (88.8%) of the publications were positive; 7 (5.2%) negative; 6 publications (4.5%) had mixed tone, while 2 publications 1.5% had a neutral stand on the issue. Analysis of government versus public opinion shows that for government releases, positive tone has 91.2%, negative has 1.5%, mixed has 5.9% while neutral has 1.5%. While the percentage of the news in relation to public opinion (PO) that is positive is 85.5%, negative has 10.3%, mixed has 2.9% while neutral has 1.5%.

The above analysis found that, based on the way the mass media packaged, slanted and disseminated news stories on the Vision to the general public, the general tone, frame or perception of both government and the public on the issue is mostly *positive*. This is an indication that the mass media serve as 'a domain of our social life where such a thing as public opinion can be formed, [where] citizens . . . deal with matters of general interest

without being subject to coercion (Habermas, 1997, p.105)'. It also confirms Mckee (2005) assertion that the media provide platform for the public to engage in issues and reach consensus on what should be done about them. The media also defines a frame or context in which related events can be interpreted (Nelkin, 1989, p.107).

This notwithstanding, it should be borne in mind that media framing of issues may not be a true reflection of the intent of the public since, the media, through gatekeeping, decides what to publish and what not to and how to frame such an issue. And in Nigeria, a developing democracy with much of its press freedom guaranteed only in theory, the possibility of publicising misleading or doctored information by the media should not be ruled out.

The analysis also shows that dissent, which is a major component of an ideal democratic public sphere according to (McNair 2011), is entertained by this mediated platform. This is evident in the various tone contained in the Vision 20:2020 news analysis. Some of the opinions were *negative*, some *mixed* and some *neutral*. This thus, goes a long way in showcasing that the mass media had created room for public discussion and has entertained even dissenting groups in the platform. It has created an arena for public discourse between the government and the public and all dissenting groups to engage and contribute to in the implementation of the plan.

The study also found that there is a significant correlation between the government, and the media and public. The extent of media coverage of vision 20:2020 as well as the positive tone of both the government, the media and the public shows that there is a good and positive relationship between the partners. It shows the transfer of salience from the government's agenda to the public's agenda (attribute priming effect).

6.13. H3. There is transfer of positive frame from policy agenda to media and public **agendas**.

Basically, this question aims at ascertaining whether the government and the public/media hold similar perception of the Vision based on media reports on the issue. To ascertain this, we first, analysed the tone of the news coming from government sources (GP). Secondly, we analysed the tone of news coming from public sources, mass media inclusive (PO). The third stage was to test for correlation between first and second findings in order to determine whether both government and the public/media hold similar perception of Vision 20:2020.

The tables below contained the analysis and interpretation of the assessment.

Table 11. Tone of News from Government Press Releases/ Other Sources (GP)

Tones	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	62	91.2	91.2
Negative	1	1.5	92.7
Mixed	4	5.9	98.6
Neutral	1	1.5	100
Total	**68**	**100**	

From the tabular analysis above, the percentage of news that has *positive* tone in relation to government releases is 62 (91.2%); *negative* has 1 (1.5%); *mixed* has 4 (5.9%); while *neutral* has 1 (1.5%).

Other sources of news on Vision 20:2020 constitute what I collectively referred to as Public Opinion in this section. They are Private Individuals/General Public (PI); Private Organizations and Companies (PO); Pressure and Interest Groups (PIG); International Organizations and NGOs (IO) and Media Editorial (ME).

Table 12. Tone of Public Opinion

Tones	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	58	85.3	85.3
Negative	7	10.3	95.6
Mixed	2	2.9	98.5
Neutral	1	1.5	100
Total	**68**	**100**	

The percentage of the news that has *positive* tones in relation to public opinion is 58 (85.5%) *negative* has 7 (10.3%); *mixed* has 2 (2.9%); while *neutral* has 1 (1.5%).

Table 13. Correlation between *tone of government* and *tone of the public* on Vision 20:2020.

Correlations

	GPR	PO
GPR	1	.310[*]
PO	.310[*]	1

Table 13. Correlation between *tone of government* and *tone of the public* on Vision 20:2020.

Correlations

	GPR	PO
GPR	1	.310*
PO	.310*	1

 * Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed).

 Table 6.1.2. Correlation between tone of GP & PO.

The above correlation table shows that there is a significant correlation between government press releases and public opinion on Vision 20:2020 and it is at 0.05 level (2 - tailed).

Findings from table 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 above show that the majority of publications on the Vision on the government agenda as well as the public agenda is positive. This is a confirmation of consensus on the perception of the issue by all stakeholders involved in the implementation of the Vision. It can thus be asserted that the government as well as Nigerians, advocate Vision 20:2020 as reflected in the content of the newspaper publications that were studied. The analysis also revealed significant correlation of positive tone in both government and public agendas.

6.14. Third Level Agenda-setting Effect

Q5. Has the media provided platform for discuss on the issue and the formation of public opinion in the form of a public sphere?

To assess the third-level agenda setting effect, the study discusses the findings from first and second level agenda setting effects of the mass media. It has been found that the mass media has provided that enabling platform for the issue Vision 20:2020 to be debated upon and for perceived opinion of all stakeholders involved in the implementation of the vision to be assessed. This has created impact in terms of the publicity accorded the issue; the general perception of Nigerians on the issue which according to the study, is positive, though might not be a true reflection of public opinion due to possible influence of media gatekeeping as well as the powerful influence of those in power, both the media and the policy makers to hijack news stories on the issue and frame such news based on an angle that protects their interest.

To sum this up, the impact of third level agenda-setting role of the media can be discerned from the visible salience of Vision 20:2020 across the four newspapers over the period of three years studied. Secondly, stakeholders in discussions about the issue in the form of the sources of news, media advocacy role, and educating Nigerians on the issue.

In summary, first, second and third level agenda setting effects have been assessed in this all-encompassing study and how they act individually and collectively to impact on the whole agenda setting process. The role of the mediated public sphere in the implementation of the issue has also been determined.

With the dwindling frequency of coverage of the issue each passing year, it is recommended that more publicity be accorded the issue since the vision is not yet realized for as it's been asserted, the amount of media coverage that issues receive gives the public salience cues with which they learn the relative importance of these issues (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p. 37; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004; McCombs, 2004). Constant inundation of the public with media messages on the issue will continually shape public perception of the issue. Efforts should also be made to prioritise the vision on the public agenda, because as it is, the issue had never graced the front page of any of the newspapers analysed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0. SURVEY ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE

7.1. Introduction

This chapter captures the analysis and interpretation of the data sourced from the open-ended questionnaire administered on journalists in Nigeria with focus on Vision 20:2020. The aim is to find out if the Nigerian journalists have impacted on the implementation of Vision 20:2020 and the Transformation Agenda based on their professional calling and the role they are expected to play in a democratic society. The overall aim of which is to ascertain if the media have provided platform and have set agenda for discourse on Vision 20:2020, which is key in the implementation and monitoring of developmental plans in a country like Nigeria whose Constitution prescribes a democratic system of government.

7.2. Survey Research Questions

Specifically, this part of the thesis seeks to ascertain if the Nigerian mass media have provided that enabling platform or public sphere for discourse on Vision 20:2020. To this end, the research seeks to find out the demographic variables of the participants of the research. Specifically, in the first section of the questionnaire, questions are asked on the following: gender, age bracket, educational qualification, the type of media worked for, and the beats the journalists are assigned to cover. The second part of the questionnaire contains seventeen questions that bother on: whether Nigerian journalists aware and well informed about the Vision 20:2020/Agenda; whether the Nigerian media provide platform for discourse on the Vision/Agenda; the relationship between the Nigerian media and the government in terms of the implementation of the Vision; whether Nigerian media advocate Vision 20:2020 and if the Vision is realizable.

7.3. Method of Data Analysis and Interpretation

First, the data gathered was prepared, sorted and typed into a standard Microsoft Excel processing sheet. It was then read through, memos were made and a qualitative code book was developed. The code book consisted of 26 rows and 3 columns. Each of the columns has a heading, they are: Respondent, Question and theme. Since the questionnaire contains twenty-two questions, a total of twenty-two coding sheets were developed to form a code book. The first column 'Respondent' contains the codes used in describing each of the journalists, which are J1, J2, J3, J4, J5 to J25, presented serially. The next column contains

the questions asked. For example, Q1, Q2, Q3 and so on. This is followed by twenty-five responses, each representing the response of each of the journalists to the question. While the third column with the heading 'theme' contains each of the themes that were deduced from each of the responses.

The next step of data preparation adopts quantitative approach to the study by manually counting the frequency of occurrence of each of the categories with the aim of ascertaining the category that appears the most in order to have a clear understanding of the varied opinion and perception of the majority of the journalists and to ascertain the voice of the majority on each of the questions asked. The next stage used Microsoft Excel sheet and Microsoft Word application tables. The data are entered into the Microsoft applications for ease of quantitative analysis. The Excel table contains the *serial number*, the *categories*, the *codes* and the *frequency*. While the second analytical table features the '*category*', the '*codes*', '*frequency*' and '*percentage*'. A chart was further developed to provide a graphical representation of the items and their frequencies, the aim of which is to provide a visual representation and enhance the understanding of the various findings. The following are the analyses and interpretation of the data collected from the journalists:

7.4. Section A: Respondents' Biodata/Demographics

This section of the questionnaire studies the demographics of the journalists involved in the research. The term 'demographics' according to Salkind (2010), refers to the characteristics of a population, which include age, race, gender, ethnicity, income, education, employment, health and disability status, family size, home ownership, and so on. As variables in research, demographics provide information on research participants and are necessary in determining whether the target population can be used for the purpose of generalization. They also help in making sense of the category of people that participate in research. Demographics are independent variables in research and cannot be manipulated. To this end, five questions were asked on the participants demographics. They are:

1.What is your gender?

Table 14.0. Gender

Categories	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Female	1	6	24%
Male	2	19	76
Total		**25**	**100%**

2. What is your age bracket?

Table 14.1. Age Bracket

Categories	Codes	frequency	percentage
20-29	1	0	0%
30-39	2	4	16%
40-49	3	18	72%
50-59	4	3	12%
60 and above	5	0	0%
Total		**25**	**100%**

3. What is your educational qualification?

Table 14.2. Educational Qualification

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary School/Professional Cert.	1	0	0
NCE/OND/HND	2	3	12%
First Degree	3	12	48%
Master's Degree	4	10	40%
PhD or Post-doctorate	5	0	0
Total		**25**	**100%**

4. What type of media organization do you work for?

Table 14.3. Media Organization

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Broadcast	1	4	16
Print	2	16	64
News Agency	3	5	20
Total		**25**	**100%**

5. Which of the beats are you assigned to cover?

Table 14.4. Beat Covered

Categories	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Education	1	2	8
Health	2	2	8
Manufacturing	3	1	4
Polity	4	1	4
Infrastructure	5	1	4
Macroeconomy	6	3	12
Agriculture	7	3	12
National Planning	8	12	48
Total		**25**	**100%**

Discussion of Findings

From the above tables and their analyses, table A shows that participants in the research are men and women, even though more males (76%) participated in the research than females

(24%). It is therefore interesting to know that both male and women are into journalism and both genders are represented in the study. This is quite contrary to what was obtainable in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries public sphere, where women were virtually exempted from politics and professional careers. It is therefore a clear manifestation that gender is not a barrier in media practice in Nigeria, even though the result is positively skewed to more men in the profession.

Table B details the age bracket or range of the participants in the research. None of the participants falls under the age bracket 20-29 with 0%, 30-39 has 16%, 40-49 has 72%, 50-59 has12% while none of the participants is age 60 and above with 0%. From these results, the majority of the journalists fall under age bracket 30-39 and 40-49 and 50-59, which according to CIA World Fact Book, 2018, are the prime working age in Nigeria. This implies the presence of an active working force in the Nigerian media industry.

Table C represents a survey of the educational level of the participants with those with Secondary school certificate or other professional certification such as membership of professional bodies having 0%; those with National Certificate of Education (NCE), Ordinary National Diploma (OND) and Higher National Diploma (OND) occupy 12% of the total percentage of journalists that participated in the study. Those with first degree, 48%; Master's degree, 40% while none of the journalists has a Doctorate degree or a Postdoctorate. The results imply that the majority of the participants are trained and educated enough to practice the profession. The degree according to Pickard (2017), provides a measure of academic accomplishment that is seen by the society as having value enough to warrant being employed. This is part of what Hallin and Mancini (2004) emphasised in their conceptualization of *professionalism* as a variable for measuring type of media system.

Table D captures the type of media organization that the journalists work for. It becomes necessary to establish this because the study focuses on journalists working with main stream media. By main stream media, we are referring to the type of media described (Chomsky, 1997), Pew Research Centre (1998) and Newman (2011). Such media, according to Newman, are the lifeblood of social media. They are usually classified as broadcast, print and news agencies.   Studying this is paramount because the study specifically focuses on mainstream media. It is therefore important to determine the type of media houses the journalists work for in order to ensure that the right population sample are selected and to ensure that the data sourced are valid.

Thus, from the table, 16% are from broadcast media, 64% are from prints while 20% are from the news agency. This confirms that the journalists recruited all work with mainstream media organizations as targeted by the research and all facets of the mainstream media are represented in the study.

Table E displays the result of the different media beats that the journalists cover. Recall that at the point of data gathering, participants for the research were purposively selected based on the beats they cover with specific interest in those covering the National Planning Commission, the initiator of the Vision, as well as other journalists covering all the parameters of Vision 20:2020.

The study, thus, uses this as variable to determine if at all the journalists recruited represent these beats. To this end, Education has 8%, Health has 8%, Manufacturing has 8%, Polity occupies 4%, Infrastructure 4% Macroeconomy 12%, Agriculture 12% while National Planning has the highest number of journalists with 48%. The implication of this results is that journalists recruited for the research are those covering all the parameters or thematic areas of the Vision 20:2020 and are expected to be knowledgeable enough to be able to provide answers to the general research questions. This adds to the validity of the data and enhances reliability.

7.5. Section B: General Questions on Vision 20:2020.

The second section of this survey focuses on ascertaining the Respondents' views on Vision 20:2020, their knowledge of it; press freedom; government-media relations; importance of public opinion and social responsibility of the media towards the coverage of the national development plan.

Q1. What is your view of Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda?

This question aims at finding out the view or opinion held by the research participants about the concept, Vision 20:2020/Transformation and what it means to them. It also aims at ascertaining whether or not the journalists have been exposed or are aware of the government plan. This will enable us know whether the issue is being publicized and to confirm and justify at the end of the day whether or not the respondents recruited are appropriate for the research. From the responses, thematic themes were deduced and categorized into the

following themes for ease of understanding and interpreting the various opinions held by the Nigerian Journalists on the Vision/Agenda.

The themes that emerged from the responses are: '*good and realizable*', '*good but not realizable*', '*not realizable*' and '*general description*' of the phenomenon. The adjective 'good' was used by some of the journalists in their responses to describe their opinion of the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda. I therefore used it as a key word to describe the perception of the journalists. The following are the words used in the responses that informed my judgement on the categorization of the themes and what defines such themes.

> *Good and realizable*: This category describes the responses that lauded the Vision as good and feasible. Words and phrases used to describe this category are: 'realizable', 'wonderful concept', 'a good document', 'good concepts', 'positive', 'vision on course', 'good agenda', good vision'.
>
> *Good but not realizable*: This category means that the respondents see the developmental plan as good, laudable and a worthy cause but they do not see it as realizable. Words and phrases used to describe this category are: 'beautiful on paper, but …', 'desirable but unrealistic'.
>
> *Not realizable*: This category is used to describe the responses that out rightly condemned the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda. Words and phrases used are: a farce', 'a myth', 'unrealistic', a 'fail dream' and 'not effective'.
>
> General Description: These words and phrases used inform this categorization: The 'policy strategy of the federal government', 'plans to position Nigeria as one of the 20 economies', are 'development blueprints', 'initiatives geared towards developing Nigeria'.

The table below shows the categories deduced from this question, the codes assigned to each of the categories and the total frequency of occurrence of each of the codes.

Table 15. Journalists' Opinion on Vision 20:2020

Categories	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Good and realizable	1	12	48%
Good but not realizable	2	2	8%
Not Realizable	3	6	24%
General Description	4	5	20%
Total		**25**	100%

From the responses analyzed, 12 journalists see the vision as *'laudable and realizable'*, 2 described it as *'laudable but not realizable',* 6 see it as *'not realizable'* while 5 of the journalists just gave a *'general description'* of what the Vision is all about. From the analysis thus, the general opinion of most of the Nigerian journalists is that it is 'laudable and realizable' if implemented. On a general note, from the responses, it shows that all the journalists do not only have an idea of what the Vision is all about, but hold a certain view about its feasibility, whether or not it is realizable. The topic is thus not only visible in the mediated sphere, but it is also a subject of debate considering the varied perceptions held by the participants. But the question is, will it be implemented by the government or will it face the neglect and abandonment faced by previous developmental plans over the years in the country? If the journalists feel the vision is realizable, laudable and Goldman Sachs, the investment company that made the prediction that Nigeria along with some other developing countries have the resources and capacity to join the league of the 20 most developed economies of the world by the year 2020, what then stops the government from ensuring its actualization? What are the Nigeria media doing or what efforts have the media put in place to ensure its actualization? Is the media providing the needed media space and time as well as the enabling public sphere to inform, educate, advocate and provide platform for discourse on the plan or does it wait or depend on press releases and government propaganda on the issue before publicizing the visionary plan?

Other questions raised are, is the media setting agenda on the Vision or is it just a government and policy makers' agenda? Is the media more likely to patronize news on the vision? Does the media see the news on the issue as capable of making headlines and front pages or is it more likely to focus on other news stories, advert and so on, than to publicize news/information on the Vision. In fact, is the vision 20:20 /transformation Agenda news worthy or seen to be newsworthy and on top of the government agenda? All these are some of the questions that responses from this first question prompted this study to raise, ask and seek answers, if not in the later part of this study, then in further study on this topic by others who may be interested in furthering from where I stopped.

In the course of this analysis, I find some of the statements made by some of the journalists quite interesting and worthy of note while analyzing some was quite tricky, confusing and challenging. For example, in J13's response to Question 1, the journalist described the Vision/Agenda as:

'Beautiful on paper, but Nigeria has made quite a few documents in the past without following through once a new administration emerges.'

Classifying this response was quite difficult because it possesses double meaning, the phrase 'Beautiful on paper' going by its manifest meaning could mean that the journalist meant the blue print is 'good and realizable', but looking at it from another angle, trying to deduce the latent meaning, it could mean that the journalist meant that the vision is a "farce", "unrealistic". With this, I was faced with what seems like co-occurring codes- a situation whereby 'the same lines or segments of texts have more than one code attached to them (n.d)'.

I, however, chose to classify this response under 'good but not realizable' category, using my researcher's subjective intuition and basing my judgement on not only the phrase, but also, the adjoining clause to the sentence, which goes on to say:

"*…but Nigeria has made quite a few documents in the past without following through once a new administration emerges*".

This thus, laid to rest the ambiguity in which this response raise.

Q2. Is there a pact between the government and media on the implementation of the Vision?

This question aims at ascertaining the relationship between the Nigerian Media and the government and or whether a formal Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed between the government and the media in the implementation of the plan. From the responses, two categories emerged: *'Aware'* and *'Not Aware'*. By being *'aware'*, it means that the journalists have fore knowledge of a formal relationship between the Nigerian media and the Nigerian government as copartners in the implementation of the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda. The category *'aware'* is assigned a code number 1 while *'not aware'* is coded as 2 for ease of analyzing the frequency of occurrence of each category.

Table 16. Contract Between Government and the Media on the Implementation

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Aware	1	5	20%
Not Aware	2	20	80%
Total		**25**	100%

From the table above, the majority of the respondents (20) claimed not to be aware of any pact between the government and the media while 5 claimed to be aware. From the response

of the majority of the journalists, does it mean that indeed no formal invitation was given to the media as a union to become copartners in the implementation of the visionary plan? This raises my curiosity in this age and time whereby media space and time is expensive. If at all a pact was signed as claimed by a few of the journalists, then the general air of unawareness of the pact could be as a result of so many reasons ranging from either the journalist covering the beats are new in the field or were not the one's covering that beat as at when the programme/vision was inaugurated in 2011, or it could be that such an information could best be sought from the management of the media house; it could also be that the initiators and implementers of the plan never signed any partnership pack in this regard, instead, expects the media to as a matter of its social responsibility to the society, publicize the vision as its responsibility.

If such is the case then, we should not forget the fact that the mass media in general, is accused of being too commercialized and capitalistic, focusing more on trivialities and conferring status on inconsequential issues; see (McKee, 2005; Kellner 2004; Jabbar, 2003; Birchmore, 2003; 'Media', 2002; Postrel, 1999; McChesney 1999; Alger 1998; Herman and McChesney 1997; Keane 1991; Herman and Chomsky 1988).   This could also be a confirmation that private issues occupy more media space and time than hard news stories as Furedi has observed 'private lives of politicians excite greater interest than the way they handle their public office (2004, p.4)'. This invariably means that the politicians' lifestyle, especially if such lifestyle involves issues like scandal, competes favourably or even more for media space and time than issues of public interest. And with so much competition in the media and the desire to make more profit, the mass media is more likely to dwell on issues that would bring more publicity, increase its circulation figure, and increase its audiences than dedicating more time/space as well as focusing more on such stories like the Vision 20:2020.

 If at all this is the case, then the media whose role in agenda setting requires them to provide the needed space and time for publicity of programmes of general public interest will be said to be negated. Also, the policy initiators' role of ensuring that funds are set aside for publicity of the Vision would be said to have been compromised (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). These actions could lead to failure in the implementation of the Vision. This in turn affects and questions if at all that enabling public sphere is indeed available and that enabling platform is provided for discourse on the issue.

Q3. Frequency of coverage of news on the Vision/Agenda.

This question aims at ascertaining if the Vision/Agenda appears in the media often or not. This would aid in determining whether or not the issue is receiving media attention enough to create awareness in the minds of the public and command public debate or it is but seldom mentioned in the media. This is very important to this research especially as a way of finding out if the media provides enough publicity and constantly inundate the public with updates on the stages of implementation of the plan.

From the responses, three categories emerged. They are *'Often'*, *'Not often'* and *'Never'*. For ease of data processing, the categories were assigned the following codes: '*Often'* is assigned the code number 1. '*Not often'* is assigned the code 2, while '*never'* is assigned the code 3.

Often: The word often is used in this work to describe and categorise responses such as regular, always, frequent and the likes.

Not Often: This was used in categorizing responses such as not regular, not often, once in a while, seldom, periodically, rarely, not frequent, and other similar synonyms.

Never: Never, as its literary meaning implies and as used in this work means that the respondent has never covered any news at all on Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda.

Table 3 below shows the details of the various responses.

Table 17. Frequency of Coverage of News on Vision 20:2020

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Often	1	7	28%
Not Often	2	13	52%
Never	3	5	20%
Total		**25**	100%

From the above table and analysis, the majority of the journalists (13) said they cover it, but not often; a sizeable number (7) stated that they often cover it, a total of 5 respondents stated that they have never covered it including (1) respondent did not give any response to the question. This revelation by the majority of the journalists that they do not cover it regularly is not unconnected to the fact that the agenda setting study earlier conducted also confirmed that coverage of this news items had tremendously reduced over the years. It is also worth noting that two of the journalists noted a fall in the frequency of news on the Vision. These revelations were made by J4 and J17 as detailed below.

J4, *'Initially, very often but the rate has reduced tremendously'*.

J17, '… *'usually often but in the recent past, seldom'*.

Thus, the sudden reduction in the frequency of coverage that the media receives/gives to the vision/Agenda tallies with the findings in the earlier content analysis on agenda setting which revealed that the frequency of coverage of vision 20:2020 over the years has dropped. Though this finding is coming from two of the participants, it however, can be said to on one hand, tallied with the perception of the majority of the respondents who stated that they do not cover news stories on the Vision quite often.

One thing to also note is that if only questions were directly asked on whether or not the coverage has reduced over the years, or if the instruments of data collection where to be an unstructured face-to-face interview, the researcher would have had the opportunity to directly ask more questions that would solicit more responses to prove or disprove whether or not the frequency of coverage of the Vision had increased or decreased over the years. It should also be borne in mind that the time frame between the period in which the agenda-setting content analysis data was covered (2010-2012) and the period in which the questionnaire was administered on the journalists (2013-2014), it could be that the salience of the issue had reduced and it's no longer on top of the government agenda at the moment due to factors such as the general elections in the country and other issues. That notwithstanding, the study safely concludes and implies that the impact of the media in the provision of publicity to the Vision has drastically reduced over the years and had affected its agenda setting role as far as the implementation is concerned.

Q4. Awareness of the present stage of implementation of the Vision/Agenda.

This question seeks to determine whether the journalists are abreast with the present stage of implementation of the Vision. This will aid in determining whether the journalists are not only aware of the vision but have updated information on the vision and are following the trend of its implementation. The responses that emerged are categorized into two groups and assigned codes. They are: '*Aware*' with numeric code '1'and '*Not Aware*' with numeric code '2'. The findings are detailed in the table below:

Table 18. Awareness of present stage of implementation

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Aware	1	7	28%
Not Aware	2	18	72%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the above table, a total of 7 respondents stated that they are aware of the present stage of implementation of the Vision; 18 claimed not to be aware including one journalist that simply did not provide any response to the question.

The negative confirmation which comes from the majority of the journalists is a clear indication that the media, which is supposed to be a key stakeholder in the implementation process is not well armed with information on the progress of the plan. And to think that the journalists recruited for the research are those directly covering the Vision 20:2020 office or assigned to cover the seven thematic areas of the plan, yet they are information handicapped on the issue, is a clear indication that the plan is not receiving the needed amount of publicity it ought to be receiving to drive its implementation to a successful end.

Some of the responses quite daunted the role the media is expected to play in the implementation. A look at some of the responses will better explain things:

J8, *'I think it is below 50%'.*
J13, '*It is fluid, even 6 years to 2020'.*
J14, *it was less than it was projected to have'.*
J15, 'No. *This is because it is difficult to get facts and figures on these programmes. Many a times only pronouncements, but structures on ground tell a different story'.*

The first three responses above (J8, J13, & J14), are clear indications that even though some of the journalists are aware of the stage of implementation, their perception of it is daunting. While the response from J15 on the other hand, though the respondent stated 'no', he/she, went ahead to explain the difficulty faced in assessing such news story, adding even if such stories are issued, many a times they are but government propaganda. This is an interesting point to note especially as this analysis progresses, as it will aid in explaining some of the answers in the questionnaire.

On the other hand, the 7 positive responses received from a few of the journalists is an indication that the issue features in the media; it shows some visible presence in the mediated public sphere. While some of the responded only confirm and indicate their awareness of the present stage of the implementation, others went ahead to explain more on the level of the implementation. Some of the positive responses that I find to be insightful in answering this Q4 are:

J1- *'it is visible in the key sector like Agriculture, food for all by 202020, education for all and housing for all'.*

J3, *Federal government is on the second stage of National Implemental plan of the Vision'.*
J9, *'Work in several sectors are ongoing but yet to meet the projected expectation'.*

The relatively low positive responses (7 out of 25), which is a bit less than one-third of the total responses is but a clear indication that even if the journalists are aware of the Vision, only a few out of the majority are well informed, educated and enlightened on the progress made so far. This can be assessed in terms of what has been achieved so far, the challenges being faced, and the milestones yet to be covered. In short, the media needs to be given, or should constantly source for the latest updates on the plan in the form of an assessment and evaluation report on the issue and feed it into the public sphere to keep the general public aware and create room for constant debate on the issue, which has the power to keep the government on its toes until the Vision is actualized.

Usually, in policy implementation campaign, space time and fund are set aside for publicity to augment on whatever media space/time the various media outfit allocates to a programme as part of its social responsibility as well as cardinal role in the society.

Thus, the implication of this finding so far is that it is either the journalists have been reporting the issue without monitoring or focusing on the stage of implementation of the plan. It could also be that the policy makers are not emphasizing on the present stage of its implementation in their news stories and in press releases issued to the media. The implication of this is that, the implementation of the plan will suffer; it can create public apathy and evoke negative attitudes and perception in the minds of the public towards the government, especially when a lot of public fund has been earmarked and sunk into the project. It can also invariably mean that the public is also not properly informed about the progress so far made and may not be able to properly engage in rational discourse on the issue.

Q5. Ease of access to information on the Vision.
This attempts to find out the ease of access to information on the plan in terms of whether or not the journalists have ever been denied access to such information. The themes that emerged are *'Easy'*, *'Not easy'* and *'Neutral'*. Easy is assigned the code 1; Not easy, 2; while Neutral 3.
Easy: In this context means that the journalist has never had issues accessing information on the vision.

Not easy: Means that the journalists had issues accessing the information.

Neutral: Stands for those that were indifferent in their response or have never attempted to access the information. The table below reflects the various responses.

Table 19. Ease of Access to information on Vision 20:2020

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Easy	1	13	52%
Not easy	2	5	20%
Neutral	3	7	28%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the analysis of the result displayed in the above table, it appears that the majority of the journalists (52%) finds it quite easy accessing information on the plan and have never been denied access. Of contrary view, is the 20% that attested to have had issues accessing the information, while 28% never had the cause to solicit for such new story neither were they ever denied access.

The implication of this finding the (52%) that has access is that there's a good and cordial atmosphere in Nigeria for the press to function and flourished in their profession without fear of being sanctioned or intimidated by the government. This is can so be seen as a clear indication that the Freedom of Information Act which was passed into law in 2011 is effective and guarantees the rights and freedom of the press in the discharge of their duties. Press freedom is an essential ingredient of an effective democratic society that works and the weapon in which the opposition group, the civil societies, the media as well as the citizenry armed themselves. It is with this that they contribute to rational discourse in the physical and mediated public sphere, checkmates the activities of the government through their watchdogging, ensure that policies of general public interest are implemented, and holds the government accountable for its actions.

Some of the responses that buttressed this finding are:

J6, '*not really, if you want, you can easily get information, if you want'.*

J13, '*No, Not since the passage of the Freedom of Information Act by the present administration'.*

J14, '*No. Information are now accessible courtesy of the Freedom of Information Act'.*

J17, '*Very easy. It is even easier with the new Freedom of Information law'.*

The passage of the Freedom of Information Act into law in Nigeria thus, is a giant stride in the growth of democracy in Nigeria and for some of the journalists to have referred to it as a boost to their access to information, means that the law is not just applicable in paper, but that it works. This is a plus to media practice in Nigeria, and hopefully, new studies on the impact of the media should be able to detect increase in the impact of the media in the country.

It's also worth noting the responses that came from those that stated they do not find it easy to access information on the issue. This response came from one-fifth of the respondents. It's important having a look at it in that, the study centres on the public sphere and ideally, the public sphere in a democracy should be able to accommodate both those for and against an issue. In this research, the divergent view on this question, even though it comes from the minority of the respondents, they responses elicited important issues that should not be overlooked in assessing the impact of the media. Some of which are:

J12, *'No. Some bottlenecks usually of civil service'.*
J15, *'Yes! Each time you want to know how the budget is expended on the different ministries, which ultimately are promoting the Vision and Agenda, journalists are offered deaf ears or thrown off balance'.*
J21, *'No, a lot of bottlenecks involved'.*

Based on these findings, my conclusion is that in Nigeria, in terms of press freedom and how effective it is in accessing information, there's considerably, high level of access to information as well as elements of bottlenecks in assessing such information. This is not surprising because Nigeria, like other African democracies, is but a developing democracy, which enjoys a relative low level of press freedom, which based on the global index of press freedom, like its counterparts, enjoys 44% press freedom as against the industrialized world that enjoy 85% (Freedom House, 2005).

It is however hopefully that with the recent enactment of the Freedom of Information Act 2011, it will not only enable the government to priorities the implementation of the Vision (agenda setting), but enhance more access to the media, thereby curbing corruption. For as Norris (2009) asserts in CommGAP, press freedom inhibits corruption while media access reduces corruption. See also Brunetti & Weder (1999a & 1999b) affirmation that the one standard deviation in a country's level of press freedom, in general, reduces the level of corruption in that country by 0.4 to 0.9, on a six-point scale. Also refer to Bandyopadhyay

(2014) assertion that the degree of media penetration is associated with less corruption in such a society.

Q6. If aware of any journalist that was denied access to information.

The question seeks to find out if the respondents are aware of any journalists or any instance in which a media personnel is denied access to information of public interest by the government. The categories that emerged are '*aware*' and '*not aware*'. The category '*aware*' is coded as 1 while '*not aware*' is assigned the code 2. The analyses are contained in the table below.

Table 20. Awareness of any instance of access to information by journalists.

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Aware	1	2	8%
Not aware	2	23	92%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the above tabular analysis, 2 respondents (8%) affirmed that they are aware of instances in which a journalist is denied access to information while the majority of the respondents (92%) denied ever being aware of any instance that such happened. This finding is not unconnected to the findings in preceding analysis, Q5, in which most of the journalists affirmed that they were never denied access to information. With this finding one, can safely conclude that even though on a global scale, Nigeria is said to be enjoying relative democracy and press freedom, on an individual basis, the country is doing relatively well in terms of access to information. This therefore, calls for more empirical research to assess the impact of the Nigeria's FOI Act 2011 on the activities of the press in the country and to build a repertoire of latest findings in such an area. This will be of so much significance as far as the assessment of Nigeria's democracy and the implementation of policies and plans is concerned.

Q7. Freedom to cover the activities of the Vision/Agenda.

This question is an offshoot of Q5 and Q6 above. Only that the main trues of this question is not only targeted at press freedom and access to solicited information on the issue from the government but is focused more on determining if the government initiate invites to the journalists to cover activities bothering or relating to the plan. The responses were categorized into '*Yes*', '*No*' or '*Neutral*' and assigned codes 1, 2 and 3, respectively. See below table for details:

Table 21. Freedom to Cover Vision 20:2020

Category	Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	15	60%
No	2	6	24%
Neutral	3	4	16%
Total		**25**	**100%**

Based on the responses, above, the majority of the respondents 15 (60%) confirmed that they have been free to cover the activities of the Vision, 6 stated that they have not been free while 4 had a neutral stand on the issue. Going by the majority of responses on the freedom to cover the activities of the Vision, it's evident that there's considerably high level of freedom and access given to the journalists to cover the issue, which also tallies with the last two responses in this study. This therefore, further confirms that the journalists are not only free to access the information but are coopted into the plans and activities bothering on the implementation of the Vision.

This notwithstanding, does not translates into a total or absolute confirmation that the media is free to cover all government activities on the issue as there are divergent views on it, though not much, they are worth looking into and putting into consideration in determining the efficacy of the media-government relationship in a democracy and for the sake of further study on the issue. Of striking interest is the response given by J15, which goes *'No, not all the activities, only the ones the government officials are convenient and okay with'*. This response, though a personal of the journalist's experience, is so strong in that it goes to show that even though it's been widely affirmed by the majority of the journalists that the media is free to cover the activities of the government on such an issue, there is limit to this freedom, for not all the information requested is given and not all activities are allowed to be covered. I will not want to dwell so much on this opposing view but have brought it to the fore to justify that press freedom is not absolute in Nigeria, there are ways in which it can be denied in a subtle way. And as discussed in the chapter on the Nigerian media, even with the press freedom law in Nigeria, there are laws that can limit its efficacy such as the application of the Official Secret Acts which classifies some documents and activities of the government as matters of state security. This can be invoked to deny journalists access to sensitive information. And even if allowed access to cover such sensitive information, the bureaucratic bottlenecks involved in accessing it is enough to want to make a journalist loose interest in such an information of public interest.

A look at the neutral responses is also important for it will give cues that will further explain the possible reasons for such responses and could serve a data for further studies on this topic. J6 for example, responded by saying '*it is not within my purview'. W*hile J18 stated that '*I have never tried*'; and J22 said '*I have not had any reason to want to cover issues or activities surrounding the vision or Agenda*.'

These neutral responses could pose a challenge to the reliability of the data thereby questioning if at all the right participants and custodians of the relevant information were the ones recruited for the study. My justification is this, the "neutral" responses could not be unconnected to the fact that at the beginning of this analysis, I stated that the main targeted audience for this research are journalists assigned to cover the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda beat or office. However, with a very few consents from willing participants for the research, and considering the targeted sample for the study (30 participants), I had to include other journalists who cover any of the 7 thematic areas of the Vision 20:2020. As such, those who gave neutral responses on the agenda could be covering any of the thematic areas or parameters but might not be specifically assigned to cover the Vision 20:2020 office or the government ministry under which such an office is stationed. It can also be that most of the news they cover or press releases they receive on are focused on the thematic areas, but the Vision 20:2020 or Transformation Agenda as a plan is not mentioned. This however, does not mean that such news and the journalists covering them do not qualify to be participate in the study.

In summary, from the above analysis one will be wrong to say that the democratic environment in Nigeria does not give room for free coverage of governmental activities just because of the perceived air and elements of hostility by the government towards a few journalists in the discharge of their professional duties. It will also be wrong to conclude that the press in Nigeria is absolutely free. My submission therefore is that the ideal approach or conclusion is to assert that to a considerable large extent, the media in Nigeria enjoys some freedom to cover governmental activities, but the government decide what to issue out and what to consider sacred and secret and not accessible to the journalists or the general public. Indeed, Nigeria's mediated sphere and its democracy, are work in progress.

Q8. If encouraged to publicise the Vision/Agenda.

This question expects the journalists to confirm or disprove if their organization is in any way encouraged to provide publicity to the visionary plan either based on the tenets of its in-house

policy or based on its relationship with the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda office. The categories that emerged from the responses are 'yes', 'no' and 'neutral' with codes 1, 2 and 3, respectively. Details of the analysis is in the table below.

Table 22. If encouraged or motivated to cover the Vision

Category	Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	15	60%
No	2	5	20%
Neutral	3	5	20%
Total		**25**	100%

From the above analysis, majority of the journalists (60%) confirmed that their organizations provide publicity for any information on the vision or Agenda for different reasons ranging from keeping up with their social responsibility to the society and their relationship with the media. The type of media ownership also influences their coverage of the news, as contained in some of these responses:

J1, *'Yes, because any developmental agenda of the government is a media event'*.

J2, '*Yes. My organization gives it a priority.*

J3, '*My Media… being a government agency encourages publicity of the vision and agenda'*.

J5, '*Yes we are very encouraged, because the government want the public to be aware of what they are doing'*.

J12, '*Yes through press releases and economic reforms.*'

J15, '*Yes. I work for a government media organization and their sole aim is to publicise government activities especially the vision 20:2020 and the present administration's transformation Agenda'*.

J17, *'As a government owned media, it is almost part of our core functions to cover and publicise the Vision/agenda.*

These statements are confirmation that the majority of the journalists see the Vision/Agenda as a welcome development and a government plan that requires their full support and partnership in the form of publicity. This propels them into going the extra mile to not only provide publicity to the plan, but to advocate it with or without any form of support or encouragement from the government. They see it not just as the responsibility of the government, but as their responsibility too. They have been advocating and given it the needed support as well.

A good number of dissenting views were however observed from the responses. Those that I find striking are:

J13, '*No. The handles would rather do broadcast jingles and brochures, posters'*.

J18, '*We are indifferent to such stories'*.

These two responses are quite striking in that one of the respondents, J13, tries to bring to the fore, how the media handlers prefer to dedicate media time and space to commercials, soft and trivial news items and political campaigns as against featuring news stories that bother on the vision or other issues of public interest. This is a clear example of the commercialization of news which has pervaded the mediated public sphere as discussed earlier. See McKee (2005). It also further confirms of the accusations on contemporary media that it confers status on inconsequential issues than focusing on hard news or important stories of public concern. See also market failures (Norris, 2009), specifically, commercial pressures for soft news items as constraints faced by the media.

Q9. Importance of Public Opinion

The importance of public opinion in the execution of public-centred policies and plans is very crucial to the successful implementation of such a plan. It's with this in mind that this question seeks to find how the journalists perceive the importance of public opinion in the implementation of the Vision/Agenda. The responses were initially categorized as 'very important', 'not important' and 'neutral', then coded as 1, 2 and 3, respectively, as detailed in the table below.

Table 23. Importance of Public Opinion

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Very Important	1	23	92%
Not Important	2	1	4%
Neutral	3	1	4%
Total		**25**	100%

A study of the responses shows that almost all the journalists (92%) strongly believe that public opinion is important in the actualization of the plan. Except for J24 who stated 'Do not know'. The responses were not only positive but emphatic on the importance of public opinion. Words and phrases used in describing how importance it is are:

Very germane,   *very important,*

Is key,   *very pertinent,*

Central,   Highly integral,

Extremely important   Very vital

It's very important discovering that the majority of the journalists realizes the importance of public opinion as well as the role it can play towards ensuring that the Vision is actualized. They also see it as an important tool which could give some cues, direction and focus to the government on areas that visible development can be felt, areas with challenges as well as areas that the government need to concentrate on the more. They say who wears the shoe knows where it pinches. So is the case with public opinion, the developmental plan is meant for the good of the general public and the public are the end users of the developmental ideas, as such, they should be in a better position to provide valuable feedback and data on what has been achieved so far and what requires more attention.

Aside the responses that confirmed the importance of public opinion to the implementation of the plan, other sub themes emerged offering different ways in which public opinion can impact on the implementation of the plan. They include:

Public centredness: This theme emphasizes that the Vision/Agenda is public-centred, hence public opinion should be at the forefront of its actualization. See responses of J4, J5, J9, J11, J15, and J19.

Public Opinion as a Guide/Advocate: As a guide and advocate means it helps and drives the government by directing it and emphasizing on areas that need more attention and showcasing the needs assessment of the people. The responses of the following respondents are justifications for this point- J1, J2, J16, and J22.

Public Opinion as a tool: Here, public opinion is described as that necessary tool without which, the implementation will be stalled. Refer to the responses of J13, J25, J4, and J5.

Public opinion as watchdog: Under this theme, public opinion is seen as that tool that checkmates the implementation through criticisms, debates and valuable feedbacks from the public to the government.

From these findings thus, public opinion is crucial to the successful implementation of the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda from the journalists' point of view in that it not only show that the plan is people-centred, but that the opinion of the public serve as a guide to the policy implementers. It also commands the voice of advocacy for such a programme to succeed, serves as that central and enabling tool that watchdogs on the policy initiators by

constantly keeping taps of what has been achieved, debating on areas lagging and recommending areas that require more attention.

Q10. Public Perception of Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda

The question seeks to find out from the journalists the likely perception of the public of the Vision/Agenda. This question is asked with the believe that the journalists, who serve as the medium between the government and the public is should be able to know what public opinion weal on the issue through feedbacks, opinion poll and other commentaries coming from the public.

The responses were sorted and categorized into Positive, negative and neutral.

Positive represents all responses that either portrays the issue in good light, an optimistic view or sees it as a viable cause worth being championed. Words or phrases that qualify a response to be categorized under this theme are *its laudable, it's achievable, welcome development,* and *good.*

Negative in this context, just like its literary meaning, implies that the response is in bad light, does not portray the Vision/Agenda as a worthy cause, or it portrays the plan as unrealistic. Words and phrases used in the responses that qualify them to be categorized under this theme are *economic jargon, doubtful, dream impossible, general apathy, unactualizable, not really working, unreality,* and other similar descriptive words.

Neutral on the other hand represents responses that are neither positive nor negative, but indecisive. Such responses are expressed with words such as *not sure, largely indifferent, reservation, not certain, undecided.*

The themes/categories *Positive, Negative* and *Neutral*, were assigned codes, 1, 2, and 3, respectively. The table below contains the analysis of the coded data.

Table 24. Public Perception of Vision 20:2020

Category	Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	1	5	20%
Negative	2	16	64%
Neutral	3	4	16%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the analysis in the table above, the most of the journalists feel that the general perception or widely held public opinion on the issue is negative with a total of 16 responses. This high percentage of does not in any way exhibit that the general public see the plan as

viable and worth receiving public support. This finding is coming just after the preceding finding (Q9) that confirmed that public opinion is extremely valuable and important if this developmental plan is to be achieved.

The responses that buttressed this point include:

J6, "the public perceives it as another economic jargon, wrong though'.

J14, "unrealistic as other 'visions' of government in the past . . . they do not believe in them.'

J16, "it is a mirage, sort of an uphill task".

J15, 'just a replica of older programmes which never worked and the corruption in Nigeria is getting worse"

J18, "there is a general apathy. People think it cannot work".

J25, "Another bogus programme which is likely not to see the light of the day"J19,

Perceptions like these thus, should be a welcome development to the policy initiators and implementers; it should serve as a guide in the evaluation of the plan; it should direct the government on the right path to tow, and inputs or suggestions from the public should be treated with upmost priority, for the importance of public opinion in championing goals cannot be overemphasized. It can make or mar a project, no matter how beautifully it is designed and packaged; its needs dedication from the policy implementers as well as support of the general public to succeed.

For like a few of the journalists (5) with a positive response opined: J3, *"the general public see the vision as a welcome development if the relevant stakeholders implement the plan continuously;* J4, *'the general perception is that both agenda are good but concerted effort should be made to realize much of it'*; J2, *'it is achievable if given the necessary commitments'.*

From these responses thus, it's vividly clear that despite the overwhelming negative responses from majority of the journalists, a few of the journalists however, believe that the Vision/Agenda is realizable, but its fruition lies in the hands of the government, the policy initiators, implementers and the stakeholders involved. The Vision needs their utmost commitment, it needs concerted efforts from all and sundry, starting with the government.

Q11. Frequency of feedbacks from the public

This question seeks to find out how often or how frequent the media receives feedback from the public and organizations aside the government on the issue. By how frequent or how often here, we mean whether regular or not regular, frequent or not frequent and other similar measurements scales. Words deduced from the responses ranges from regular, in a while, never, not at all, rarely, once in a while, very often, all the time, always, very frequent, not and regular. For the sake of this analysis, the study adopts *regular, not regular* and *neutral* as thematic categories with codes 1, 2, and 3 respectively.

Regular in this context means feedback on the news item is received frequently, often, always regularly, all the time, very often and very frequent.

Not Regular means feedback on the issue is received by the media occasionally, not regularly, not often, not frequent, once in a while, rarely, and other similar synonyms used in the responses.

Neutral theme represents those responses that indicated either that they have never received any feedback or they did not answer the question at all.

The analysis of responses can be found in the table below:

Table 25. Frequency of Coverage of Vision 20:2020

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Regular	1	13	52%
Not Regular	2	6	24%
Neutral	3	6	24%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the above table, almost half of the journalists 12 in number, constituting 52% indicated that they receive feedbacks from the public regularly, 6 (24%) indicated not regular while another 6 (24%) responses where neutral. The responses from the 12 (regular) as well as the 6 (not regular). Put together, is a confirmation that the media not only devotes time to providing publicity for the vison but welcomes ideas and valuable information on the Vision from the public. This is a clear indication that the publicity provided by the media to the topic had generated responses from the public, which is what is expected from a mediated public sphere.

The findings further illuminate and corroborate some of the findings of the Agenda setting study earlier conducted, which reveals that there were not only publicity on the issue, but the

publicity generated both positive and negative feedbacks from the public. This is thus a further confirmation that the mediated public sphere provides that enabling platform for all stakeholders involved in the implementation of the Vision and varied views and opinions to be expressed concerning the implementation of the development plan. Also, by this the, the efficacy of the communication process is said to be complete because the messages disseminated by the media, had generated feedback from the intended audience. The intended audience here means, the general public, groups and organizations aside the Nigerian government.

Of worthy of note is the comment by J4, which did not only confirm receipt of feedback from the public but went ahead to explain that a good number of the feedbacks are focused on slow implementation of government programmes and the politicization of such programmes by the opposition parties. The politicization of issues of general public interest by the opposition is not uncommon in a democratic society, for the ruling party needs to be kept on its toes and be checkmated by the opposition so as to forestall possible abuse and misuse of power and public office at the detriment of the general public. Opposition is therefore, a welcome idea in a democracy for it strengthens the democratic process and ensures that democracy is consolidated. If such opposition and criticisms are borne not out of any desire to maliciously discredit the seating government, then can be said to be healthy for Nigerian democracy to thrive.

Another important statement worth looking into is the response by J15, who did not only attest that his organization receive feedback from the public all the time but went further to explain the nature of such feedback. To him, feedback from the public holds that 'government can tackle these issues effectively but government agencies are unwilling to take up the challenge.' This further confirms the much complain by the public both in the agenda setting study and in the interpretation of Q10 above that the success of the plan depends on the effort put in by government to ensure that the objective of the plan is actualized.

Q12. Whether public opinion has impacted on the coverage of the Vision/Agenda.
This question seeks to ascertain if public opinion has impacted on the media's coverage of news on the plan. Themes deduced are *Yes, No* and *Neutral,* and were assigned codes 1, 2 and 3, respectively.

Yes: Signifies all responses that affirm, agree or concur that public opinion has impacted on media coverage of the plan.

No: Represents those responses that do not agree or concur that public opinion has impacted on media coverage of the plan.

Neutral: Stands for those responses that neither agree nor disagree, are indifferent or simply indicated a NIL in their response column. The table below represent the findings:

Table 26. If Public opinion have impacted on the Coverage.

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	14	56%
No	2	9	36%
Neutral	3	2	8%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the above table, 14 of the respondents (56%), responded with a YES thereby confirming that public opinion has impacted on their coverage of the Vision/Agenda. While NO responses came from 9 of the respondents and 2 had a neutral view on the question. From these responses, it's very obvious that majority of the journalists affirmed that public opinion plays key role and has impacted in their coverage and reportage of news on the Vision/Agenda.

The study also found that some of the journalists did not only affirm that public opinion impacts on their coverage of the Vision/Agenda, but further emphasize how such has impacted. For example, J1 feels that public opinion has impacted 'b*ecause it enables the media to set agenda for the government and also ask questions for feedback to the government'*. While J15 stated that *'It has to. Even though I work with a government owned media outfit, I have to get the opinion of the populace on the issues then balance my stories with the government's perspectives'*. J5 on the other hand has a contrary view, he feels that public opinion '*is not a determined factor'* in their coverage of the plan. In the preceding question, this same journalist (J5) stated that he covers such news story only when invited. This response could explain why the journalist feels public opinion is not a determining factor, after all, he/she doesn't go the extra length to carry out a public opinion poll on the issue, but rather rely solely on any press release or media briefing issued by the government.

The analysis also revealed that a good number of the journalists (9) out of 25 respondents stated NO, public opinion has not impacted on their news coverage of the Vision/Agenda. This number of responses (9), is significant and too large an opinion to be ignored in the

interpretation of this question. Different assumptions as to why some of the journalists feel that public opinion had not impacted on the coverage of the news item can be made. It could be that that the media houses the journalists work for hardly cover news on the topic or do not give much priority to such stories or the news they cover mostly emanates from press releases or events organized by the government.

If we look back at the results of the content analysis of newspapers study earlier conducted, it was found that some newspapers such as *Vanguard* and *Punch* has a rather large number of coverage or publications on the topic as against *ThisDay* and *The Nation* in the period of 2010-2012. This can be a clear explanation for this assumption.

Other reasons that can be deduced from these negative responses could also be that some of the media houses simply do not go the extra mile to dig for information or source for public opinion on the issue through Vox pop, in-house calls and other similar ways of sourcing for public opinion used in journalistic practice. It could also be that considering the time difference between when the newspapers were analyzed 2010-2012, and the time that the questionnaire was administered on the journalists (2013-2014), it could be that some of the journalists that responded to the questionnaire were not even working with the media houses the period of (2010-2012) or were covering different news beats and not the Vision 20:2020 as well as the 7 thematic areas.

Another important reason that could explain the 'NO' response could be that the period in which the questionnaire was administered on the journalists, the salient of plan in the media was already diminishing; much focus was on the Transformation Agenda, which was carved out from the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda.

Thus, it's interesting to know that just as the agenda setting findings revealed that there's activism of the public in the mediated sphere on the issue, in a way, public discourse, a high percentage of the respondents of this study also affirmed that public opinion had impacted on the coverage and reportage of the topic. This is a clear confirmation that all and sundry (general public, groups and organizations) are partaking in the discourse on the issue and that the mass media has provided that enabling platform in which the plan is contested, debated and advocated with the aim of ensuring that the plan is implemented and as a check on the government too.

Q13. Media contribution to national debate.

This question seeks to find out if the Nigerian media provides platform for debate on the issue. The responses were categorized into YES and NO and assigned numeric codes 1 and 2 respectively. While YES represents all responses that agree that the Nigerian media provides platform for debate on Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda, the NO stands for all responses that do not agree or dispute that the Nigerian media provide platform for discourse on the issue. The analysis is contained in table 13 below.

Table 27. Contribution of Media to National Debate on Vision 20:2020

Categories	Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	24	96%
No	2	1	4%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the analysis above, almost all the journalists (24) in number are of the view that the Nigerian media is contributing to national debate on the issues with only one (1) journalist (J21) with a contrary view, he stated "note quite" as his response to the question. It is quite interesting to find out that most of the journalists concur that the Nigerian media is contributing to national debate on the issue. Some of the statements that buttressed this finding goes thus:

J1, states that the Nigerian media "contribute majority to the debate because they offer the platform for the debate on the issues.

 J4 *stated, 'so much contribution have come from the media via news, opinions and articles'.*

J5, '*to a very large extent media have really contributed very well'.*

J13, *'Yes, the enlightened sections of the otherwise quite ignorant and lazy media'.*

J14 *also gave an incisive response to the question which is 'yes they are. when we report the people's views and the governments promises and views, the contradictions which are always more often than not, contribute to national debate as to if government is implementing its programmers or not'*

To J18, *'they are setting the proper agenda'*

These responses thus, aligned with the findings of the content analysis study earlier conducted which found that the media provides a platform for public debate. This is thus, a confirmation of the place of the media as a public sphere and a platform for debates by the public, the government and all other stakeholders involved in the implementation of the plan.

Q14. Does your organization contribute to national debate on Vision 20:2020?

This question seeks to ascertain if the journalists think that the media organizations they work for contribute to national debate on the issues. The responses were categorized into *YES* and *NO* and assigned codes 1 and 2, respectively. The YES represents all responses that indicate or agree that the individual media organization is contributing to debate on the issue. Words used in the responses are very well, yes, definitely, as much as we can. While the NO responses represent those that feel their organization is not contributing to national debate on the issue. The analysis is contained in table 14 below.

Table 28. Contribution of Individual Media organization to the Implementation

Category	Codes	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	23	92%
No	2	2	8%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the analysis above, there shows over-whelming positive responses from the journalists with only two journalists (J18 & j21) with contrary views. While J18 stated a "No. we do not report on such issues" J21 simply responded with a "No". The positive responses from the journalists are quite interesting and go a long way in showcasing how most of the media houses
represented in the study are contributing to national debates on the issues. Of worthy of reference are the following responses that further reiterated the contributions.

J1 states that his organization contributes *'very well, because it is a government news Agency.'* While J2 says *'my organization is contributing to the debate as it always reporting every debate on the issue'*. J4 stated that his organization contributes *'very well. But we try to be as fair and balance as possible'*. J6 stated *'yes, by publishing all shades of opinions on the issue'*.

These statements and the overall findings thus, show that almost all, if not all Nigerian media that participated in the study are actively involved in the implementation and contribute to

national debate on the Vision 202020/Transformation agenda not only through the reportage of news stories, commentaries, and interviews and articles on the issue, but also through the provision of that enabling platform for debates on the issue as well as entertaining comments, views, opinions of the government, the general public and all organizations involved in the implementation of the plan.

Q1. What other ways can the media contribute to the actualization of the plan?

This question aims at finding out if the journalists feel there are other ways in which the media can contribute to the actualization of the plan or they are happy with the contribution of the media so far. The responses were categorized into YES and NO and assigned numeric codes 1 & 2, respectively.

YES, represent all responses that agree that the media houses can do more in their contribution to the actualization of the plan or suggest other ways in which their media organization can contribute to the actualization of the plan.

NO on the other hand, just like its literary meaning implies, represent all responses expressed signifying that the Nigerian media is doing well or has put in enough in its contribution to the implementation and actualization of the Vision/Agenda and do not need to contribute more in any other way. This simply means that the media is doing as expected. Those who did not supply any response were also categorized under this theme. The table below detailed the analysis of all the responses:

Table 29. Suggestions on how the Media can Contribute to the Implementation

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	17	68%
No	2	8	32%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the table above, 17 of the respondents answered *YES* while 8 answered *No*. This shows that the majority of the journalists are of the view that the Nigerian media is not contributing to the implementation of the plan as expected of them and there are other ways in which the media can step up its game to ensure the media is not merely providing publicity to the plan but is constantly inundating the public with news and enlightenment campaign on the issue, creating and providing that enabling platform for public discourse and civic engagement in

debate on the issue, advocating the issue, as well as checkmating the government in its execution of the plan.

Most of the respondents who agreed that the media could do more in contributing to the success of the plan also offered suggestions and possible ways in which they feel the media can contribute and impact on the implementation of the plan.

The responses were viewed, but all aimed at providing a peculiar way in which each of the journalist feel their media house could contribute specially to the actualization of the plan. Some of the suggestions that I find quite interesting and worthy of note are:

J1, '*Creating programmes that could bring the various ministers to a forum to elaborate on the vision*'.

J2, '*By writing a comprehensive report on the level of implementation on each sector of the economy. . . also get people opinion on the implementation so far*'.

J3, '*Through Public awareness campaign and workshop for media organizations on the vision*'.

J4, '*by taking the various aspects of the vision to the people but lack of resources is a big constraint*'. This respondent further stated that '*there should be dedicated fund for the media to be able to partner with the vision/agenda operators to bring the message to the door steps of the people*'.

J6, '*by the publication of a weekly bulletin on it*'.

J9, '*by engaging government directly on salient developmental issues*'.

J12, '*by regularly devoting more space to issues of the vision*'.

J13, '*ought to have been doing more regular reviews and holding the implementers to account more transparently*'.

J15, '*could go the extra mile in encouraging more human angle stories and accepting criticisms from the populace instead of taking sides with the government officials on issues*'.

J17, 'By being less on the side of government and its propaganda. But that is impossible.

J18, 'if we refocus our editorial policy'.

J20, 'helping to mold public opinion'.

J23, 'if given the free hand my organization can help in telling and educating people on what the vision is all about'.

From these responses thus, several but similar reasons were proffered as ways and areas in which the Nigerian media could contribute more towards the successful implementation of the Vision/Agenda. Major themes or solutions deduced can be categorized into the following:

Forum for debate: Such as question and answer sessions, phone-in programmes, one-one-one interview with stakeholders, workshops, seminars, focus group discussion and so on.

Awareness Campaign: In the form of advertisement, rallies, Public relations campaign, general publicity.

Regular publication of Bulletin: Regular publication of progress report on weekly or monthly basis in the form of a newsletter, brochure or magazine, and making it available to the general public so they can keep abreast with happenings pertaining the implementation of the Vision/Agenda.

More media space and time: More media space should be provided by the newspapers and magazines, and more airtime by the broadcast media be allotted to issues bothering on the plan.

Regular Review, Evaluation and Watchdogging: This implies regular evaluation of the implementation processes and checking on the activities of the government relating to the plan to avoid any form of excesses or abuse of public office and misuse of resources meant for the execution of the plan. This should keep the government on its toes.

Adequate Funding: More funding is advanced for from the government as a way of partnership to enable the media take the message to the doorsteps of the public in order to conscientise and keep them abreast of happenings more regularly.

More human angle stories: The journalists also decried the much concentration of the media on news coming from the government in the form of propaganda and calls for more focus on human angle stories.

Review of editorial policy: The journalists see in-house editorial policies especially those of government owned media houses as bane on their contribution to the

implementation. They called for a refocus and review of media in-house policies to provide for effective participation of the media.

From the foregoing analysis and interpretation therefore, it's obvious that the media is not doing well in some areas, and if doing well, it is assumed that it can still do better in ensuring that the developmental plan is actualized as expected. Hence a call by the journalists for the media to contribute more in the discharge of its duties as a stakeholder in the implementation of the plan. This can be achieved through more public awareness campaign, enlightenment and education of the public; by bringing the programme closer to the people in the form of grassroots communication campaign for development; allocating more media space and time to the programme; constantly enlightening and updating the media on the progress made so far and the provision of a platform for public opinion on the issue to be presented and to thrive other than presenting one-sided information from the government in the form of propaganda.

Other ways are by ensuring that media in-house policies are fair to all and provide balance view of the story; paying more attention to human angle story and public opinion on the subject matter and proper funding of such programmes by the implementers of the plan.

Q16. How Feasible is Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda?

This question seeks to find out if the journalists feel that the Vision 20:2020/Transformation Agenda is realizable by the year 2020. From the responses sorted, two themes were deduced, '*realizable*' and '*not realizable*'. The themes were assigned code 1 and 2, respectively.

Realizable stands for all the responses that indicates that the Vision/Agenda is realizable by the year 2020. While not realizable represents to that feel that the vision/agenda is not realizable by the year 2020 or those that stated that it's realizable but not by the year 2020 but beyond it. The table below details the analysis.

Table 30. Feasibility of Vision 20:2020

Category	Code	Frequency	Percentage
Realizable	1	10	40%
Not Realizable	2	15	60%
Total		**25**	**100%**

From the above tabular analysis, 10 respondents representing 40% of the population stated that the Vision/Agenda is realizable by the year 2020. In other words, it can be actualized by the targeted year 2020. While the majority of the respondents 15 in number representing 60% pf the participants stated that the Vision/Agenda is not realizable by the year 2020.

For those that think it is realizable by the targeted year, a good number of them however expressed skepticism on the part of the policy implementers, they therefore did not give the feasibility a straight forward endorsement without a condition. They feel its realizable only 'IF' the government gives it the much-needed attention by being dedicated and religious in its implementation. Some of the responses with conditional statements are:

J2, '*is achievable **if** given the true attention and not lip service'*.

J7, *'I think it is a plan to reckon with **if** the government will be religious in implementation'*.

J10, *'the vision and the agenda are feasible **if** government displays sincerity'*.

J11, *'will work **if** the implementation will be serious'*.

J17, *'**given** the right attention, yes it can'*.

J22, *'I think it's possible to attain **if** all parties involved do their homework well'*.

These statements clearly confirm that even though 40% of the respondents are of the view that the vision/agenda is realizable, they however, stressed that its feasibility is guaranteed only if the government as well as the stakeholders involved in the implementation of the plan are dedicated in ensuring that its realized.

Out of those that are of the view that the Vision/agenda is not realizable by the year 2020, responses that gave the vision some benefit of doubt, indicating that it can be realized but beyond 2020 are:

J3, '*no it may not be feasible. On April 25, 2013, former Minister of National Planning said the Vision 20:2020 may not be feasible.'*

J4, *'Nigeria will definitely advance but not to level 20 in 2020'*.

J13, *'target date too close. As for the implementation, not promising of ability to meet up'*.

J23, *'if it is not achieved now, others may come who will help to actualize the vision'*.

These responses are a confirmation that the vision/agenda is a welcome development and that someday, Nigeria will realise the vision, but not by the year 2020 as projected.

This question, is Vision 20:2020 feasible? was conceived and included at the onset of the research, but along the line, the Nigerian Minister (member of Federal Cabinet) in charge of the implementation of the plan announced fairs that the vision is not realizable by the year 2020 because of what he perceived as too ambitious a plan, which may not be realizable by the year 2010 considering the not much mile stone covered since the launched of the initiative and the inauguration of the implementation committee. The revelation by the Minister could have influenced the views of the journalists on the feasibility of the vision, it could also be that the journalists, based on what has been achieved so far, weighed the targeted outcome by the said year to be a mission impossible. That notwithstanding, a good number of the journalists see the vision as attainable despite all odds, if only the government will be judicious in its implementation.

7.6. Reflection on the Chapter

Reflecting on this survey, the result of the first part of the questions showed that both genders were represented in the study. However, the male population are still more than the females, which adds to the ongoing debate on gender representation and inequality and reinforce and reproduce the hegemonic masculinity of men over women (Trolan, 2013). To think that this unequal representation in favour of men, reinforce the media as an institution that preserves the power of men over women (Hargreaves, 1994) in the media as a public sphere, which has long been the criticism labeled on Habermas by Fraser (1992). The results further revealed that different age brackets comprising of the active work force were represented in the research, while the participants are educated with at least a first degree and they work on different beats. Demographic variables of respondents are very important in agenda setting study and are still being used. The study of these variables is, therefore, on course owing to the fact that there are similar studies aimed at ascertaining the variables of the respondent, studies by Guo and McCombs (2011a) and Kim and McComb (2002) studied the qualification and characteristics of two US politicians, Governor of Texas and Senator from Texas. Content analysis was employed to study a newspaper, the *Austin American-Statesman* to determine the media attributes agenda while survey using telephone interview of 417 randomly selected individuals was carried out.

The survey further found that the opinion of the majority of the journalists is that Vision 20:2020 is a very good development plan and a laudable initiative while a good percentage of them expressed negative tone on the Vision. On whether there is some form of government media relationship in the actualization of the plan; the majority claimed not to be aware of

such arrangement. This finding negates the principle of government-media relations, which 'sits at the interface between the executive and journalism, two of the fundamental institutions in a modern democratic society (Pearson and Patching, 2008)' which requires that the government make policies and provide the enabling environment for the media to discharge it social responsibilities and keep that line of communication central and crucial if citizens are to be kept informed. Relatedly, going by the fact that media space and time are expensive and there is usually and array of ideas and programmes competing for media attention, proponents of issues, such as the mass media, should not only rely on the media to cover its activities as part of its routine, but should formally and officially engage the media as partner in the implementation process of development plans. This explains why policy initiators not only place issues on the media, but ensure that their preferred solutions are implemented (Baumgartner and Jones, 2009. Similarly, an issue can continue to be relevant in the media depending on the relative importance given to it by the policy initiators or proponents and the media (Dearing and Rogers, 1996).

On the frequency of coverage, majority were of the opinion that media coverage of the Vision is not often and claimed not to be aware of the present stage of implementation of the plan. It is important that media coverage of such plan is made a routine throughout the life cycle or duration of implementation of a plan for the amount of coverage accorded an issue by the mass media go a long way in determining the importance attached to such an issue by the audience. In a similar vein, some researchers assert that "the amount of press coverage that issues receive give individuals salience cues with which they learn the relative importance of these issues" (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p. 37; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004; McCombs, 2004).

While almost half the journalists expressed that they enjoy some form of ease of access to information, about a quarter of the total number were of the opinion that it is not easy accessing information, with the remaining journalists expressing neutrality to the issue. Interestingly, the journalists claimed not to be aware of any instance whereby a journalist was denied access to information or harassed; they further claimed to be free to cover the Vision. This finding is quite contrary to the findings on the Nigerian media system. A study by Oberiri (2016) reveals that there are a lot of factors that impedes press freedom in Nigeria ranging from the Official Secrets Act, legal pressure, direct censorship and force, among others with press freedom existing only on paper (the constitution) but not in practice. Similarly, Nigeria media environmental has been summarised as:

it is difficult to cover stories involving politics, terrorism, and financial embezzlement by the powerful. Journalists are often threatened, subjected to physical violence, or denied access to information by government officials, police, and sometimes the public itself. The all-powerful regional governors are often the media's most determined persecutors and act with complete impunity. Africa's most populous nation, Nigeria nonetheless has more than 100 independent media outlets. Online freedom was recently curbed by cybercrime law that penalises bloggers in an arbitrary manner (Reporters Without Borders, 2018).

Findings on press freedom from this survey is, therefore, in contrast with the reality on ground about the description of the Nigerian mass media and calls for further research to validate/invalidate the outcome of this conflicting findings.

Thus, like other studies on development and why development plans fail in Nigeria, this study concludes that developmental plans in Nigeria, such as the Vision 20:2020 are realizable and its feasibility guaranteed only if the government and all stakeholders involved give it the much-needed attention by being dedicated and religious in the implementation. This resonate with other researchers' findings that a good number of reasons culminated in the failure of all past national development plans, despite the fact that they were all well researched and beautifully packaged and often aligned with or paraded alongside other international development agendas, policies, treaties, goals and conventions. Ebigbo (2008), decried corruption leading to poor implementation as the reason that militates against the success of the previous development plans. Ogbe (2008) while decrying that the past development plans have not succeeded in meeting the yearnings and aspirations of Nigerians, attributes the failure of the plans to the incessant menace of unemployment, crime, corruption and electoral malpractices bedevilling the country. While Onah (2008) summarised his reasons for the failure to stem from poor leadership from corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, which has resulted in high poverty rate, electoral frauds, inefficient representatives, violence and crime; ethnic and religious crises; food insecurity and low agricultural production. Others are illiteracy, which weakens democracy and poverty of the mind; low GDP and GNP; high mortality and morbidity rates; poor health and high unemployment; hostage taking and poor national image. He called for a change of corrupt attitude of politicians and bureaucrats as a panacea for development and all other problems militating against the success of development plans will be arrested.

To add to the recommendations for achieving future development plans, Ujah (2006) and Famakinwa, (2006), put forward that the fundamentals for achieving sustainable growth in

Nigeria are strong institutional networks, a supportive macro-economic environment, adequate infrastructure, good basic health care, and education. Maryam (2016) recommends the adoption of sound monetary and fiscal policy, political will and employment generation as indices that will ensure the successful implementation of future national development plans of the country. Eneh on the other hand, iterates the importance of information as a powerful tool that can be used by both the leaders and the people in ensuring that development plans are actualized. He asserts that:

> Information is power. A sensitized political leader is likely to take development visions more seriously and will insist on their good implementation. A sensitized people will hold the political leader accountable to his development promises (Eneh, 2009, p.313).

This implies that just like the social contract theory postulates for each man to surrender his rights to the community, which is sovereign and its power absolute, where the community fails to protect the rights of the people or abuses such rights, the citizens reserve the right to challenge the authority by applying their supreme power to hire and fire. Thus, the power to govern the people depends on their consent and it's the responsibility of the government to perform for the people while the people, armed with relevant information, should monitor the activities of the leaders and ensure they implement policies that they initiate and are accountable for their actions. This is where the mass media come in as agents of development and a carrier of developmental information; they media are the essential tools that both the government and the people would rely on as source of valuable information on development plans, as medium of awareness creation that will drive implementation processes, checkmate abuse of power by politicians and bureaucrats, and ensure accountability, with the overall goal of actualizing the development plan.

Other ways of actualizing development plan in the country are focus on agriculture, human capital and infrastructural development, the polity or other sectors (Centre for Democracy and Development, 2008); agriculture as requisite to achieving Vision 20:2020 (One-time Israeli Ambassador to Nigeria, Moshe Ram); human capital development as yardstick to actualizing the plan (Former Lord Mayor of London, Sir David Lewis); Information and Communication Technology systems Eneh (2008a, 2011) Provision of *forum for debate* such as question and answer sessions, phone-in programmes, one-one-one interview with stakeholders, workshops, seminars, focus group discussion; more a*wareness campaign* in the form of advertisement, rallies, public relations campaign, general publicity; *regular*

publication of bulletin-regular publication of progress report on weekly or monthly basis in the form of a newsletter, brochure or magazine, and making it available to the general public so they can keep abreast with happenings pertaining the implementation of the Vision/Agenda; more *media space and time* be accorded the issue- media space should be provided by the newspapers and magazines, and more airtime by the broadcast media be allotted to issues bothering on the plan. Other recommended ways that the media can contribute to the actualization of the Vision are-*regular review, evaluation and watchdog*, implying regular evaluation of the implementation processes and checking on the activities of the government relating to the plan to avoid any form of excesses or abuse of public office and misuse of resources meant for the execution of the plan; *adequate funding*: funding of media structures, especially government media outfit, is advanced for from the government as a way of partnership to enable the media take the message to the doorsteps of the public in order to sensitise and keep them abreast of activities relating to the Vision and to update them on progress made thus far; more *human angle stories*- the journalists also decried the much concentration of the media on news coming from the government in the form of propaganda and calls for more focus on human angle stories; *review of editorial policy* has also been recommended The journalists see in-house editorial policies especially those of government owned media houses as bane on their contribution to the implementation. They called for a refocus and review of in-house policies of media houses to provide for effective participation of the media in the implementation and in the discharge of its social responsibility duties to the country.

According to the journalists, the above are ways in which the media can better prepare in order to participate actively in the implementation of developmental plans. These invariably means, the Nigerian media are lacking in some of these areas and could be said to be some of the problems bedevilling and affecting its productivity. Interestingly, these problems are completely different from the problems associated with Western media, the U.S. media system to be specific, which according to McKee (2005) are too *trivialized*, too *commercialized*, too *spectacular*, too *fragmented* and too *apathetic*. A striking finding is the fact that while the U.S. media is accused of being too trivialised, replacing reasoning and rationality with rhetoric (Calhoun, 1992, Fraser, 1992; Garnham, 1992; Kellner, 2000; Mckee, 2005; Susen, 2011), Nigerian journalists are calling for a shift from the *overreliance on hard news* to the *inclusion of human angle stories*. While others are accusing the media as a public sphere for concentrating on unimportant or soft news and *trivialities* such as celebrities' lifestyles, diets, sex tips, and fashion than on hard news such as political issues,

policies and programmes (Hartley, 1996, p.116; Connell, 1991, p.240), trivialising significant events and given unbalanced and populist treatment to important themes or provide disproportionate coverage to frivolous subjects (Jabbar, 2003, n.p), thereby undermining reasoning, the Nigerian journalists are complaining against the much dependence on hard news and calling for more trivialities and frivolities in media contents. This is a clear case of different media systems with different operating principles across different territorial boundaries.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0. DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This Chapter captures discussion of findings from First, Second and Third level agenda setting, reflecting on the three theoretical and conceptual frameworks employed in the study- public sphere, agenda setting and Nigerian media system, and their areas of convergence in the study. Thereafter, it iterates the contribution of the research to knowledge in the field- theoretical, empirical and methodological. It further captures the limitations of the study, the conclusion and recommendations. The aim of this is to provide answers to the research questions, in clear terms, considering how robust the study is. Specifically, the section provides answers to the two main research questions, which are (1) Have the media provided platform for discourse on Vision 20:2020? (2) Have the media set agenda on the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020?

8.1. Discussion of Findings

Assessment of the Salience of Vision 20:2020 in the Media: First-Level Agenda Setting

In determining First-Level agenda setting, the study assesses the total frequency of Vision 20:2020 across the four newspapers in the three years selected for this study 2010, 2011 and 2012. The study found that the Vision is salient in the media with 134 publications in total, 73 in 2010, 45 in 2011 and 16 in 2012. The total frequency of publication was also analysed based on the total coverage of the issue by individual newspaper across three years. The result confirms a total of 134 publications. The aim of this second phase is to check for validity of instrument used in analysing the data and to be certain that the researcher arrives at the same total frequency of publication using two different methods. This question is informed by the need to establish if the Nigerian mass media have provided platform or public sphere for discourse on Vision 20:2020 and whether the media have set agenda on the implementation of the Vision.

The number one function of the media in every society is to inform the citizenry about the daily happenings and occurrences in all the spheres of their lives. Information they say is power and an uninformed society is like a dead society (Hofstetter, 1999, p.1). Theoretically, the media is no doubt, a public sphere owing to its conceptualization by Peter Darlgren as the place 'where information, ideas and debate can circulate in society (1995, p. ix); a place where each of us finds out what is happening in our community, and what social, cultural and political issues are facing us (Alan McKee, 2005), and the communicative institutions of a

society, through which facts and opinions circulate (McNair, 2011). Similarly, the first level agenda setting, which measures the frequency of an issue in the media is ascertained in the salience of the issue, which in this case has been established as the 134 publications recorded. In addition, in question three of the survey result, twenty of the journalists attested that they cover news on Vision 202020, which confirms that the issue is salient in the media, which is the first step in agenda setting research and serves as clear indication that the media have provided platform for the Vision to be brought to the attention of the public.

A good number of media studies attest the potentials of mass media as a viable tool for projecting key national issues and in setting agenda. Thus, it is only when the media are able to present, capture issues or bring such information to the public limelight that the public can understand them, debate on them, make rational judgement, and take decisions on such matters of general public interest. This informs the need for the mass media as a tool for national mobilization especially in a heterogeneous environment (Nwabueze, 2005; Ifeanyi, Martins and Alexander, 2012) to be proactive as well as champion and support national causes and policies. This, in agenda-setting theory, as Nwabueze further asserts, is achieved by the level of coverage accorded an issue by the mass media. This invariably means that the amount of coverage accorded an issue by the mass media go a long way in determining the relative importance attached to such an issue by the public. Only when such plans and programmes are covered by the media in the first instance, will the public get to know or be aware of such and key into them for "the amount of press coverage that issues receive gives individuals salience cues with which they learn the relative importance of these issues" (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p. 37; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004; McCombs, 2004).

The media agenda, which is also concerned with the amount of time allotted to an issue by the media is so important that it has been observed that the press may not be successful always in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about (Cohen, 1963; Dearing and Rogers, 1996). Its substantial power in agenda-setting not only tells what to think about, but the actions to take and how we should think about such issues. Once an issue is publicised by the media, the attention given to it and the responses from the receiving public determines its importance on the public's agenda. Attention to an issue, whether by media personnel, members of the public, or policymakers, represent power by some individuals or organizations to influence the decision process. By bringing issues of general public interest to the people through the media, such issues are

explored, discussed and in the process, create controversies, bringing out the benefits and the risks associated with the adoption of such a policy, programme, idea or plan.

No doubt, this result is a confirmation of the first-level agenda setting which examines media coverage of an issue within a given period of time, which Jeffrey Wimmer defines as 'the selection of object or issue for attention, which is "what to think about'' (n.d). Secondly, the salience, no doubt, testifies the degree to which an issue on the agenda is perceived as relatively important (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p.8; Ku, 2002; Thompson, 2006; Birkland, 2007; Weaver, 2007; Weaver and Tan, 2007; Wirth et al, 2010). It further confirms Dearing and Rogers assertion that issue salience offers explanation as to "why information about certain issues are available to the public in a democratic setting (1996, p.2) and that the media tells the public what to think and determines the perceived relevance of such an issue in the public domain (Cohen, 1963; Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p.8; Ku, 2002; Thompson, 2006; Birkland, 2007; Weaver, 2007; Weaver and Tan, 2007; Wirth et al, 2010).

Thus, the salience of Vision 20:2020 based on the newspaper publications and the views from Nigerian Journalists, is a good indication of the importance and amount of media coverage and publicity accorded the issue by the four Nigerian daily newspapers studied, which are the 'mass media' and are what McNair (2011) called the 'Communicative Institutions' of the society in which both factual information as well as opinion is spread in order to reach a consensus on political action. it is where we engage with these issues and add our voices to discussions about them, playing our parts in the process of a society reaching a consensus or compromise about what we think about issues, and what should be done about them, as asserted by (McKee, 2005).

Suffice to say that despite the numerous challenges confronting the media as a public sphere as averse by (McKee, 2005), which are too *trivialized*, too *commercialized*, too *spectacular*, too *fragmented* and too *apathetic*, the Nigerian mass media have not failed in performing their first role in a democracy, which according to McNair (2011), is to *inform* citizens of what is happening around them by way of awareness creation.

Assessment of Attributes of Vision 20:2020 in the Media /Second-Level Agenda Setting

As iterated in Chapter Three of this study, Second-Level agenda setting studies the attributes of issues as well as the transfer of salience from one agenda to the other or from issues or objects in news to attributes of such issues. At this level, the study assesses the following components of the issue attributes:

First, the *cognitive attributes* or subtopics of Vision 20:20202. Specifically, the following were assessed (1) Intermedia salience of issue attributes across the four newspapers (2) the sub-topics or issues of issue, which are the type of news, the source of news, the parameters of Vision 20:2020, the time lag of the news coverage on Vision 20:2020, the tone/frame of news (*affective attribute*), hypothesis H1, which says there is transfer of attribute salience from policy agenda to media and public agendas; H2, Vision 20:2020 is framed positively across the four newspapers in 2010, 2011 and 2012 and H3, there is transfer of positive frame from the policy agenda to the media and public agendas. Lastly, the study established third level agenda setting and proposed the adoption of the agenda setting process as the recommended theoretical framework by development agencies, governments and policy makers as the most viable theoretical framework for monitoring and implementation of development plans and programmes.

In assessing the cognitive attributes (Ghanem, 2007) of Vision 20:2020, the study commences with an assessment of the intermedia salience of the Vision. The result of its salience across the four newspapers in three years show that *Vanguard* has a total of 40 publications, *The Nation* has 17 publications, *ThisDay* has 26 while *The Punch*, records 41 publications. While findings from the survey indicate that 4 of the journalists are from broadcast media, 16 from print media and 5 from News Agency. This is a good reflection of the presence of media pluralism in the coverage of the Vision across different media platforms. This is very important owing to the fact that there have been lamentations about the way and manner news is screened and determined for us by reporters and editors, and our conception of that which is real (if there is no eye-witness) is determined by 'this second-generation information, whose authenticity we do not usually question' (Dominick, 2009, p.30). Thus, the presence of different media houses presupposes the availability of varied viewpoints about a news story which enables us compare and judge each medium's report. That way, even if a particular medium is aligned to certain section, group or political party and reports in favour of such a party or is biased, reports from other media can check mate that.

McNair opine that the media may be complicit in the politicians' concealment of sensitive information by choosing to downplay or ignore otherwise worthy story which could damage that government, if such a media is strongly committed to the government. Or the media could promote some of the activities of the government, political parties and other strong forces, which Hallin & Mancini (2004) described as media/political parallelism. If such happens, where then is the fate of objectivity in news reports and analysis? Therefore, to get a

credible, objective, fair and balanced information requires looking out for those media with high sense of social responsibility in theory and in practice, and or comparing news reports from different media and coming up with a personal opinion. Another way of doing this is to analyse the same news item from different media focusing on popular viewpoints. That way, the issue of credibility or reliance on a particular editor's point of view (which might not be objective) is to a large extent, put to rest.

This is one of the good things that a liberal democratic society provides; the availability of media choices that enable us make informed decisions about the ideologies and policies that govern our daily lives. This is guaranteed by media pluralism (which emphasises free and unrestricted existence and functioning of mass media outfits). Onuoha argues that free and unrestricted multiplicity of mass media organization, invariably mean the presence of diverse platforms for the debate and the representation of diverse groups, interests and groups in a political system (1999, p.118). This explains why this research studied *four* newspapers and not *one*, over a period of three years. This further adds to the validity of the data since news on Vision 20:2020 were sourced not from a single force, but multiple sources.

Closely link to the importance of media pluralism in this study is the presence of different types of news items, which the media as a public sphere guarantees. The consequence of mass media providing different platforms is that the audiences of the message are exposed to a large number of viewpoints from different media, Editors, Columnists, Bloggers, and Analysts and can evaluate all sides of an issue before arriving at a conclusion. In this study, study thus, the mass media has provided platform for awareness creation of the message through a plethora of media houses-prints, broadcasts and news agencies.

Closely linked to McNair (2011) *information* function of the media is the *education* function, what Dominick (2009) called the interpretation function of the mass media. Media in a democratic setting are expected not only to supply facts and data but to provide information on the ultimate meaning and significance of events. This function can be carried out in the form of editorials, comments, opinions and articles that analyse the causes of an event or the implications of government and corporate organizations' policies. In this study, the Vision 20:2020 news was covered based on different formats or types of news, which are *editorial/in-house* articles, with 2 publications; *commentary/public opinion* with 51 publications, *Headlines/front page news* with 0 publications and *factual news/articles* records the highest number of publications 81. This array of different types of news are aimed at ensuring that the Nigerian public are not only bombarded with news on Vision 20:2020, but

that such news was detailed and well explained using different formats in order to arm them with deep knowledge of the phenomenon beyond just reportage, to enable them assess the message and make rational judgement about their perception of the development plan.

Despite the presentation of reports on Vision 20:2020 based on different format, which correlates with the education function of the media, survey of the journalists revealed that the majority of them are not aware of the present stage of implementation of the Vision. While seven of the respondents confirmed awareness of the present stage of implementation, eighteen claimed not to be aware. The negative confirmation which comes from the majority of the respondents is a clear indication that the journalists, who are supposed to be key stakeholders in the implementation process are not well armed with information on the progress of the plan. And to think that the journalists recruited for the research are those directly covering the Vision 20:2020 office or assigned to cover the seven thematic areas of the plan, yet they are information handicapped on the issue, is a clear indication that the plan is not receiving the needed amount of publicity it ought to be receiving to drive its implementation to a successful end. Some of the responses quite daunted the role the media is expected to play in the implementation and lamented difficulty in sourcing for facts and figures on the programme. And when such facts and figures are given, they come in the form of mere propaganda, which negate the principles of objectivity in news reporting and rationality in the public sphere.

Thus, the implication of this finding so far is that it is either the journalists have been reporting the issue without monitoring or focusing on the stage of implementation of the plan. It could also be that the policy makers are not emphasizing on the present stage of its implementation in their news stories and in press releases issued to the media. What this means is that the implementation of the plan will suffer; it can create public apathy and evoke negative attitudes and perception in the minds of the public towards the government, especially when a lot of public fund has been earmarked and sunk into the project. It can also invariably mean that the public is also not properly informed about the progress made and may not be able to properly engage in rational discourse on the the implementation of the Vision. This invariably affects the place and effectiveness of the public sphere as that distinctive platform where issues are presented, debated based on rationality and decisions taken for the common good of all.

As an extension to the *education* function of the media as a public sphere in a democracy, the study analysis the different manifest attributes also known as parameters of Vision 20:2020. The idea here is to ascertain if all the parameters or areas of focus of the Vision are reported by the media in order to ascertain those areas that need more coverage and to advance ways of promoting the plan since it is holistic and all areas have to be carried along in the implementation. The result shows that *education* has 23 publications; *health* records 7 publications; *Manufacturing* has 7 publications too; *Polity* has 10 publications; *Infrastructure* has 29 publications; *Micro economy*, 18; *Agriculture* 1 while *General news on Vision 20:2020* records the highest with 39 publications equivalent. From these results, it is quite interesting to note that news items on the Vision featured all the thematic areas of the Vision, which is quite educating and enlightening and adds to the repertoire of variables of the Vision that play out on the public sphere, availing the general public and rational thinkers with enough information to make informed decisions on the development plan.

From the above analysis, it has been found that all the parameters/thematic areas of the Vision 20:2020 have received some media publicity, signifying that public awareness on all the areas have been provided by the media, with none of the parameters ignored in media reportage. Secondly, it has also been found that the media inundated the public with information about the Vision using different forms of news writing thereby providing both instant news stories and in-depth analysis of the issue. The news appeared in the form of news commentary, public opinion, and letters to the editor, interviews, editorials, features and articles. A striking discovery by the study however, is that none of the 134 publications on Vision 20:2020 appeared as *headlines/front page story*.

The *source of news* on Vision 20:2020 is another significant factor in determining the role of the media as a public sphere and the agenda-setting effect of the mass media in the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. This question aims at determining if all sectors or all the stakeholders involved in the implementation of the Vision are represented in reports about the issue by the media. This helps in determining if the media provided platform for all the stakeholders to discuss and contribute to the implementation of the Vision. The stakeholders here are the tripartite components of agendas, which are the media, the public and the policy makers (Windarl, 1993; Dearing and Rogers, 1996).

In the context of this research however, the various sources of news that form the agenda are divided into 5 groups to show the pluralistic makeup of the stakeholders; this is based on the sub-categorization of sources of news proposed by (Gans, 1990). In determining this, I sorted the various *sources of news* on Vision 20:2020. From the total of 134 publications recorded,

news from *Government Press Releases* (GPR) was 68; *Private Individuals/General Public (PI)* records 25; *Private Organizations and Companies (PO)* appear 8 times; *Pressure and Interest Groups (PIG)* appear 23 times; *International Organizations and NGOs (IO) records 8 publications;* while *Media Editorial (ME)* records 2 publications. Similarly, based on the survey conducted on Nigerian Journalists, it shows that participants in the research are men and women, even though more males (76%) participated in the research than females (24%). It is therefore interesting to know that both males and females are into journalism and both genders are represented in the study. This is quite contrary to what was obtainable in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries public sphere, where women were virtually exempted from politics and professional careers. It is, therefore, a clear manifestation that gender is not a barrier in media practice in Nigeria, even though the result is positively skewed to more men in the profession. Concerns on the issue of gender representation in the mediated public sphere in Nigeria, thus, should be concerned with the idea of *gender equality* and not *gender representation*, since the two genders recognized by the Nigerian Constitution (Male & Female) are represented. The study also classified the participants in the public sphere based their age bracket. Findings reveal that the participants in the discussion fall under the age brackets 30-39, 40-49 and 50-59. According to CIA World Fact Book, 2018, these are the prime working age in Nigeria. This implies the presence of an active working force in the Nigerian media industry. It was also found that none of the participants is less than thirty years old or is sixty years and above in age. Education wise, those with National Certificate of Education (NCE), Ordinary National Diploma (OND) and Higher National Diploma (OND) occupy 12% of the total percentage of journalists that participated in the study. Those with first degree, 48%; Master's degree, 40% while none of the journalists has a Doctorate degree or a Post-doctorate degree. None of the journalists has Secondary School certificate or other professional certification such as membership of professional bodies alone, without a graduate or postgraduate degree. The results imply that the majority of the participants are trained and educated enough to practice the profession. The degree according to Pickard (2017), provides a measure of academic accomplishment that is seen by the society as having value enough to warrant being employed. This is part of what Hallin and Mancini (2004) emphasised in their conceptualization of *professionalism* as a variable for measuring type of media system. The duo emphasized educational qualification/professional certification as measure of professionalism of journalists, with the main aim of ensuring that media practitioners are educated enough to comprehend, analyse, deconstruct, synthesize information and ideas, based on their high sense of rationality, before feeding such information to the public.

The study also assesses the various *tone or frame of news* on Vision 20:2020 with the aim of ascertaining whether the opinion of all stakeholders on the issue is favourable, unfavourable or indifferent. Findings from the agenda setting study show that the majority of the reports are positive, while the rest were negative, neutral and mixed tones. The fact that newspaper representation of the study is majorly positive, signifies the general tone towards the vision is encouraging. This further confirms the assertion that the mass media serve as 'a domain of our social life where such a thing as public opinion can be formed, [where] citizens . . . deal with matters of general interest without being subject to coercion (Habermas, 1997, p.105)'. It also confirms Mckee (2005) assertion that the media provide platform for the public to engage in issues and reach consensus on what should be done about them. The media also defines a frame or context in which related events can be interpreted (Nelkin, 1989, p.107). This notwithstanding, it should be borne in mind that media framing of issues may not be a true reflection of the intent of the public since, the media, through gatekeeping, decides what to publish and what not to and how to frame such an issue. And in Nigeria, a developing democracy with much of its press freedom guaranteed only in theory, the possibility of publicising misleading or doctored information by the media should not be ruled out.

The study of the *tone of news* also shows that dissent, which is a major component of an ideal democratic public sphere according to (McNair 2011), is entertained by this mediated platform. This is evident in the various tone contained in the Vision 20:2020 news analysis. Some of the opinions were *negative*, some *mixed* and some *neutral*. Thus, this goes a long way in showcasing that the mass media had created room for public discussion and has entertained even dissenting groups in the platform. It has created an arena for public discourse between the government and the public and all dissenting groups to engage and contribute in the implementation of the plan.

Reflecting on the above findings, the mass media have provided platform for all stakeholders involved in the implementation of the Vision, who are not only armed with information on the issue but are mature and learned enough to contribute to rational discourse on it. This is evident in the array of all the stakeholders that formed the sources of news on the Vision, their age distribution and qualification. Different groups contributed to discussion on the topic; groups such as private individuals/general public, private organizations/companies, pressure/interest groups, civil societies, religious groups, professional bodies; international organizations, Non-governmental organizations and foreign government, and media editorial, were all represented in the discourse in the mediated public sphere. Others are the mature labour force and those with Diplomas and Degrees. This confirms the submission that no

longer do we have policy implementation that is housed within the plurality of established institutions of government and professionals alone, but 'we have s story of a plurality of policy orientations'…also in diverse publics of civil society…the multiple organizations whose voices now enter into the domain of policy discourse' (Togerson, 2007, p.26).

Thus, the mediated sphere, newspaper in this context, has provided that 'distinctive discursive space (Ernest 1988, p.47)' and 'those social institutions that allow for open and rational debate between citizens (Edgar 2006, p.124)'; 'where information, ideas and debate can circulate in society, and where political opinion can be formed (Darlgren 1995, p.ix)', with the voice of the majority heard while the minority voices are considered in the implementation and actualization of any policy agenda of general public interest.

Lastly, the research also studied time-lag as an attribute of second-level agenda-setting. The study found that media coverage of the issue has dropped over the years from 73 publications in 2010, to 45 in 2011 and 16 in 2012. This reflects the dwindling of agenda setting role of the mass media over the three years covered. This massive drop in agenda setting role of the mass media over the three years studied is a clear indication that the plan is losing its initial position across the agendas and calls for the need for all stakeholders, especially the policy makers to keep inundating the public with information on the Vision throughout the life cycle of the agenda. This is very necessary for as it has been argued, people are not likely to discuss issues they saw or read weeks ago. Hence the need to constantly keep them informed so as to stimulate enough interest in the topic (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002). Again, more publicity be accorded the issue since the vision is yet to be actualised, for as it has been asserted, the amount of media coverage that issues receive gives the public salience cues with which they learn the relative importance of these issues (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p. 37; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004; McCombs, 2004). Constant inundation of the public with media messages on the issue will continually shape public perception of the issue. Efforts should also be made to prioritise the vision on the public agenda, because as it is, the issue has never graced the front page of any of the newspapers analysed.

Secondly, it has been found that the Vision 20:2020 remained salient in the news in the three-year period studied. This finding overrides other assumptions that the optimal effect span of a news item on the media agenda is between 4 to 6 weeks (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002) and asserts in strong terms that long-term development agendas should adopt long time lag as one of the variables for assessing the progress made so far in the implementation of plans and

policies, beyond the 4-6 weeks optimal effect span. If this is employed and with the commitment of all stakeholders involved in the implementation discourse, the optimal effect span would exceed six weeks.

Discussion on Third Level Agenda Setting/Network of Networks/Attribute Priming.

Third level agenda setting investigates how the different attributes of an issue interact and network in making sense of an agenda in the media. Guo and McCombs (2011a, 2011b) third level agenda setting model known as Network Agenda Setting (NAS) asserts that "the salience of the network relationships among objects/or attributes, in addition to discrete individual elements, can be transferred from the news media to the public's mind'' (2011a, p.1). This theoretical model further proposes that 'the news media can bundle sets of objects or attributes and make these bundles of elements salient in the public's mind simultaneously'' (Guo, Vu and McCombs, 2012, p. 1). The theory also tests a more powerful hypothesis, which says that "the salience of related, networked elements on the media agenda influences the salience of these related, networked elements on the public agenda'' (McCombs, 2015, p.301). With these conceptions in mind, the study investigates the salience of all the attributes of Vision 20:2020 in order to make a case that all attributes are represented and that there is transfer of salience across all the attributes.

On the type of news on Vision 20:2020, the study found that all the categories of news were represented- *editorial/in-house articles*; *commentary/public opinion/letter to the editor, column* and *news story*. While there was no story on the Vision that appeared as *headlines* or *frontpage* news. On the tone or frame of news-it was found that there were *positive, negative, neutral* and *mixed* tone stories on the Vision in the public sphere. On the sources of news on the Vision-there were news from *government sources;* from *private individuals and general public*; from *private organizations and companies*; from *pressure groups and civil societies,* and from *international and local non-governmental organizations*. While there was no news from the *media/in-house editorial.* On the manifest attributes of Vision 20:2020, all the parametres of the object were represented-*education, health, infrastructure, health, manufacturing, polity, macroeconomy, agriculture* and *general news on Vision 20:2020.*

Furthermore, the study investigates and found that *there's correlation between news coming from government sources (GP) and news from public sources-PI, PO, PIG, IO & ME all together termed as 'Public Opinion' (PO)*. Secondly, it checks for correlation between news from government sources (GP) and news from public sources (PO). News from government sources/press releases was checked against news from the other 5 sources (PI, PO, PIG, IO &

ME, and were individually tested for correlation. The study found that government press releases has 68 publications while news from the rest of the sources that constitute public opinion has 66 publications. This strikingly close number of publications on both sides show transfer of salience from one attribute to the other- *from the policy agenda to the public and media agendas*. The study further tests for correlation between policy makers versus media and public agendas, where government press releases represent news from policy makes while perceived public opinion represents news from the media and the public agendas, coded as GP versus PI, PO, PIG, IO & ME. The study revealed there is *positive significant correlation* between news from government sources GP and news from PI, PO, PIG, & IO and the correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2 - tailed) and at 0.05 level (2-tailed) while *no significant correlation* between government sources (GP) and the media (ME) as source of news.

The study also analysed the demography and other variables of Nigerian journalists on the Vision. It was found that both *males* and *females*, participated in the study; are of different age brackets-*30-39, 40-49,50-59*; well-educated with the minimum being holders of *Diploma/NCE/HND* while the rest have *first degree* and *postgraduate degree,* respectively. They work with *broadcast, print media* and *news agency* and are sporadically distributed as reporters or correspondents across the different beats or thematic areas of Vision 20:2020-*education, health, infrastructure, health, manufacturing, polity, macroeconomy, agriculture* and *general news on Vision 20:2020.* Furthermore, while some journalists feel the Vision is *good and realisable*, others feel it is *good but not realizable*. While the majority *feels public opinion is very important* in the actualization of the plan, they however lamented that *public opinion on the issue is negative* with so much doubt on the part of the public on the ability of the government to actualise the plan, owing to its inability to actualise previous developmental plans despite the abundant resources at its disposal. While the majority are *not aware* of the existence of a *pack between journalists and the Nigerian media* on the coverage and implementation of the Vision, a few claimed to be *aware of a pack.* That notwithstanding, they *feel encouraged to cover* the Vision. While the majority are of the view that the Vision was *not often covered*, a few are of the view that *it was covered often.* The majority claimed *not to be aware* of the present stage of the implementation of the Vision, but say there's *ease of access to information* on the Vision and are *not aware of an instance in which a journalist was denied access to informatio*n on the Vision, while categorically stating that they are *free to cover the Vision*.

Reflecting on the various attributes of third level agenda setting and how they network and contribute to this study, thus, one cannot feign ignorance of the fact that from its name, Network Model, which borrows from other related networking models such as the Associated Network Model (Anderson, 1983; Anderson and Bower, 1973), the cognitive network model of (Santanen, Briggs and de Vreede, 2000), third level agenda setting, emphasised that individual cognitive nodes are interconnected (Kaplan, 1973; Guo, Vu and McCombs, 2012) and this, directly reflect and signify the objects and attributes of phenomenon in a given study and their interconnectedness. For when the media mention objects, they end up discussing on the attributes of such objects (Guo, Vu and McCombs, 2012) and these attributes can be either the person's democratic variables such as age, occupation, or some macro characteristics such as a person's political ideology, perception of an issue, and other related themes. And while some attributes of objects are frequently mentioned, others are mentioned from time to time, while some others are seldom mentioned. This makes it possible for attributes of each object to be ranked ordered based on the frequency of occurrence, thereby determining the attributes with the highest frequency of coverage by the media in the case of content analysis or mentioned by the public, in the case of survey. Once the objects attributes are ranked ordered, the frequency of occurrence of each on media and on public agendas can be used to explain the correlation or the transfer of salient between the agendas as opine by Guo, Vu and McCombs, "an agenda of objects can be defined by the frequency of appearance of these objects in the content analysis data for the media agenda and by the frequency of appearance of these objects in the survey data for the public agenda'' (2012, p.53)

Thus, this robust study has recognised the fact that research on third level agenda setting is still in its infancy, which makes this study timely and relevant. It not only establishes the salience of individual attributes of Vision 20:2020 on the media as a public sphere, but shows transfer of salience from one attribute to the other; from one agenda to the other; from one object to the other. More importantly, the study revealed a network of relationships across the attributes and how each member or objective contribute to the salience of the main object, which is Vision 20:2020 across the policy, media and public agendas. This finding is in tandem with the findings of the first three empirical studies on this model, which establish the validity of the third level agenda setting model as earlier iterated in Chapter three of this study and I hereby reiterate. First, Guo and McCombs (2011a), reanalysed the data used in a 2002 study by Kim and McComb on the qualification and characteristics of two US politicians, Governor of Texas and Senator from Texas. Content analysis was employed to study a newspaper, the *Austin American-Statesman* to determine the media attributes agenda while survey using telephone interview of 417 randomly selected individuals was carried out

to ascertain public attribute agenda setting. The study used ten attributes to define the candidates. The first study focused on the discreet attributes of the candidates while the second, on the networked attributes of each candidate. Findings reveal the attributes most prominent in the media as well as correlation between the attributes in the network and across the agendas. A significant and highly similar network of relationships was found between the media and the public attributes agendas in the first two studies. The third empirical study was a deviation from election. It focuses on the most covered topic by the media, also known as media content, which was conducted on a weekly basis. Content analysis of secondary data gathered by the Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) was used. It monitored news contents of 48 news outlets in the years 2009, 2010 and 2011. For the survey, Gallup's Poll results for the same years on its usual MIP question to the public with the usual question, "What do you think is the most important problems facing the country today?" was adapted. The poll also used ten attributes of the issue or object. Significant correlation was found on the media attributes agenda and public attributes agenda in 2009 and 2010, while correlation was insignificant in 2011. More recent studies have further revealed the efficacy of third level agenda setting and the growing number of research on the new model. A study by Cheng and Chan (2015) on tracking descriptions of moral and national education in media coverage and public's minds in Hong Kong using 532 newspaper articles and 342 public surveys reveal a strong correlation between media and both on-line and off-line public attributes network agendas. A study by Wu and Guo (2017) on linking agenda networks between media and voters during Taiwan's 2012 Presidential election shows a positive correlation between media and public agendas with the NAS model showing more predictive power at the attributes level than at the object level.

Other non-empirical studies on third level agenda setting have focused on the theoretical foundations, methodological approaches, and international empirical evidence for the new perspective (Guo and McCombs, 2015). A study by Guo (2017) assesses aggregate and individual level media effects and found that all three levels of agenda setting revealed solid evidence at the aggregate level, that is, at the level of frequency of coverage. This supports agenda setting as a three-stage process, which Kiousis, et al (2013) called the agenda-building process (First, object; Second, attribute; Third, network connections).

The implication of this network of agendas is that it is no longer enough that 'issues,' also known as 'objects' (first level agenda setting) are studied or the 'attributes' of an issue/object are studied as independent elements (second level agenda setting), but different objects or attributes can be studied at the same time in the form of a network of objects or network of

attributes to establish their correlation in explaining a phenomenon and in the transfer of salience from media agenda to public agenda (third level agenda setting). The implication of such a network proposed to explain the idea of third level agenda setting is that the media can actually bundle different objects and attributes and make these bundles of elements salient in people's mind simultaneously. The take is that the more the media cove or report two or more elements at the same time, the more likely are the elements to be seen to be interconnected and salient in people's mind at the same time.

Thus, the inherent power in information networks observed in the above studies can best be described or compared to a network of people or a team, working together to achieve group objective. It explains the correlation between attributes of object or issue and how they are presented and contested on the platform with the overall aim of ascertaining those voices that are more heard and those least heard; and how their relationship or otherwise, help explain the general debate on the subject or phenomenon in context. Such an approach can be used to determine the different attributes or themes of the object or issue studied such as micro attributes like the gender of respondents, age bracket, occupation, and other demographic variables, to the macro components such as tone of news, source of news, the type of news, time-lag, political philosophies, intermedia agenda setting, character of candidates, news placement, and so on. An examination of these attributes in a single study can help explain the correlation between each of them and how they network in establishing relationship and making sense of the object of the study. This interconnection, relates to Habermas's idea of the public sphere in that it provides platform for different objects and attributes to compete on the media as well as on the public's agenda, with the overall aim of showcasing how salient each is on the agendas, the debates each generates and contributes to the understanding of the phenomenon, whether equal platform is provided for all attributes, why some attributes receive more coverage than others and whether there is inter-agender transfer of salience.

Relative to this research, the study employs third level agenda setting model or the networking agender setting model, using content analysis to investigate media agender setting role on Vision 20:2020 with focus on its attributes viz a viz the type of newspaper, the thematic parameters of the Vision, the tone of news, the type of news, the sources of news and the time lag. Survey, through the use of questionnaire is used to ascertain the demographic variables of the journalists covering the Vision, their knowledge of it and of its present stage of implementation, government-media relations in Nigeria, media freedom, and whether they think the Vision is realizable. The overall aim of the two studies is to ascertain whether (a) the media have provided platform for debate on Vision 20:2020 (b) whether the

media have set agenda on the Vision. This is ascertained through first level agenda setting (aggregate of publications on Vision 20:2020; second level agenda setting (study of each attribute); and third level agenda setting (study of the network of the attributes) and the transfer of salience on the issue/object from media to public agendas.

8.2. Contribution to knowledge

The general intent when embarking on a research as this is to fill in or contribute to an area where there is gap in knowledge. It is based on this idea that this study investigates 'The Impact of the Mass Media on the Implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020'. To this end, the following have been identified as the contributions of this study to the gap in the area of mass media, public sphere, agenda setting, and the implementation of Nigeria's national development plan and in the field of communication and media studies. The contributions to knowledge are theoretical, empirical and methodological.

Theoretical, Empirical and Methodological Contributions to Knowledge

The following are the contribution of this research to knowledge in the field of Communication and Media Studies:

First, the study is the first of its kind that has taken such holistic approach to the study of first, second and third-level agenda setting (agenda setting process) in a single study. The study is quite robust and unique in the sense that specifically, it studied the transfer of salience across issue attributes as well as the manifest and latent meaning of attributes; it studies the transfer of attributes from policy, media and public agenda; the tone of news; type of news; source of news; attributes/themes of news; time-lag, and priming effect.

Second, it is the first study to have assessed the application of the media agenda setting process in the implementation of a national development plan and within the context of Africa despite the limited empirical studies on agenda setting in Nigeria. A good number of studies have been conducted on previous development plans in Nigeria but mostly focused on agriculture, human capital, infrastructural development, polity and other sectors. There is virtually no study on the role of the mass media in the implementation of the plan, despite the fact that the mass media play important role in championing development by sensitizing the leaders and the people on what is going on in the society (Eneh, 2009) and arming them with information to be able to hold leaders accountable to their developmental processes as well as contribute in the assessment of development scorecards.

Third, just as Wanta and Mikusova (2010) and other writers reiterated the much concentration of agenda setting studies to the U.S. and a few countries such as Germany, Japan, Spain, UK (Brosius and Kepplinger, 1990; Takeshita and Mikami, 1995; McCombs, Lopez-Escobar & Llama, 2000), the limited number of agenda-setting research in the Eastern European Countries (Wanta and Mikusova, 2010) and the limited number of empirical research in the area in Nigeria (Nwoke, 2016), the study adds to the gap in knowledge in the empirical application of agenda setting and the agenda setting process in territories outside U.S., UK, Europe and Japan.

Fourth, despite the abundance of agenda setting studies since the initial Chapel Hill study as well as the numerous studies on the mass media as a public sphere, there is no empirical study that concentrates on assessing agenda setting within the context of the public sphere which (McCombs, 2014) proposed as the third level-agenda setting effect study. I therefore submit that to the best of my knowledge, this robust and all-encompassing agenda setting study, is the first of its kind that aggregates all the aspects of agenda setting and situate them within the context of the Habermasian public sphere in order to assess the impact of the media as a public platform for discourse and for the assessment of the efficacy of agenda setting in the area of national development in a developing democracy.

Fifth, the study reiterated the fact that there is no universally accepted time lag for agenda setting. While some suggest shorter time lag, others suggest longer duration. To Brosius and Kepplinger (1990), agenda setting occurs when there is significant variation in coverage from month to month; two to six months (Stone and McCombs, 1981), four and six weeks (Winter and Eyal, 1981) while Roberts, Wanta & Dzwo (2002) added that people discuss issue they hear in the news for only a few days. This study found that a long-term issue, such as a developmental plan that spans over years yields agenda setting effect, which could increase or decrease in the number of coverage year after year, depending on the amount of attention given to the issue by the stakeholders involved. In the case of this study, the salience of the issue dropped year after year within the three years studies, thereby reducing the agenda setting effect.

Sixth, so far, the study happens to be the second research that attempts to frame the Nigerian media system based on the four theories of the press and beyond, with the first centred on the Nigerian media system, African media system and corruption (Yusha'u, 2018). This study, therefore, asserts that the Nigerian media system, like the media system in other nation states, cannot be defined as reflecting a single media system. It defies the use of a single media model. This is evident in the assessment of the Nigerian media system in Chapter four of this

thesis, from precolonial days to present day, from military regimes to civilian dispensations, which indicate that the Nigerian media system at one point or the other reflect: *authoritarianism, libertarianism* and *social responsibility* (Seibert, et al, 1956); it has shown features of *closed and autocratic, open democratic* and *liberalised democratic* principles (Nisbet and Moehler, 2005); there is *state control* of its operations, *instrumentalism* (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, 2011); *political parallelism* (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hadland, 2011) like other African media systems, which connote media products, ownership and audiences frequently reflecting ethnic, linguistic and clientelist features, with no reflection of racism due to the fact that the country has a single, race, the Black African race. The Nigerian media also fits into Hadland's *media market model*, with language and ethnicity as predictor power in the consumption of media content. In terms of *state control*, which is one of Hadland's determinants of media type, like other African countries, the Nigerian media experiences occasional denial of right to information despite the laws that guarantee it (Tettey, 2001) and it experiences other forms of control by the government through laws of the press council, tribunals, and other government structures, with journalists often imprisoned, victimized, and journalists struggling to fight for their rights and maintain their stake as fourth estate of the realm. This was the order of the day during the various repressive military regimes, occasioned by *closed* and *repressive autocracy* (Nisbet and Moehler, 2005), media houses were harassed, detained, incarcerated, threatened, assaulted, with a few cases of assassination, such as the assassination of Dele Giwa. In terms of *professionalism* as one of the variables, there is consensus on journalistic standard which is enforced by the Press Council as well as the Nigerian Union of Journalists through their ethical codes of conduct while journalists possess some form of educational qualification or professional trainings before being employed. That notwithstanding, the Nigerian media system is affected by lack of resources for training, poor educational systems and a weak journalistic union.

To sum the present state of the Nigerian media based on press freedom, Reporters Without Borders, in its 2018 World Press Freedom Index, ranked Nigeria 119 out of 180 countries. It upped three places from its 2017 ranking of 122 and summarised it as 'climate of permanent violence'. Specifically, the ranking reports states that:

> In Nigeria, it is difficult to cover stories involving politics, terrorism, and financial embezzlement by the powerful. Journalists are often threatened, subjected to physical violence, or denied access to information by government officials, police, and sometimes the public itself. The all-powerful regional governors are often the media's most determined persecutors and act with complete impunity. Africa's most populous nation, Nigeria nonetheless has more than 100 independent media outlets. Online

freedom was recently curbed by cybercrime law that penalises bloggers in an arbitrary manner (Reporters Without Borders, 2018).

Thus, the study found and conceptualised the Nigerian media system based on its experiences over the years as 'comprising multiple models of media systems with different discerning variables', which is in tandem with studies conducted by (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Nisbet and Moehler, 2005; Hadland, 2011). Clearly, these features of the Nigerian media, mostly negative, are not in tandem with the criticisms that help in defining the features or problems of the Western media, which McKee had proposed as too trivialised, too commercialised, too spectacular, too fragmented and too apathetic.

To conclude, conceptualizing the Nigerian media system within the four theories of the press and beyond and outside the Western world by no means invalidate the fact that studies on media systems outside this geographical region is still in its infancy and mostly restricted to national level. Let me highlight that the Western world is not immune of the over concentration of research on media typologies to national level; it is a global problem that affect all. This is a gap in this field of media studies considering the high level of media pluralism and the proliferation of media houses in recent years, which is propelled by the spread of liberalism and democratic consolidation in both democratic nations and emerging democracies or as Norris (2009) describes them, 'democratic' and 'partly democratic' societies. There is therefore the need to tilt subsequent research in this area to transnational, state or local geographical arenas. This study, thus, is on course as it adds to the limited body of knowledge on comparative media systems at national level and outside the Western world, which is also relatively unexplored as summed up in the preceding paragraphs.

In terms of methodology, this robust research adds to the body of knowledge on the lingering obfuscations of mixed methods, of objective and subjective research strands, the fusion of breadth and depth in a study, the mélange of methods, methodologies, research designs and multiple techniques of research while the adoption of pragmatic world view to make sense of the different dynamics and variables used in the study, makes this work unique and adds to the ongoing debate on the use of multiple methods, methodologies, techniques and approaches in a single study. Based on the dichotomies between the existing paradigms, methodologists argue on the incompatibility of paradigms. The incompatibility thesis, which is based on the supposed link between research methods and paradigms of enquiry (Sale, Lohfeld, and Brazil, 2002), is that if the underlying premises of the different paradigms differ, then the methods associated with these paradigms cannot be combined (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). However, mixed methodologists are of the opinion that the pragmatic

employment of the different research methods in a study in a way that supports answering the research questions to strengthen theory is essential. The pragmatic research paradigm adopted "supports the use of mix of different methods as well as modes of analysis and continuous cycle of abductive reasoning while being guided primarily by the researcher's desire to produce socially useful knowledge'' (Feilzer, 2010, p.6) Thus, combining research methods, which pragmatists championed, help in the integration of several theoretical perspectives (Brewer and Hunter, 2006). Consequently, instead of arguing about philosophy, researchers are better focused on choosing a method of research that works. To this end, the study employed pragmatism, involving the use of both quantitative and qualitative strands to show that the mixture of methods and methodologies are not dichotomous but rather distinct (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) and the strength of one in a research can augment for the weaknesses of the other. And therefore, MMR with its pragmatic tenets should be the main driver of social and behavioural science research in other to make complete sense of phenomenon. To this end, the study adds to the ongoing debate on purists versus pragmatists by mixing the following methods, methodologies and techniques in a single study. The design of the study employed *mixed methods* (Quan and Qual) based on the fact that at the onset of the study, it was envisaged that both qualitative data (narrative based & subjectivity) and quantitative data (numeric based & objective) are necessary in making sense of the phenomenon. To this end, pragmatic philosophical assumption and paradigm was employed to give the researcher the free hand to mix methods, methodologies and techniques all with the aim of achieving the research objectives. The two studies (content analysis and survey) were conducted in parallel in tandem with Creswell and Clark (2010) mixed methods design typologies. At the stage of data collection, analysis and interpretation, the study adopts *fixed mixed methods design*. The study further mixed methodologies and techniques-*Content Analysis, Case study* and *survey*. Content analysis was conducted on four Nigerian daily newspapers to ascertain the frequency of publication of news on Vision 20:2020, on the attributes of the Vision, and on how all the attributes relate with the main subject (Vision 20:2020). This is aimed at showcasing the connectivity of the different parts of the Vision and how their interactivity and networking help in making sense of the whole. The *Survey* focuses on ascertaining the opinion of Nigerian Journalists on the Vision, their expectations of the policy makers of the Vision, their level of engagement in the coverage of the issue, and how free they are to cover it. *Case Study* was adopted to explore in-depth a programme, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals within a context and is usually case bound. Different types of case study were employed: *multi-case study* because the study merged different cases- Nigerian Mass media, Vision 20:2020, Agenda setting, and Public

sphere. Also, *descriptive case study* was employed to explain in-depth the phenomenon; *intrinsic case study* to focus deeply on the main case, Vision 20:2020 and *instrumental case study* to depict how Vision 20:2020 relates to other variables and sub-cases. Such approach is best suited in a robust study with various cases and variables (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003; Hallstrom et al, 2005). Theoretically, the study mixed a number of theories and models to make sense of the variables under study. Notably, Habermas' idea of a public sphere, McNair's ideal media in a democracy and the agenda setting theory of the media were studied for their correlational relationship in making sense of the phenomena and variables. At the level of sampling, the study adopts *purposive sampling* which involves deliberately selecting people that can provide information on the phenomenon. Furthermore, *multiple purposive sampling*, which combines at least two techniques of sampling was employed. The multiple purposive sampling techniques employed are: *sampling for representativeness and comparability* and *sampling special or unique cases* (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Consequently, *four Nigerian daily newspapers* were deliberately selected to provide data for the content analysis study on the bases that they fall under the ten best mainstream newspapers in Nigeria with the highest circulation figure. While *thirty Nigerian Journalists* were purposively selected across news agency, broadcast and print media, to ensure representativeness and comparability as well as the selection of special or unique cases.

Thus, the methodological contribution to knowledge in this study asserts that in a research of this nature, on an issue with different attributes, pragmatic research approach should be employed to give the researcher the power to combine multitude research methods, methodologies, theories, instruments and techniques to achieve the objective of this robust study and mix methods every step of the way and until the research objectives are achieved and the questions, answered. This contributes to the ever-growing body of knowledge on the use of different mixed methods typologies, at different stages in a single study in tandem with

8.3. Conclusion

The study assesses the role of the mass media as a public sphere in the implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020. It argues the role of the mass media as that distinctive platform that allow for different media to be engaged in the provision of platform for developmental ideas to be presented, contested and debated upon by different members of the society based on rational discourse, and decisions arrived at. In the case of this study, the public sphere comprises of the four mainstream newspapers analysed-*Vanguard, ThisDay, Daily Trust* and

The Nation with the twenty-five journalists interviewed, with the hope of complementing and corroborating the findings from the content analysis.

The study found Vision 20:2020 to be salient across all four newspapers in the three years studied-2010, 2011 & 2012. But the salience drops each year across the four newspapers with 54.5% in 2010, 33.6% in 2011 and 11.9% in 2012. The drop in the salience of the issue is not unconnected with the fact that the initiator of the Vision 20:2020, President Musa Yar'dua, who conceived the idea in 2008, died in May 2010 and his successor, his Vice President, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, thought to reduce the scope of the Vision, which has been tagged by many as highly ambitious, but doable. Thus, from the Vision 20:2020, a new development plan, the Seven-Point Agenda, was conceived. That however, did not signal the end of Vision 20:2020, reason being that the National Planning Commission, stated that the change is only in the nomenclature. This explains why the survey questions were focused on both Vision 20:2020 and the Seven-Point Agenda.

The study also found that the issue is also salient on the media, the policy and the public agendas. It also shows salience and transfer of salience across other attributes-tone of news, types of new, sources of news, parameters of Vision 20:2020; while time lag shows the Vision appeared in all three years but the salience of the issue drops each passing year.

On the tone of news, based on media reportage, of news on Vision 20:2020 as well as the opinion of journalists, it was found that in the content analysis, most of the reports were positive, with a few negatives, mixed and neutral tones, which explain the presence of different frames and opinion on the issue. The survey, however, established that although the majority of the journalists were of the view that the Vision is laudable, they expressed negative tones and doubt if its realizable owing to the fact that previous developmental plans initiated by the government were specially drafted, with millions of naira put in, but were not actualised. At the same time, a good number of the journalists were not aware of the present stage of implementation of the Vision, which is an indication that there was no proper sensitization on the part of the policy initiators, the government. Reason that could be ascribed to these conflicting findings could be attributed to two of Claudio Mellado and Claudia Lagos's (2014) six dimensions of measures of professional roles practice in news. Looking at it from Mellado and Lagos's shift of focus from role conception (what journalists and media say they do) to role performance (what the media and journalists actually do), the 'positive tone' result of the content analysis could be attributed to some form of intervention in the news. The intervention could be either through reporter or news source bias or a result of editorial hammer/framing, which is a form of '*interventionist*' dimension which focuses on

the close relationship between the journalists and the facts. This dimension is journalists centred and they tend to have their voice in the stories. But in the context of this research, one cannot completely rule that the journalists'/media voice, played significant role in the high number of positive news on the Vision, reason being that the researcher tried as much as possible to minimise incidences of bias in the outcome of the news frame/tone of news. Measures put in place to ensure that the reports analysed are factual pieces and true representation of the different sources of news and not some manufactured frames/tones aimed at gaining good will on the part of the media or policy initiators are- (a) the research analysed reports from four different newspapers with varied ideologies and in-house policies and from different regions of the country. This resonate with the long-time held belief that newspapers vary in their ideological orientations and that geographical locations of the media and the culture therein, affect and determine the orientation (Groseclove and Milyo, 2005). (b) the reports are in different forms/formats of news writing and not just reflections of Press Releases or propaganda, specially scripted and framed to score some political point. Some of the types of news/news formats used included: factual new stories/feature articles; commentary/column/opinion/interview/letter-to-the-editor; headlines/frontpage news; editorial/in-house articles report (c) the news reports analysed are from different sources- government, personal individuals/private organizations; non-governmental organizations; pressure groups and civil societies, and media editorial. Also note that most of these reports captured verbatim quotes from these sources of news.

On the contrary, the survey report carried out on Nigerian journalists on the Vision revealed rather conflicting tone/frame. The high number of negative perceptions of the Vision by the journalists surveyed, through their unfiltered responses, fit the '*disseminator-interventionist' dimension*, which stresses the active-passive stance of the journalists, emphasising neutrality and distance between the journalists and the facts. These were personal responses of the individual journalists, surveyed, a reflection of their honest opinion on the Vision, without any editorial interference. Media interventionism is therefore, minimised or totally absent since these responses are personal, not published and thus, not subjected to any editorial hammer or interference, talk more of its true intent being compromised. This survey, which relies on interpersonal communication amongst the journalists and between them and other stakeholders in the field, is a clear signifier of the potential of interpersonal communication in agenda setting, which Wanta and Wu (1992) opine should not be ignored for as other studies have found, interpersonal communication can enhance agenda setting effects, (McLeod, Becker, & Byrnes, 1974), can inhibit the effects of agenda-setting (Atwater, Salwen, & Anderson, 1985; Erbring, Goldenberg, & Miller, 1980) or can have no effect at all (Lasorsa

& Wanta, 1990). Examinations of the effects of interpersonal communication in agenda setting have, therefore, produced mixed results (Roberts, Wanta and Dzwo, 2002). But what is more important is the fact that this study adds to the body of knowledge that interpersonal communication can enhance agenda setting effects, especially when employed in a study that analysis media publications to complement the study.

The news on Vision 20:2020 analysed were not restricted to certain forms of reporting, but were captured in different format-news stories, articles, opinions and headlines. This reduces the incidence of bias in the reportage of stories or framing of news stories skewed in favour of the media or the government. This variety of news reduces the influence of the media on reports for it gives room for verbatim statements to be captured and reported directly from the source with no form of modification. Interviews and opinion pieces are some good examples of news formats that balance news reports from press releases that are re-written and re-framed by journalists before being fed to the general public.

The study also found that different members of the public participated in the research-private individuals and organizations, the government, civil societies and non-governmental organizations and journalists of different backgrounds with varied demographic variables. This clearly indicates that the mediated public has provided platform for all and sundry to engage in various discourse on Vision 20:2020.

The study concludes that the agenda setting process is the most suitable theoretical framework for monitoring the implementation of a development plan and categorically states that the theoretical framework, when combined with other theoretical frameworks such as the role or functions of the media, media systems theory, the public sphere and other conceptual frameworks as well as a combination of methodological approaches (mixed methods and pragmatism) and a host of methodologies and techniques (content analysis, case study and survey), in a holistic study, will produce a network of effects in a single study and generate cues for further research.

8.4. Limitations of the Study

There is no research that has no limitations and this study is not exempted. Although the researcher tried as much as possible to capture the essence of the research and to explain how the mass media provided public sphere for the implementation of the Vision 20:2020 and sets agenda on its implementation, the study was limited by the non-existent extant literature on agenda setting, public sphere, national media system and development plan/policy, not only in Nigeria, but worldwide.

Secondly, considering the mixed methods and pragmatic approach employed in the research, using different designs, techniques, methodologies, theoretical and conceptual approaches, the study envisage that such a holistic and all-encompassing approach, if adopted in a study at a level lower than doctorate, such a research would be affected by shortage of time, resources and wordcount limit.

Thirdly, this study is limited by its concentration of empirical findings to the Nigerian media system, its type of democracy, its development plan and other peculiarities. Therefore, the outcome of the research cannot be generalised across countries, not even within in Africa, can. However, the findings and methodological approach can serve as valuable cues to those intending to study the impact of mass media on the implementation of developmental plans, in other countries.

8.5. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study and the contribution to knowledge, the following are recommended for further research:

More empirical studies on mass media as a public sphere in a democracy be conducted to ascertain whether or not the sphere is providing platform for all and sundry to contribute to debates on matters of general public interest or the platform still side-line some groups such as women. In the case of this research, the majority of the journalists are male, which still poses challenge to the efficacy of the mass media as a public sphere.

Study on the *main stream media as public sphere, agenda setting* and *national development* is in its infancy with this research being the first *empirical* attempt at relating the three conceptual frameworks in a study and outside the shores of the Western world. Similar studies have been conducted but on 'public sphere' and 'agenda setting' (McCombs, 2014; Jia Lang, 2014; Rauchfleisch & Kovic, 2016) The study, therefore, calls for more theoretical and empirical research to further advance the compatibility of the two frameworks within and outside the Western world.

The study is one of the very few agenda setting studies that merged content analysis with survey in a single study. It is therefore recommended that such mixed methodology be employed either to complement, supplement or provide some robustness to research and add to validity and reliability of data and instrument.

The study highly recommends a shift from decades of research on first and second level agenda setting to third level agenda setting. Not only that, it further recommends the adoption

of the three types of agenda setting studies, which is the agenda setting process in a single study, especially one that involves a controversial issue or an issue with different attributes. Policy initiators, government, development partners and researchers in the field of communication and media studies, development and political communication should find the 'agenda setting process' as the most ideal theoretical framework for monitoring salience of the plan, discourse, progress and inclusivity in the implementation and actualization of such plan. Specifically, third level agenda setting and the agenda setting process can help them assess issue salience (first level agenda setting); issue attributes (second level agenda setting) and network of issue/object attributes and their implications (third level agenda setting), thereby completing the agenda setting process. They can assess the salience of an issue, the attributes of an issue, the tone or frame of an issue, priming effect, time lag of coverage of an issue, type of report on an issue, intermedia coverage of an issue and the transfer of salience across and among these issues. This study, imperfect as it is, should serve as a guide or and source of reference to the United Nations, its development partners, other developmental institutions and nation states in monitoring the implementation of the ongoing Sustainable Development Goals (The Global Goals).

Although a survey was conducted using open-ended questions to find out the opinion of journalists on Vision 20:2020, the use of such instrument was an after-thought necessitated by the researcher's inability to persuade journalists to create time and participate in an interview. Attempt was made at scheduling interview with some journalists and for almost 4 weeks, none of them could create and grant audience to the researcher due to their busy schedule. Some of the journalists that consented to participated in the research later advised the researcher to convert the questions to a questionnaire due to time factor and in order to encourage participation and a high response rate. This tactic was employed and as a result, twenty-five respondents consented and participated in the research and returned the completed questionnaire within four weeks, out of the thirty journalists contacted. It is therefore, recommended that in the event that oral interview is intended in a research of this nature and the response rate is low, open-ended questionnaire should be improvised and substituted in order to meet with the research schedule and target, since both tools can measure a common construct (Gafni & Moshinsky, 2002), especially in a research that does not include monitoring and observing respondents' physical features and gestures as well as non-verbal communication.

There are other theoretical/conceptual frameworks that can be used to further explain the phenomena such as media logic and news value by Altheide and Snow and Galtung and Ruge. This is, therefore, recommended for further studies within this context.

More research should be conducted within this continuum and should research should be country-specific since nation states differ in the political ideologies, economy system, media system, type of democracy, government system and socio-cultural factors.

In conclusion, I hope researchers and policy makers find this study a useful tool or a guide for further research in the field.

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NEWSPAPER CODING AND THEMATIC ANALYSIS SHEET.

GROUP A Category: Source of News

Codes 1, 2 , 3 ,4 ,5 , 6 / Themes

1- Government press release/statement: Vision 20:2020 office, MDGs office, government agencies and parastatals, government owned institutions, all facets of government, interview granted by civil/public servants in positions of authority.

2- Private individuals/general public

3- Private organizations/ companies

4- Pressure/interest groups, civil societies, religious groups, professional bodies

5- International organizations/NGOs, foreign government

6- Media/Editorial

GROUP B. Category: Type of News.

Codes: 1, 2, 3, 4,

1. Editorial, in house article

2. Commentary/public opinion/Letter to the Editor, Columnist

3. Headlines,

4. News story,

GROUP C. Tone of News

Codes: 1, 2, 3, 4

1-Positive

2- Negative

3- Mixed

4-Neutral

GROUP D. Category: Vision 20:2020 Parameters/Manifest Attributes

Codes: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

1.	Education	5.	infrastructure
2.	Health	6.	Macroeconomy
3.	Manufacturing	7.	Agriculture
4.	Polity	8.	General news on vision 20:2020

CODING SHEETS

Name of Newspaper: *Vanguard*. Year of Coverage: 2010. Total Number of Publication: 19

S/No	DATE	NEWS TITLE	SOURCE OF NEWS	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	Page No
1	01/07/2010	Commercialization of research findings will hasten realization of 20:2020-Bindir	1	1	4	1	25
2	01/20/2010	Vision 20:2020: Federal Government sets up implementation committee. As Aluko blames economic woes on leaders.	1	3	4	8	11
3	25/01/2010	Power crucial to vision 20:2020, says Babalola-Hinges 6,000 Mw failure on extraneous factors	1	1	4	5	6
4	17/02/2010	Over dependence on foreign software threatens vision 20:2020.	1	3	2	5	23-24
5	01/03/2010	How to achieve vision 20:2020, by CICMN boss	4	1	2	6	16
6	02/03/2010	How to realise Vision 20:2020, by NUC boss	3	1	4	1	24
7	16/03/2010	Optometrists tasked on vision 2020	4	1	4	2	41
8	31/03/2010	Using IT to achieve Vision 20:2020	1	1	4	5	31
9	Sunday business	Vision 20:2020 is realizable	1	1	4	8	Nil
10	10/5/2010	The Predictable failure of Vision 20:2020	2	2	2	8	NIL
11	01/06/2010	Chemistry would enhance Vision 20:2020-Expert	4	1	2	1	6
12	13/07/2010	Nigeria to utilize nuclear power by 2020-FG	1	1	4	5	25
13	16/08/2010	Vision 20:2020: FG requires N32trn	1	1	4	8	15
14	10/08/2010	Vision 20:2020: FG tasked on molecular biotechnology	1	1	4	1	32
15	19/08/2010	Vision 20:2020 will be elusive until we educate our people on ICT – Ilukwe	1	1	4	1	36
16	26/08/2010	FG earmarks N32.3trn for Vision 2020	1	1	4	8	8
17	09/06/2010	Vision 20:2020: ICT must drive the economy, says Olufuye	4	1	2	5	25/33
18	05/07/2010	MDG and 2020 Goals: Nigeria's hidden potential (1)	2	1	2	6	18
19	12/07/2010	MDG and 2020 Goals: Nigeria's hidden potential (2)	2	1	2	8	18

Name of Newspaper: *Vanguard*. Year of Coverage: 2011. Total Number of Publication: 13

S/N	DATE	NEWS TITLE	SOURCE OF STORY	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	02/03/2011	Sweden to partner Nigeria on vision 2020...as Atlas Copco introduces new product lines in Nigeria.	5	1	4	8	21
2	NIL	How Nigeria can achieve vision 20:2020 target- World Bank Director	5	1	4	1	NIL
3	22/03/2011	FG urged to involve youths in Vision 2020	4	1	4	1	7
4	24/03/2011	FG relies on PPP to fund N32trn Vision 20:2020 FIP	1	1	4	8	21
5	NIL	Corruption hindrance to Vision 20:2020	1	1	4	4	NIL
6	08/07/2011	MSMEs key to achieving vision 20:2020	4	1	2	6	21
7	21/07/2011	Fashola foresees faster economic growth by 2020	1	1	4	8	26
8	10/08/2011	Vision 20:2020: FG targets economic restructuring	1	1	4	6	22
9	20/09/2011	Auto sector vital to vision 2020 goal-BKG boss	3	1	2	3	37
10	4/12/2011	Vision 20:2020 is realizable if . . . –Yemi Kale, SG	1	1	4	8	39
11	08/12/2011	AES Excellence club to drive vision 2020- Ajagu	4	1	2	6	27
12	27/12/2011	NCDMB seeks $191bn spend retention by 2020	1	1	4	3	34
13	31/12/2011	I0D admits new members, advises on Vision 2020	1	1	4	1	49

Name of Newspaper: *Vanguard*. Year of Coverage: 2012. Total Number of Publication: 8

S/N	DATE	TITLE	SOURCE OF STORY	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	23/02/2012	Technical education critical to achieving Vision 20:2020	1	1	4	1	24
2	28/02/2012	Prioritise maternal, child nutrition to achieve MDGs, Presidency told	1	1	4	2	41
3	/05/2012	Nigeria Vision 2020 NIGERDOCK	1	1	4	5	NIL
4	18/05/2013	How to achieve vision 20:2020, by experts	4	1	2	1	9
5	21/06/2012	Vision 20:2020 must start with research and development	1	1	4	1	30
6	25/06/2012	Spreading northern violence: wither vision 20:2020?	2	2	2	8	22
7	05/07/2012	Forget Vision20:2020 without a healthy population- Samuel Okafor	2	1	2	2	37
8	19/07/2012	CSR: Unilever to touch one billion lives by 2020	2	1	2	2	22

Name of Newspaper: *The Nation*. Year of Coverage: 2010. Total Number of Publication: 11

S/N	DATE	TITLE OF STORY	SOURCE OF NEWS	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	17/02/2010	World Bank chief warns Nigeria on use of generators. Says it will affect Vision 2020	5	1	4	5	33
2	19/02/2010	Nigeria needs 15% GDP rate to attain Vision 2020, says ICAN	4	1	2	6	20
3	13/05/2010	President lists challenges before Vision 2020	1	1	4	4	4
4	24/05/2010	Vision 20:2020 document to help ministers achieve action plan	1	1	4	8	4
5	03/06/2010	Vision 2020: Experts urge Fed Govt to fix infrastructure	2	1	2	5	30
6	04/06/2010	Success of Vision 20:2020ndepends on vibrancy	2	1	2	6	20
7	08/06/2010	Vision 2020 may not be feasible, says Soludo	1	2	4	4	23
8	24/06/2010	Human Capacity development will make vision 2020 achievable	1	1	4	8	32
9	29/06/2010	Vision 20:2020 depends on attention to housing, says NIESV	4	1	2	5	32
10	27/12/2010	How auto industry can boost Vision 2020	3	1	2	3	43
11	28/12/2010	Housing vital to Vision 20:2020	4	1	2	5	28

Name of Newspaper: *The Nation*. Year of Coverage: 2011. Total Number of Publication: 4

S/N	DATE	TITLE OF STORY	SOURCE OF NEWS	TONE	TYPES OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	03/04/2011	Nigeria can still record vibrant economy	2	1	2	8	61
2	25/04/2011	ECOWAS launches Vision 2020 Committee	5	1	4	8	34
3	23/06/2011	Vision 20:2020 ITF set to establish 15 skills centres	1	1	4	5	16
4	21/08/2011	Experts hinge Vision 20:2020 on technology	2	1	2	5	60

Name of Newspaper: *The Nation*. Year of Coverage: 2012. Total Number of Publication: 2

S/N	DATE	TITLE OF STORY	SOURCE OF NEWS	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	18/09/2012	Nigeria suffers from lack of vision, national goals	2	1	2	8	85
2	25/10/2012	Vision 2020:'Govt should empower women in non-oil sector.	5	1	2	6	17

Name of Newspaper: *THISDAY*. Year of Coverage: 2010. Total Number of Publication: 13

S/NO	DATE	TITLE OF STORY	SOURCE OF NEWS	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	05/02/2010	LAMATA projects 15m commuters by 2020	1	1	4	5	30
2	21/02/2010	Vision 2020: Nigeria must generate 40,000mw of electricity, says Nnaji	1	1	4	5	4
3	17/05/2010	Non-oil Export'll Drive Vision 2020	2	1	2	6	15

4	19/05/2010	Maths, Key to Vision 2020 Attainment	2	1	2	1	48
5	24/05/2010	Power: Nigeria Targets 35,000mw by 2020	1	1	4	5	8
6	15/06/2010	Shamsuddeen: FG Needs N32trn for Vision 2020	1	1	4	8	4
7	18/06/2010	Vision 2020: Jonathan Unveils 4-Year Implementation Plan	1	1	4	8	6
8	22/06/2010	Jonathan Restates Commitment to Vision 202020	1	1	4	8	30
9	13/07/2010	2020: Nigeria Requires 2,000mw Per Annum	1	1	4	5	6
10	19/07/2010	Vision 2020: Nigeria Needs N43tr, Says CMD Chief	1	1	4	8	10
11	27/07/2010	Industrial Peace Imperative for Attainment of Vision 2020	1	1	4	4	41
12	14/11/2010	Jonathan: Nigeria to surmount Vision 20:20:20 Obstacles	1	1	4	8	6
13	25/11/2010	20,000mw of Electricity Underway in 2020	1	1	4	5	6

Name of Newspaper: *THISDAY*. Year of Coverage: 2011. Total Number of Publication: 11

S/NO	DATE	TITLE OF STORY	SOURCE OF NEWS	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	22/02/2011	A New & Effective Approach to Housing Nigerians (VI). Implementing the Housing Vision 20:2020 report	4	1	2	5	48
2	17/03/2011	Science and Technology as Key to Vision 20:2020	1	1	4	3	38
3	12/04/2011	Vision 2020: Quantity Surveyors Task FG	4	1	2	5	45
4	25/04/2011	Vision 20:2020: NPC Appoints Marketing Communications Partner	1	1	4	8	37
5	09/07/2011	Vision 20:2020- Wrong Diagnosis! Flawed Prescriptions!!	2	2	2	8	69
6	30/07/2011	Nigerian Workers Says Vision 2020 without Electricity is a failure	4	3	1	5	13
7	31/07/2011	Vision 2020 and Infrastructure Challenge	2	1	2	5	22
8	01/09/2011	Sustaining National Development with Adequate Security	6	1	1	4	36
9	08/12/2011	FG Develops Blueprint for Vision 20:2020	1	1	4	8	29
10	12/12/2011	Engineers Hinge Vision 20:2020 Success on Infrastructure	4	1	2	5	29
11	12/12/2011	DMO Targets $2.770bn Debt Servicing by 2020	1	1	4	6	29

Name of Newspaper: *THISDAY*. Year of Coverage: 2012. Total Number of Publication: 2

S/NO	DATE	TITLE OF STORY	SOURCE OF NEWS	TONE	TYPE OF NEWS	MANIFEST ATTRIBUTE	PAGE NO
1	26/01/2012	Nigeria'll Achieve Vision 20:2020 with Cash-lite, Says UBA	3	1	1	6	29
2	11/04/2012	Strengthening Nigerian Economy for Africa's Benefit	6	1	1	6	21

Name of Newspaper: *The Punch*.   Year of Coverage: 2010.   Total Number of Publication:

S/NO	DATE	Title of story	Source of News	Tone	Type of News	Manifest Attribute	Page No
1	02/02/2010	2020: Expert harps on improved audit standards	2	1	2	6	28
2	25/02/2010	Vision 2020: Rilwan speaks on oil industry's role	5	1	4	3	21
3	08/03/2010	Vision 2020 realistic- Minister	1	1	4	8	17
4	17/03/2010	CMD boss assures on proper interpretation of Vision 2020 document	1	1	4	1	33
5	13/04/2010	Vision 2020, a mirage without developed non-oil export industry-Expert	3	3	2	7	28
6	13/05/2010	Vision 2020 can't succeed without electoral reform –Jonathan	1	1	4	3	9
7	19/05/2010	We shall attain Vision 2020 goal-Jonathan	1	1	4	8	17
8	02/06/2010	Infrastructure: 'Nigeria needs N77.4tn to actualise Vision 2020'	3	1	4	5	15
9	20/06/2010	Vision 20:2020: FG to give priority to infrastructural development	1	1	4	5	60
10	25/06/2010	Can Nigeria achieve Vision 2020?	2	1	2	8	12
11	20/07/2010	Vision 2020: FG begins certification of manpower centres	1	1	4	1	17
12	06/08/2010	Vision 2020: First Implementation Plan to cost N32tn	1	1	4	8	15
13	24/08/2010	Nigeria needs N32tn to implement Vision 2020-FG	1	1	4	8	15
14	26/08/2010	Nigeria: Joining advanced countries in 2020 achievable	2	1	2	8	12
15	14/09/2010	…N31 tn needed to achieve Vision 2020	1	1	4	8	17
16	14/09/2010	Vision 2020: Ndukwe urges FG to grow Nigeria's teledensity	2	1	2	5	23
17	19/09/2010	Vision 2020: NIM tasks FG with economic diversification	4	1	4	1	34
18	28/09/2010	Nigeria must spend N32tn to realise Vision 2020	1	1	4	8	17
19	29/09/2010	Vision 2020; Nigeria to inaugurate Africa's first knowledge highway	1	1	4	1	17
20	03/10/2010	Vision 2020: SME Secretariat seeks partnership with CBN	3	1	2	6	60
21	10/10/2010	Vision 2020: OPS to invest N13trn in 4 years	1	1	4	8	60
22	12/10/2010	Vision 2020 will fail if . . . NEDDI boss	1	3	4	3	17
23	17/10/2010	Security challenge and the way forward	2	1	2	4	14
24	28/10/2010	Nigeria: The ruling class, challenges of development and electoral reforms	2	4	2	8	n.d
25	29/10/2010	Science and technology critical to Vision 20:2020-NACETEM boss	1	1	4	1	40
26	31/10/2010	Vision 2020: CIPMN tasks FG over human capital development	4	1	2	1	60
27	21/11/2010	Vision 2020: Nigeria must resolve electricity crisis-Expert	3	1	4	5	60
28	28/11/2010	Vision 2020: FG to give priority to development of vocational skills	1	1	4	1	60
29	28/11/2010	Vision 2020: AfDB hinges Nigeria's success on fiscal discipline	5	1	4	6	27
	19/12/2010	Vision 2020: Nigeria needs N15 trn to finance mass housing policy	1	1	4	5	60

Appendix B
Participant Consent Form

NAME OF PARTICIPANT:

Title of the project: An Assessment of the Impact of Mass Media on the
                                         Implementation of Nigeria's Vision 20:2020

Main investigator and contact details: Joan Tirwyn Fajemisin

Members of the research team: Dr. Joss Hands, Dr. Shaun Le Boutillier, Dr. Sean Campbell

1.   I agree to take part in the above research. I have read the Participant Information Sheet which is
      attached to this form. I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been
      answered to my satisfaction.

2.   I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without
      prejudice.

3.   I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded.

4.   I am free to ask any questions at any time before and during the study.

5.   I have been provided with a copy of this form and the Participant Information Sheet.

Data Protection: I agree to the University[1] processing personal data which I have supplied. I agree to the
processing of such data for any purposes connected with the Research Project as outlined to me*

***Note to researchers: please amend or add to this clause as necessary to ensure that it conforms with the relevant
data protection legislation in your country**

Name of participant (print)……………………Signed………………..…..Date………………

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS FORM TO KEEP

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please complete the form below and return to the main investigator
named above.

Title of Project:
I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY

Signed: _____   Date: _____

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[1] "The University" includes Anglia Ruskin University and its partner colleges

QUESTIONNAIRE

PARTICIPANTS: NIGERIAN JOURNALISTS

Dear Respondent,

Thank you for consenting to participant in this research. The details of the research are contained in the Participant Consent Form attached to this questionnaire. In section A of the questionnaire, you are to tick the answer that best describes your biodata from the options given while you are expected to provide answers to all the questions in Section B. Be assured that the confidentiality of the information you provide will be safeguarded and used strictly for the purpose of this research.

Thank you.

SECTION A: BIODATA

1. What is your gender?
    a. Female   [   ]
    b. Male   [   ]
2. What is your age bracket?
    a. 20-29   [   ]
    b. 30-39   [   ]
    c. 40-49   [   ]
    d. 50-59   [   ]
    e. 60 and above   [   ]
3. What is your educational qualification?
    a. NCE/OND/HND   [   ]
    b. Bachelor's Degree   [   ]
    c. Master's Degree   [   ]
    d. PhD or Postdoctorate [   ]
    e. Others, specify   [   ]
4. What type of media organization do you work for?
    a. Print   [   ]
    b. Broadcast   [   ]
    c. News Agency   [   ]
5. Which of these beats do you cover?
    a. Education   [   ]   e. Polity   [   ]
    b. Agriculture [   ]   f. Infrastructure   [   ]
    c. Manufacturing [   ]   g. National Planning [   ]
    d. Macroeconomy [   ]   h. Education   [   ]

QUESTIONNAIRE: SECTION B

Q1. What is your view on Vision 20:2020? /Transformation Agenda?

Q2. Are you aware of any pact between the National Planning Commision (Vision 20:2020 office) and the Nigerian media on the implementation of the plan?

Q3. How often do you cover news/press releases on the Vision/Agenda?

Q4. Are you aware of the present stage of the implementation of the Vision/Agenda?

Q5. How easy is it for you to access such information? Have you ever been denied information on the Vision/Agenda by NPC or any related government agency?

Q6. Are you aware of any occasion in which a journalist is denied access to relevant information or unable to report freely on the Vision/Agenda?

-
Q7. Have you been able to freely cover the activities of the Vision/Agenda?

Q8. Is your organization in any way encouraged to publicise the Vision/Agenda?

Q9. How important is public opinion in the actualization of the Vision/Agenda?

Q11. How often do you receive comments and feedbacks on the issue(s) from the public?

Q12. Has public opinion impacted on your approach to coverage of the Vision/Agenda?

Q13. Do you feel the Nigerian media is contributing to national debate on the issue?

Q14. Do you think your organization is contributing to national debate on the issue?

Q15. Do you think your media outfit could have done something different in contributing to the vision/Agenda and in what way?

Q16. What do you reckon on the feasibility of the Vision/Agenda?

Q17. What do you make of Nigeria's democracy, free press and free public sphere?

OPERATIONALISATION OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ON VISION 20:2020

The following are examples of how the newspaper articles were operationalized to justify the variables used:

1.Name of Newspaper: **_The Nation_**

Date of Publication: **Wednesday August 3, 2011**

Title of Story: **Youths Ready for Vision 20:2020**

Students in Free Enterprise (SIFE), a non-governmental organization (NGO) has put in place a platform to enable the youths contribute towards the attainment of the Vision 20:2020. Country Director, SIFE Nigeria, Adesuwa Ifedi, who spoke at the 2011 SIFE National Competition for undergraduate in Lagos said the event will showcase the efforts made by students to transform the society.

Below is how the story was operationalised:

a.	Tone of News:	Positive
b.	Type of News:	News Story
c.	Source of News:	NGO
d.	Vision 20:2020 parametre:	Education

2. **Name of Newspaper:** **_The Punch_**

   Date of Publication: **Monday, December 17, 2012**

   Title of Story: **Vision 2020: How close to the vision? (2)**

Nigeria is faced with huge infrastructural deficits in virtually all sectors that are necessary for enhancing economic growth, job creation and human capital development. From the poor quality of roads, railways, water ways and seaports, airports and aviation terminals, inadequate power generation, transmission and distribution, schools with no books and laboratories, the nation is in dire need of massive infusion of infrastructure. Beyond building new infrastructure, the culture of ensuring that what is available is not allowed to rot has yet to develop. To meet this and other challenges facing the nation, Vision 2020 and its first national implementation plan 2010-2013, had projected an investment profile of N32tn between 2010 and 2013. The Federal Government was expected to invest N10tn, with states and local governments putting in N9tn while N13tn is expected to come from the private sector.

But as things stand today, all stakeholders are missing their mark in terms of coming up with the expected funding. Thus, a huge funding gap exists between projections and the actual funds available for project implementation…But there is another troubling dimension to this. It is the perennial poor capital budget implementation capacity…The implication of the foregoing is that most capital projects suffer cost and time overruns. It has therefore become imperative for the National Assembly to take pre-emptive steps to forestall this deliberate victimization of the people by the Executives…The question may be asked: If an MDA could not utilise its smaller vote in 2012, how will it be able to utilise a larger vote in 2013?

a.	Tone of News:	Neutral
b.	Type of News:	Public Opinion/Column
c.	Source of News:	Private Individual/Private Organization
d.	Vision 20:2020 parametre:	General News on Vision 20:2020

3. **Name o Newspaper:** **_The Punch_**
   Date of Publication: **Wednesday, October 24, 2012**
   Title of Story: **Govt must Nurture Entrepreneurial Skills for Vision 2020-Addedipe**

Dr. Biodun Adedipe is a renowned Economist and chief Consultant, B Adedipe and Associates. He says Vision 2020 is achievable only if the government implements the right policies. He spoke to Okechukwu NNODIM

Why do you say Vision 2020 is achievable despite Nigeria's present challenges?

To many, this might seem a tall order, whereas to me, it is a possibility. The key to this possibility is to do certain things right and develop a sense of urgency. This obviously demands commitment from both the governments (Federal, State and Local) and the manufacturers who are basically private sector entities. It is important also to understand that industry must be given its expected position. Industry, in this context is manufacturing.

Tone of News:	Positive
Type of News:	Public Opinion/Column/Interview
Source of News:	Private Individual/Private Organization
Vision 20:2020 parametre:	Manufacturing

4.**Name of Newspaper:**   **The Punch**
  Date of Publication: **Wednesday, October 26, 2011**
  Title of Story: **ITF Committed to Vision 2020 targets-DG**

The Director-General, Industrial Training Fund, Prof. Longmas Wapmuk, has reiterated the commitment of the Fund to the achievement of the vision 2020 development blueprint of the Federal Government in line with acceptable global standards. He said ITF would ensure the continuity of local and overseas vocational trainings for the unemployed in collaboration with international skill acquisition and development centres... Wapmuk noted that ITF would in no way abandon its mandate of providing vocational training that would drive national development.

Tone of News:	Positive
Type of News:	New story
Source of News:	Government/Government organization
Vision 20:2020 parametre:	Education

5.   **Name of Newspaper:**   **The Punch**
    Date of Publication: **Thursday, August 11, 2011**
    Title of Story: **Vision 2020 not realisable – Fafowora**

A diplomat, Ambassador Oladapo Fafowora, has lamented the lack of focus in making Nigeria one of the 20 most industrialised nations by 2020... He said 'the vision 2020 would be a mirage because we have failed to do those things we must do. We have failed to put in place infrastructure that will attract foreign investment... Fafowora lamented that the vision had been enmeshed in politics with the result that government lacks the political will to put in place realisable policies.

a.	Tone of News:	Negative
b.	Type of News:	News story
c.	Source of News:	Government official/Government organization
d.	Vision 20:2020 parametre:	General news on Vision 20:2020