

**AUDIENCE PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF NTA IN PROMOTING
PRESIDENT BUHARI'S POLICIES: A STUDY OF BENIN CITY
RESIDENTS**

BY

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**DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION, AUCHI
POLYTECHNIC, AUCHI**

NOVEMBER, 2022

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ICT/2132060043**

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THE AWARD OF HIGHER NATIONAL DIPLOMA (HND)
IN MASS COMMUNICATION**

NOVEMBER, 2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this study entitled “**Audience Perception of the Role of NTA in Promoting President Buhari’s policies: A study of Benin City Residents**” was written by me and that it is the record of my own research. To the best of my knowledge, it has not been presented in any previous application for an academic award. All sources of information have been acknowledged using references.

Jennifer Etokhana

Date

APPROVAL

This project is approved based on the student's declaration and its compliance with the requirements of the Department of Mass Communication, Auchu Polytechnic, Auchu, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Higher National Diploma (HND) in Mass Communication.

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Abstract

Every government success is tied to the nature of media coverage. Since Nigeria is a multi-ethnic society, it becomes pertinent for the media to be more responsible to their reportage and also be free from control. However, that's the idea behind the Nigeria media industry, the reality has become a total opposite of the expectations. The research objectives are to ascertain the direction of NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office, to determine the effectiveness of NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari's policies and to evaluate audience perception of NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies. This project is anchored on social responsibility theory. The researcher adopted survey design for the study. The population of the study was one thousand six hundred (1600) residents of Benin City. A sample of the population was used. The researcher used both the primary and secondary sources of data in the course of the study. The primary data were collected through the instrument of questionnaire and observation. The secondary data were collected from text books, journals, magazine, newspapers, and others. The research finding revealed that that NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office and it also established that the people of Benin metropolis believe in the policies of Buhari through the influence of NTA station. The researcher recommended among others that NTA and every other media station should be independent from control and influence; hence they should serve the society and promote truth at every given time. Policies that will improve the standard of the people should be covered rather than covering irrelevant policies base on party loyalty and affiliations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

In order to live together and co-operate as a society, man discovered the need for communication hence he devised several means ranging from the use of gongs, drums, fire, signs, smoke etc. these are old means of communication as these signs would not reach a greater number of people. Man noted that information passed does not get to a larger region, the information is within where it was passed and those living outside his community does not get to know of what is happening in his environment, he devised another method whereby information and messages would reach a people that is heterogeneous. This method was the mass media which comprise of the print and electronic media. These two media are the brain child of modern technology (Udejah, 2004).

The media especially the electronic media collectively acts to provide audiences with their “windows on the world” Implicit of this claim is the idea that the media act as powerful agencies that are capable of shaping and directing public and private understanding of the world and awareness of its political affairs. Providing these explanations of events that occur in the environment, the media do not simply and neutrally provide information but also actively encourage us to see and understand it in particular ways and certain terms. That is why in the political sector, journalists/ reporters attempts to educate and persuade the public by directing attention to the need for full participation by citizens in the political process of the nation.

Succinctly put, television today has become essential to modern politics and government policies which have helped to reinforce the disclosure of huge policy contributions to all political parties and actors. As large as Nigeria is, her government policies have been projected without

critical view. It has been an attempt of trial in errors (Oboh, 2008). To each government that comes into leadership, there has been one issue or another.

Nigeria is a blessed country. With a current estimated population of 184,234,806 inhabitants (National Population Commission, 2018), Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa and the eleventh in the world. Many of her citizens, engage in business and the professions, are amongst the best in the world. She has a vast mass of fertile land used for agriculture which, according to the Vision 2010 Report (1997, p. iv), “offers employment to over 65 percent of the working population, and accounts for over 70 percent of non-oil exports....” Natural calamities such as earthquakes, thunderstorms, floods, monsoons and heat waves, which are common occurrences in some nations of the world, are not major experiences in the country. To crown it all, Nigeria is the sixth highest petroleum-producing country in the world with 37.45 billion barrels of proven crude oil reserves, 5.48 trillion cubic metres of proven natural gas reserves, 1.43 million barrels of crude oil production per day, 42.56 trillion cubic metres of marketed production of natural gas, 1.74 barrels of crude oil exports per day, and 25.15 billion cubic metres of natural gas exports (OPEC, 2017). Considering all these human and natural wealth of the country, one would be tempted to say of Nigeria as John Smith said of America in 1607, “Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man’s habitation” (Cincotta: 1996, p.6).

Unfortunately, while such countries as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and even the recent additional African countries – Equatorial Guinea and Gabon, which are similarly endowed with oil and gas, have used these resources prudentially for the development of their people, infrastructure and economy, the story is not the same in Nigeria. Here, instead of being a blessing, her wealth has become a curse to the people. Instead of development, her

citizens see deprivation, depression, dissatisfaction and disillusionment. The country's infrastructure in the educational, health, transportation, sports, agricultural, security and other sectors are in despicable state of disrepair and begging loudly for attention. Some of the citizens, especially the professionals, have abandoned their country in search of "greener pastures" in foreign lands, while some youths, who belong to the productive sector of the economy, have been forced into such unwholesome and dangerous pastimes as terrorism, cultism, militancy, armed robbery, kidnapping and other forms of violent criminal activities, largely because of the prevalent high rate of unemployment. The economy has been in tatters, resulting in a deep recession, heavy national domestic and foreign debts, low GDP, high inflation, weak currency, unfavourable balance of payment index, and completely dislocated macro and micro-economic environment. The World Bank Group in 2017 has also included these on the list of her woes: insufficient infrastructure, weak and ineffective institutions, challenges of governance, public financial management systems and human development, high living conditions and poverty levels of the population, growing inequality of income and opportunities, widened North-South divide, regional inequality, lack of job opportunities, and political unrest.

Past administrations in the country had attempted to nip the menace of corruption in the bud but their efforts had yielded very little or no reprieve. So was the ugly situation that in May 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari, as part of his administration's ten-point agenda, vowed to fight against the "pervasive corruption" which had crippled human and infrastructure development in the country for decades.

Muhammadu Buhari is the fourth president of the fourth Nigerian Republic. Buhari assumed the office of the presidency at one of the most difficult times in Nigeria's history. One key challenge facing the Nigerian state, when General Buhari assumed the presidency in May

2015, was the violence and instability that had plagued northern Nigeria as a result of the activities of the Islamic militant group Boko Haram. However, while the attention of the international media and western powers has been largely focused on the militancy of Boko Haram in northern Nigeria (especially in relation to the Chibok girls who were kidnapped by Boko Haram), the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, sandwiched between northern and southern Nigeria, has also been suffering from a devastating conflict that has a religious dimension.

Nigerians and the international community had high hopes when Buhari was sworn in as president. A peaceful transition of power from an incumbent president to an elected candidate from an opposition party was something unprecedented in Nigeria's history. Buhari's presidency was thus heralded as an event that could usher in a new era in Nigeria's history. The failure of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration to defeat Boko Haram in northern Nigeria and to bring an end to the violent ethnic and religious conflicts in the rest of Nigeria, in the south east and the Middle Belt, had frustrated many Nigerians. Many hoped that the military background of Muhammadu Buhari, who is a former general, would give him an advantage in leading a more successful fight against Islamic militant groups wreaking havoc in central and northern Nigeria. Muhammadu Buhari's image as a tough disciplinarian, who is relatively untarnished by the pervasive corruption among the political elites of Nigeria, also reinforced this hope. On top of his military background, Buhari had served as a military head of state from 31 December 1983 to 27 August 1985 after leading a coup d'état. Some felt that this experience as a head of state would also be useful when he takes up the helm as a democratically elected president. Although many were optimistic about the incoming administration of President Buhari, there were also many others who were uneasy about his rise to power. Some were apprehensive because of his autocratic past (i.e. his takeover of power in the early 1980's through a coup d'état) which led

them to be suspicious as to his commitment to democratic norms and ideals. Others were fearful because of accusations that he holds radical Islamic views and that his administration would undermine the freedom of religion of Christians in Nigeria and attempt to Islamize Nigeria.

Pertinently, this is the second term and it is now almost five years since President Muhammadu Buhari was sworn into office. Therefore, it should be possible to evaluate his performance in terms of his policies in office to date and see if his administration has lived up to the hopes and expectations of those who had optimistic views about his presidency or whether the fears of those who were apprehensive about his rule are coming true.

For the war against corruption to be successfully fought and won, information is required, and this is provided by communication channels, especially the mass media. Nigeria has quite a large number of these – television stations, radio stations, newspaper and magazine titles as well as the various news blogs and online publications. Since the interplay of the issue demands investigative journalism, the television medium has not only shown in its reportage the level of interest it attaches to the anti-corruption campaign, but the various television stations seem to stand in support of the public interest, and are deeply involved in the campaign. To ascertain how cogent this assumption is, Edo Broadcasting Service (NTA) station was chosen for this study. The aim is to investigate audience perception of NTA role in promoting the policies of Buhari administration.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The issue of media projection of government policies especially in the television media has always been a subject of considerable controversy in Nigeria. This issue is worsened by the diversity in culture and other social values among Nigerians. This obviously is the reason why the struggle to control of the media as a means of gaining political power has remained an issue

in Nigerian political development. Political broadcasting tended to tilt in favour of the government of the day, however, with the 1992 deregulation of the industry, the trend changed, particularly with the nation's return to democracy in 1999. This is obviously why many Nigerian broadcasting stations go all out to satisfy the interest of their owners as it concerns politics and policies. This has produced missed feelings in the acceptance of media coverage by Nigeria media especially the government owned mediums.

On the other hand, the issues associated with the government of Buhari. One of the accusations that dogged President Buhari during the campaign leading up to the presidential election was the allegation that he would "islamize" Nigeria if elected president. This accusation created fear for some Nigerians in the predominantly Christian southern part of Nigeria. As a presidential candidate, Buhari had tried to ally such fears among Christian Nigerians by making pronouncements about his intention to be impartial in religious matters and by picking as his running mate a law professor and a pastor of a local Christian church. As a candidate, General Buhari also met with various Christian leaders to assure them that if elected president, he would not show any favoritism to a particular religion and that he would serve both Christian and Muslim Nigerians equally. Given that President Buhari has now been in office for over five years, it is possible to evaluate whether he has kept the promise that his presidency would not be used to advance the agenda of any particular religious group.

The track record of President Buhari's administration reveals a complicated picture. There have been some minor controversies that have flared up and fed the fears that President Buhari has an agenda or a plan to subtly and slowly islamize Nigeria and destabilize the country's economy. While the president could be given the benefit of the doubt and some of the controversies could be explained away, other controversies seem to justify the unease of

observers. For instance, a statement by President Buhari to Saudi Arabia has led a prominent politician in the opposition political party and a governor of Ekiti, one of the southern states of Nigeria, to claim: “They have started subtle moves to make Nigeria an Islamic nation.” Also, the recent embargo statement by President Donald Trump of United States of America (USA) on the ban of travel to the US is also a minus on the government of Buhari. The policy directives of the immediate inclusion of two Islamic books to the federal secondary school curriculum and other policies have raised eyebrows in the Nigeria scene. However, in the wake of these controversial policies and the campaign process he made during election, the media have played a role in informing, education and persuading the masses to either accept or reject these policies, most especially the hate speech campaign. It is against this backdrop that this study aims at understanding the role of the mass media in the coverage of President Muhammadu Buhari’s administration and policies. Since the media has been accused of taking a stand in promoting the interest of the owners or the government in power rather than public interest, it becomes important to understand NTA stand in promoting Buhari’s administration. Pertinently, the study will ascertain the audience perception on television coverage of Buhari’s promises and policies, the state of the nation and the impact of this coverage on Nigeria development.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To ascertain the direction of NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office.
2. To determine the effectiveness of NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies.
3. To evaluate audience perception of NTA station coverage of President Buhari’s policies

4. To determine if this perception has influenced on audience general perception of the performance of the Buhari administration.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the direction of NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office?
2. How effective is NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari's policies?
3. What is the audience perception of NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies?
4. Does the perception has influenced on audience general perception of the performance of the Buhari administration?

1.5 Scope of the Study

It will be difficult, attempting to study the whole of Edo state as it relates to the audience perception of NTA coverage of President Buhari campaign promises and policies. This is so because apart from the fact that it will be too expensive to embark on such a research, the difficult to measure the large number of people that will be involved poses another serious challenge. In view of the, this study would therefore be limited to the survey of the perception of residents of Benin City, Edo state.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will be of great significance to the following people and in the following ways.

- The result of the study will be useful to media organizations in that its data and findings could help in evolving a framework for them to adopt more effective framing methods of government policies to achieve positive audience perception.

- The study will provide reliable feedback data on audience view of NTA coverage of Buhari's policies and also provide its strengths and weakness which will serve as a tool for improvement in the media outfit.
- It will serve as a data base for Mass communication researchers and scholars who may be embarking on similar research in the future.
- It will also avail political actors and players more and better information on the role of the media in policy promotion.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Having understood the fact that this research adopted the both survey and exploratory research method, it became a constraint to gather enough information due to time and workload. Combining class activities and this research was herculean.

Fund was also a challenge to the conduct of this research as some information needed required money which was unavailable at the cause of carrying out this research.

1.8 Definition of Terms

A clear understanding of major concepts in any study goes a long way in illuminating the reader views by engendering better comprehension.

Audience:

A group of people who listen and watch television content/ programme and they are consistently exposed to the everyday content of television. They are actively connected to the station.

Perception:

This is the attitude and view of a newspaper reader. It is the way the reader thinks about or understands the news report of the day's publication about a topic. Specifically, it this the

level of acceptance of such idea which the publication of the day is trying to sell to the reader about something.

Coverage:

Coverage is the activity of reporting about an event or subject in newspaper publication. It is the consistency of reporting an event and the manner in which the event is reported to the masses.

Policy:

A policy is a prudence or wisdom in the management of affairs. It is also seen as a definite directive or course/ method of action selected from among alternative and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions.

NTA: Edo Broadcasting Service is solely owned by the state Government and it is a parastatal under the Ministry of Information. Its Radio and television stations are received state wide and beyond. The service has two sub stations or booster stations at Ivue-Uromi and Ihievba near Afuze.

Television:

Television is an electronic system of transmitting transient images of fixed or moving objects together with sound over a wire or through space by apparatus that converts light and sound into electronic waves and reconverts them into visible light rays and audible sound.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Preamble

As human nature goes, we tend to learn certain things that both interest us and have some personal significance. The review of literature to this study in relation to the topic; Audience perception of the role of NTA in promoting president Buhari's policies: A study of Benin City residents, aims to bring understanding of how important the media play a role in the society in every area especially its political functions. The unique nature of the audience using the media in its coverage of electoral matters attracted the attention of many authors in the past and present and the importance of media guidelines in electoral coverage. It is on this basis that the researcher would like to use this chapter to review the works of many individual scholars who have also contributed to the significance of the media in the society. The review is however preceded by a clarification of some of the key concepts of the study.

2.1 Conceptual framework

The Concept of Policy

A policy is a prudence or wisdom in the management of affairs. It is also seen as a definite directive or course/ method of action selected from among alternative and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions.

Policy is a deliberate system of principles to guide decisions and achieve rational outcomes. A policy is a statement of intent, and is implemented as a procedure or protocol. Policies are generally adopted by a governance body within an organization. Policies can assist in both subjective and objective decision making. Policies used in subjective decision making usually assist senior management with decisions that must be based on the relative merits of a

number of factors, and as a result are often hard to test objectively, e.g. work–life balance policy. In contrast, policies to assist in objective decision making are usually operational in nature and can be objectively tested, e.g., password policy.

The term may apply to government, public sector organizations and groups, as well as individuals, Presidential executive orders, corporate privacy policies, and parliamentary rules of order are all examples of policy. Policy differs from rules or law. While law can compel or prohibit behaviors (e.g. a law requiring the payment of taxes on income), policy merely guides actions toward those that are most likely to achieve a desired outcome.

Policy or policy study may also refer to the process of making important organizational decisions, including the identification of different alternatives such as programs or spending priorities, and choosing among them on the basis of the impact they will have. Policies can be understood as political, managerial, financial, and administrative mechanisms arranged to reach explicit goals. In public corporate finance, a critical accounting policy is a policy for a firm/company or an industry that is considered to have a notably high subjective element, and that has a material impact on the financial statements.

The Concept of Media Audience

Mass media audience are group of people who listen and watch television content/ programme and they are consistently exposed to the everyday content of television. They are actively connected to the station. In media studies, the audience is any group of people who receive a media text, and not just people who are together in the same place. They receive the text via a media carrier such as a newspaper or magazine, television, DVD, radio or the internet. It can also be a mobile phone, iPod or any other device that stores or receives media messages.

‘Audience’ is a key concept throughout media studies, because all media texts are produced with an audience in mind - that is to say a group of people who will receive the text and make some sort of sense out of it. Audience is part of the media equation – a product is produced and an audience receives it.

Throughout the world, though especially in industrialized countries, people routinely spend a huge amount of time with different forms of media, often more time than they spend at work or school or in face-to-face communication. Within a single generation, homes have become media-rich, with multiple televisions, radios, games machines, computers, music systems and telephones, these typically shifting from household possessions to personal possessions, accompanying us wherever we go. In our everyday engagement with friends and family, with the community, the political system, the nation and beyond, we draw upon, and we increasingly rely upon, a never-ending flood of images, ideas and information about worlds distant in space or time and about the world close to home.

Imagine our homes without screens, our daily routines without television, our work without the internet, our friendships without shared music interests, and it is obvious how much we are all part of media audiences. Yet the commonsense view of the audience is ambivalent. Although most people consider it desirable in practice to be part of the audience – believing that citizens ‘should’ watch the news, that it’s wrong to ‘deprive’ a child of television, that someone is ‘weird’ if they don’t follow the music scene, at the same time, people are reluctant to acknowledge the implications of this ‘media-dependency’ for domestic practices, social relationships, political participation, for their (our) very identity. Ever since the media first made ‘mass’ communication possible, a dominant strand of popular – and academic – thinking about audiences, the very idea of the audience even, has been pejorative. Audiences are seen as

mindless, ignorant, indiscriminating, defenseless, naïve, and so as manipulated or exploited by the mass media. Although we, and our children, it may be proclaimed, are discerning, sensible, critical members of the audience –other people and, especially, other people’s children in the audience give cause for concern.

2.2 Overview of Broadcasting in Nigeria

In Nigeria, broadcasting as it is today was the handiwork of the British colonial powers who established a radio relay station in conjunction with overseas Rediffusion company in 1932 (Adeseye&Ibagere: 1999: 101). Whatever their motif was for the establishment of the relay transmission station in Nigeria, the fact remains that this was the beginning of Nigeria’s Journey into the broadcasting sphere. Udejah,(2004 p.9) noted that broadcast distribution continued in Nigeria until 1951 when wireless broadcasting was introduced and the Nigerian Broadcasting Service was born. The history of television broadcasting in Nigeria was a remarkable one as Nigeria to have pioneered television broadcasting in Africa in 1959. This ultimately makes Nigeria a major player in the broadcasting in Africa cum the world.

In 1959, the regional government of Western Nigeria established the first television station in Nigeria and in Africa. The regional governments of Eastern and Northern Nigeria and the Federal Government in Lagos followed and started their own Television stations in the early 1960s. More stations were to be established in 1973 when the military government decided to split the country into 19 states. The concurrent oil boom, and the effectiveness and importance of existing Television broadcasting led to a new surge of state-owned television stations. Three years later, the military government established the National Television Authority (NTA) to coordinate nationwide coverage. The NTA then acquired existing television stations. This event slowed the growth of Television broadcasting until 1979 when the military government rule

ended. The five political parties vying for election in the states revoked the NTA charter and a proliferation of TV stations occurred. This also happened because the civilian administration was disorganized. (Adeseye and Ibagere, 1999).

Although an exclusive of the government, Nigeria continued on the path of broadcasting excellence until 1992, through decree 38 as amended by Decree 55 of 1999 established the National Broadcasting Commission with the responsibility of regulating and deregulating the broadcasting industry in Nigeria (Udeajah, 2004 p.14). The establishment of the National Broadcasting Commission gave birth to private broadcasting stations. These broadcast stations came as change mechanisms to the broadcasting industry in Nigeria as they have been able to bring tremendous changes to the broadcasting landscape of Nigeria. The digitization of the broadcasting equipment has mostly been the exclusives of the private broadcasting concerns and against the government owned stations which still operate in mostly obsolete and analogue equipment. Private stations like *Silverbird Television* and *Africa Independent Television (AIT)* were among the first to embrace media convergence by taking their broadcasting to the internet for the rest of the world to see. Today, Radio Nigeria now has a live broadcast of all her programmes on the internet for the whole world to log on and listen. One would say that this could not have been possible if not for the deregulation of the industry and the need to compete favourably with their counterparts' world over.

However, the Nigerian broadcasting industry in recent years received a boost with the introduction of new media devices into the country. Notable among these is the mobile phone which now serves numerous purposes from call making and receiving to sending of text messages as well as receiving and sending of multimedia messages which also includes broadcasting contents such as news. Many of them have the capability of carrying live

broadcasts, such that even when there is no GSM network, one can still use them to receive broadcast from the nearest radio or television station.

2.21 Background of the Case Study: Edo Broadcasting Service

Edo Broadcasting Service has a rich and long history that could be traced way back to 1965 when the Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation was established in the then mid-West Region of Nigeria. So the NBC can be said to be the fore runner of what is today known as Edo Broadcasting Service.

The NBC at that time was established to meet the Information and enlightenment needs of the people of the mid-western region. In January 1978, NBC became known as FRCN. However, in September of 1978, the FRCN gave way to what became known as Radio Bendel when the then Federal Military Government enunciated a policy of handing over its NBC station in the states of the state governments.

The station then adopted the name Radio Bendel to reflect the defunct Bendel state. In 1980, a Television arm was added to complement what used to be known as Radio Bendel. This was made possible by the pioneering leadership of the then Governor of Bendel State, Prof. Ambrose Alli of blessed memory.

As far back as 1980, the Government had designated a parcel of land measuring several hectares of land at the present-day Corporate Headquarters of the service at Aduwawa with the vision of building a broadcasting complex that will house Television, Radio and support facilities including accommodation and guest houses for staff.

Actual test transmission started in the early days of November 1980; the governor had the singular honour making his maiden broadcast on Bendel Television in the then Bendel state. The Edict No 11, 1986 empowered the name Bendel Broadcasting Service.

In 1990 and with the creation of new states in the Federation, Edo and Delta state were carved out of the now defunct Bendel state. As a result of this Edo and Delta state had ownership of the Broadcasting Corporation and was so designed until the establishment of Delta Broadcasting Service later in Asaba. This left Edo state with sole ownership of the then Bendel Broadcasting Service which is today known as Edo Broadcasting Service.

Today, Edo Broadcasting Service is solely owned by the state Government and it is a parastatal under the Ministry of Information. Its Radio and television stations are received state wide and beyond. The service has two sub stations or booster stations at Ivue-Uromi and Ihievba near Afuze.

2.2.2 The Media and the War against corruption

The media today have brought messages of what is new and fashionable in terms of goods, ideas, techniques and values from the social top to the base and that is why, all consequences of the mass media are potentially questions about social change and potential use of the media for development.

The main functions of development according to Lasswell (1992) were surveillance of the environment, correlation of the parts of the society in responding to the environment and the transmission of the cultural heritage which makes it easier for people to cope with real life problems and for societies to avoid breakdown.

Mboho (2005) specifically identified the political functions of the media as:

- creating and promoting political awareness
- identifying and promoting civic responsibilities among the people
- mobilizing the people towards the achievement at national goals.

The numerous admittances of the indispensable roles of the mass media is precisely, political mobilization do not draw conclusion that the resultant effects to messages are all positive as intended.

Corruption and the related lack of transparency damage economic development and reform, and hinder the growth of any nation where they are prevalent. Corruption, which is described in the equation, C (corruption) = M (monopoly) + D (discretion) – A (accountability, takes many forms and they include the following:

(i) Procurement Fraud: Here, the contractor or supplier, in collusion with the clients, inflate contract sum so that the excess fund built in is used to pay off those who processed, awarded and/or supervised the contract. As illustrated by Donald Strombom, a former chief of procurement for the World

Bank:

Bribery often occurs... in procurement [when]... a firm [is] included in a restricted list of bidders... or [is encouraged] ... to write specifications in such a way that the winning bidder is a foregone conclusion. (1998p.20)

Strombom also explains that corruption in procurement may be carried out entirely among competing firms, through collusion and bid rigging, without the client being involved or even aware it is happening. “Firms,” he

says, “may agree in advance [who] will submit competitive bids and at what prices, who will win, and how the profits will be shared.”

Usually, this results in monumental waste. Over-invoicing for goods delivered or work done reduces the quality of materials used for construction or the amount of goods supplied. Sometimes, payment is made for goods not supplied or services not rendered.

(ii) Gratification: This comes in many forms, from outright bribery in which physical cash is paid as kickback or deposited in a foreign account through electronic transfers; to sexual satisfaction given to the officer concerned by the person requiring favour.

Gratification is the commonest form of corruption in Nigeria. The Anti-Corruption Act, 2000 elaborately defines

it as:

(a) Money, donation, gift, loan, reward, valuable security, property of any description whether movable or immovable, or any other similar advantage given or promised to a public officer with intent to influence such officer in the performance of his duties;

(b) Any office, dignity, employment, contract of employment or services, and any agreement to give employment or render services in any capacity;

(c) Any payment, release, discharge or liquidation of any loan, obligation or other liability, whether in whole or in part;

(d) Any valuable consideration of any kind, any discount, commission, rebate, bonus, deductions or percentage;

(e) Any forbearance to demand any money or money's worth or valuable thing;

(f) Any other service or favour of any description, such as protection from any penalty or disability incurred or apprehended or from any action or proceedings of a disciplinary, civil or criminal nature, whether or not already instituted, and including the exercise or the forbearance from the exercise of any right or any official power or duty.

(iii) Cronyism: This occurs when a public officer shows partiality in favour of his cronies. Usually, this is done through excessive patronage in the award of contracts to friends, in-laws and close relations.

It is also evidenced in the appointment of political hangers-on to offices they are not qualified educationally or experientially to hold.

(iv) Mismanagement: Another form of corruption is mismanagement. This includes misappropriation of funds where monies approved for one item of expenditure are diverted to another item without appropriate approval. This affects proper control of public funds. Mismanagement can also be in the forms of fraudulent acquisition and/or receipt of property and using one's office or position to unduly influence official decision.

(v) Perjury: This, according to the Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2016), is "the voluntary violation of an oath or vow either by swearing to what is untrue or by omission to do what has been promised under oath." It is prevalent amongst public office holders who make false declarations about their academic qualifications, age, marital status, place of origin, etc. in order to enjoy some privileges that are bestowed on people with the qualifications they fraudulently ascribe to themselves. To enable some of these perjurers to cover their tracks, they go a step forward in their criminality by forging documents and records.

Other forms of corruption in Nigeria are advance fee fraud (commonly referred to as 419, named after a section of Nigerian Criminal Code which deals with fraud), election rigging, and influence peddling.

In a study by Bertucci and Armstrong (2000), efforts by many governments to curb corruption have not resulted in any significant changes. They advance many reasons for this development, which they group under political and administrative.

Politically, anti-corruption crusade, in their submission, fails because:

- The crusade was not a serious attempt at reform, with the government simply reacting to a scandal or, in the case of many developing countries, external pressure from donors;

- Government uses the excuse of an anti-corruption crusade to witch-hunt its opponents, thereby making people uneasy about whistle-blowing or exposing corruption since they do not know the real motives for such an exercise;
- Government may be serious about the crusade but fails to consult and get the “buy-in” of its social partners: businesses and civil society entities; and
- A genuine anti-corruption campaign may die with government which has lost power if the opposition was not brought on board of the crusade.

On the administrative front, Bertucci and Armstrong maintain that “even if serious political will is in place to combat corruption, often costly administrative mistakes, both in resources and time, can deter a long-lasting effect of reforms.” They enumerate three of such “mistakes” as:

- A situation where both donors and recipient governments take on “wholesale” solutions from other countries, without really taking the time to adapt them to specific conditions of their countries;
- When a government derails in the implementation of anti-corruption campaign contents because of the very long time and levels of resources required which are greater than initially anticipated; and
- An outcome whereby some micro-level anti-corruption prescriptions may have unintended consequences or simply not thought out properly.

NTA and Buhari Policies

In order to reverse this trend, they have proffered adequate prescriptions ranging from strengthening of legislations, extracting genuine commitment from leaders, applying the

complementarities and synergy of both preventive and enforcement approaches, adopting a culture of non-tolerance of corruption through clarification of values and standards, to installing a system of incentives that rewards good conduct and penalizes corrupt or unethical behaviour. However, Pezzullo (1999, p.30) puts it more succinctly by recommending that the media must be “more aggressive, the citizenry more vigilant, and officials more careful.”

Across the world, “the modernizing media,” as maintained by Pezzullo, “have become the central civil society stakeholder demanding better performance from government.” Usually, the first line in exposing corrupt activities, the mass media have always been called on to press for reform and lead the effort to prevent corruption. They have, indeed, not been found wanting in this regard. In many instances, they have, through incisive and investigative reporting, exposed many corrupt officials in a bid to assist government in the sanitization of the system. An example in Nigeria is the removal of Babachir Lawal, who had been a subject of media attacks mostly from state owned media like NTA which stress on the headline of Buhari transparency bordering on alleged corrupt practices, from office as secretary to the government of the federation, in October 2017 by President Muhammadu Buhari; and the suspension of Mounir Gwarzo, director general of the Securities and Exchange Commission for alleged extra-budgetary spending. These are clear testimonies of the power of the media to expose fraud and help sanitise the system.

Despite the fact that the problems of the Nigerian media practitioners are myriad, although they are very critical, well trained, innovative, and have, according to Oshadipe (1999), “helped to create empires for media barons and business moguls,” they have remained amongst the poorly paid Nigerian professionals. They are exposed to hazards without insurance cover. Their working condition is abject. Many of them work inside crowded newsroom, with

inadequate and sometimes, unpaid allowances. They lack official means of transport to cover assignments. Many of them still do not have access to such common tools as personal computer and the internet.

It is, therefore, a kind of miracle when the Nigerian media perform their duties to the extent they have, given these enormous disadvantages. Some of the practitioners who cannot hold on for long are tempted to comprise by accepting bribe, known in Nigerian media circle as “brown envelopes.” This, according to Oshadipe, comes in many ways – cash, local and foreign trips, car, lucrative advertisement, supply contract, or appointment as press officer or adviser, etc. to the government.

The compromised journalists can wilfully suppress information that they may consider injurious to their clients’ reputation, or involve in what Galadima and Embu (2001) call “pack journalism,” which occurs when ... journalists adopt similar viewpoint toward the news simply because they hang around together, exchanging information and defining the day’s news. Often a story hounded by the pack does not offer enough substances to sustain pursuit and so it is abandoned as quickly as it was begun.

This attitude kills professionalism. It makes investigative journalism suffer while sycophantic, and even blackmail, journalism thrives. At the corporate level, publishers and management of media houses are not left out. They engage in “media consultancy” where, still in the words of Galadima and Embu, “they launder the images of [their clients] by colouring the truth through manipulation of words;” as well as “demand and collect money to kill and damage stories sent in by their reporters.”

But there is hope. For among the crop of media people we have in Nigeria are still a cream of discerning, reputable, articulate and professionally moulded journalists who want the best for the

country. These are the media people who will help in fighting and winning the war against corruption in Nigeria. For as Oshadipe insists, and which sounds quite convincing, The truly investigative newspaper will hold the key of success in Nigeria of the next millennium, for the populace now expects the media to not only unearth corruption in government, but to press for conviction of the accused. A tall order? But the media in Nigeria will somehow find the key.

2.2.2 Political Education

Political education is far reaching in its scope. It is one of the functions the media carries out to the society. Politics, education and indeed political education are all forms of intentional action. As far as the free education of adults and youths is concerned, a good way of reaching consensus might be to put one's trust in political debate, but those responsible for political education have to make sure that these values are legitimate. According to Dadalos (2008) politics is not all about implementing a historical or moral code; it is about negotiating between a set of interests and objective-fuelled conflicts according to the situation. The details of exactly what the job of political education is, remains subject to debate and change. A short list of political educational aims includes:

1. Developing and strengthening a liberal democratic value awareness
2. Understanding the basic task of politics as begin to solve current problems by introducing building decisions on contentious public issues.
3. Gaining a basic knowledge in all of the most important political issues with regards to the future such as democracy and its threats
4. Understanding the political decision-making process.

Different electoral education bodies emerged with various duties. One of such is the National Electoral Education Plan (NEEP) which forms strategic framework for the conduct and implementation of the Electoral Education Campaign Project (EECP) in partner with Civil Society Organization. The Electoral Education Campaign project (EECP) seeks to raise public awareness and create discussions around all aspects of electoral processes by supporting grassroots initiatives. The National Electoral Education Plan (NEEP) provides guidance to NGO's which implements electoral education activities that are produced by electoral education forum, a body that coordinates campaign to ensure its integration within the overall electoral outreach effort. The context both social and political, of the upcoming electoral cycle will impact the current electoral education campaign.

Lessons learnt from the previous elections have pointed to the necessity of engaging the public through direct outreach activities of participatory nature and the importance of key influencers in the community. The electoral education campaign activities are a mix of voter education, voter information and relevant basics of civic education.

The relationship between people and politics cannot be undermined. Haruna (2008) made it clear also that the mass media cannot function in the same way in all societies even though their roles are the same in all societies. As societies and culture differs, that is how other factors that affect the media differ too. For example, the media in Nigeria cannot function and should not be expected to function like the America. He said "the media in Nigeria cannot undertake the American type of political opinion polls during elections this is because while Americans will accept result that contract opinion polls, Nigerians will not. Nigerians instead would join in the burning of houses and engage in Figure 1: Women participating in voters' education process in Nigeria.

Other destructive tendencies if the candidate that was shown to be leading through an opinion poll does not emerge as the winner of the election”. Nigerians can be victims of herd mentality which in turn can lead to unthinking reactions to events. However, it takes a perception of injustice, whether such a perception is right or wrong for even the most irrational crowd to resort to violence. The reason behind this is because, Nigerians do not have any good cause to believe that their electoral system is free and fair. According to Iredia cited in Haruna (2008) the reason for riots during election result among many is that; because the country’s unity is fragile and its socio-economy and politics are underdeveloped, the Nigerian media cannot afford to be “confrontational and anti-government” if Nigerians interest is at heart. Government regards secrecy as essential to their proper functioning.

Also, in the clash of functions, the media by definition is on a higher moral ground since government are supposed to be accountable to the people but one cannot be accountable if he cannot be open and transparent. It is therefore wrong condemning the media to be confrontational and anti-government.

2.2.3 Political Mobilization

Ebeze (2003) sees political mobilization as one of the basic political functions of the media. Political mobilization is the role played by the mass media in creating awareness, interpretation of issues, personalities, programmes encouraging and educating them to exercise their political rights and take informed political decisions. It also involves campaigning for societal objectives in the sphere of politics, war, economic, development, work etc (McQuail 2005:98).

The election days 14th & 21st April 2007 witnessed coverage by the broadcast stations worldwide. The mobilization and coverage work by the station however did not start from

election days. The media began airings of political activities geared towards elections before the primaries and there were also incisive and live coverage, and reportage of the activities of political parties and campaigns both from the public and private stations.

The intention of the various coverage and mobilization efforts were geared towards arousing and motivating the citizens towards not only casting their votes but equally knowing their political candidates and their programmes so as to know what to align with and who they should vote for and their reasons for voting. Political mobilization is also defined as the actors attempt to influence the existing distribution of power. It is the social relationship between two types of actors, the individuals and the parties. Today, the media are continually faced with the difficulty of mobilizing the electorates because they spend more time talking about mobilization than they do in devising ways to get the citizens mobilized.

In spite of the glory ability of the media to come to grips with what it takes to mobilize the people, mass mobilization has become a fascinating social and political adventure in Nigeria. (Udoakah 1998, p.41) defines mass mobilization as the wakening or activation of the dormant consciousness of a greater number of people with the use of new ideas for the purpose of gaining support for an action or inaction. This implies that the citizens response to appeals is affected by certain factors such as experience, interest, politics, religion etc. if the media is been involved, its impact must be positively felt, the progress it makes must be seen in real terms and the direction it is going known to the public before a sympathetic response can be expected.

The media of mass information are not magicians and therefore will not succeed if the conditions necessary for their success are absent. Since people have the right to think independently of a situation which their co-operations is sought, they have a right to reject media explanations and to form their own impressions. That is why; mobilization should imply that

those involved have absolute confidence. There is an extent to which the media can be used, if the media are used to propagate promises that are never fulfilled, a time will surely come when it will lose its credibility.

Therefore, mobilization is far less the responsibility of the media as we seem to think but more of the government duty. The citizens must first be made to feel belonged to the system, there after they can be mobilized for the survival of the system. For any media to succeed in any mobilization, the message must be a message of credibility otherwise people would not be willing to listen to the message. Facts alone do not persuade always although they may elicit some kind of behavior or rationalize an action this is because the facts are more persuasive when supported by events or actions. The time of the message, interest and belief of the audience are all considered during mobilization.

The introduction of radio has given access to a national audience by airing some political programmes which mobilizes the citizenry. Through this function, it is the responsibility of the media to provide the citizenry with information about the government, itself and its activities. According to Udejah (2004, p. 245) the people's right to know of events of public importance particularly political matters, constitutes the major task of the media. It is on this axis that, political programming is involved to serve the public and government as well.

Programmes like presidential media chat, know your candidate, people's choice etc on the station were aired to mobilize the people to participate in the elections. Most of the stations as far involve some degrees of audience participation.

2.2.4 Understanding Political Participation

The success of any Nigerian electoral process depends to a large extent on the level of support and participation of the people. Hence, it is crucial to discuss the importance of elections as a foundation for democracy and educating the public on the upcoming electoral process (Dadalos, 2008). The public therefore needs to be engaged through direct outreach activities of a participatory nature that should address democratic values and key notions of civil participation. Radio, with its singular voice touch can also bring candidates to the electorate through audience participation programmes. The public is also allowed to voice and air its opinions freely through the media. Thus, radio-television programmers should explore the remote touch of the media to advantage in dealing with political aspirants.

Okunna (2003, p.300) is of the opinion that participation is the key to any development. And that, participation in communication activities should not only involve sending feed back to received information but also taking part in discussions and decision-making. It should be a two-way communication process and this is through radio which gives little opportunity for the active participation of the audience and their interactions.

Most of the political programmes aired so far involve some degrees of audience participation. As a result, these programmes have the capacity to influence politics. The public through the media is allowed to voice its opinions and air its views freely. Political participation focuses on four sets of factors. One of the factors known as institutional perspective stresses the importance of the legal context which includes the level of political rights and civil liberties, the type of electoral system, the facilities for registration and voting, and the expansion of the franchise, the frequency, level and timing of elections and the competitiveness of electoral politics. Two renowned scholars, Jackman and Miller examined voter participation in twenty-two categories and found out those political institutions and electoral laws provided the most

plausible explanations for variations in voters turn out and electoral participation. In the United States of America for example, the legal hurdle for registration requirement and the frequency of elections are widely believed to depress American turn out.

The role of political communication via parties and news media fall into this category of political process. Parties act as mobilizing agencies through direct communication with voters which includes traditional grass roots activities such as canvassing, leafleting and contacting voters as well as holding party meetings and campaign rallies and using party political broadcasters. According to Norris (2000) “the news media serves the above function through providing information about parties, candidates and policies that help to crystallize voting choices”. Through positive messages in these activities, both parties and the news media can serve to increase party and candidate support among electors, and the propensity to turn out, or they can also convey negative messages that function to depress participation.

The more people read or listen to campaign messages on the mass media, the more interested they become in the election and they more strongly they come to feel about their candidates. This implies that, media exposure gets out the vote at the same time that it solidifies preferences. This perspective became so influential that it developed into the main stream view in studies of political participation. The media should avoid “negative” or “attack” campaign advertisement, because negative advertising drives people away from the polls in large numbers and also breeds distrust of the electoral process and pessimism about the value of an individual’s own voice”. In most research conducted, it seems equally plausible that what matters for electoral participation is what the polls report, not the extent of their coverage per se. In the British context, for example, large scale experiments in the 1997 election demonstrated that

exposure to “negative” television news about the major parties had no influence on party images or propensity to vote; where as positive news did have a significant impact on voters.

Political participation involves many different types of activity from contacting representatives to becoming active in community organization, political parties or interest group. This participation can be done through various means like the internet or on-line.

2.3 The Media and Sustenance of Democracy

As the society grew, it became necessary to have an institute government where selected, elected or appointed persons will make decisions on behalf of the entire citizenry. This made the mass media under this condition to be seen as part and parcel of the government only existing to serve as megaphones of the government in power. Today, under democracy, the media is been charged with the responsibility of carrying people along. Onyishi (1996) aligned that “the success or failure of the practice of democratic governance will, to a large extent, depend on how well the mass media carry out its functions as the midwife of democracy”. The essence of democracy according to Aristotle is to provide for life which connotes happiness, equality, freedom and fair play. This was echoed by the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria (1999) under sec.39 (1) which says “every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression which includes freedom to hold opinions and to receive and to impart ideas and information without interference (Afamuefuna 2007, p.254).

Unfortunately, the media today is been controlled by ownership means, he owners dictate what the media should give to the people which is not expected to be so in a democratic environment. Inquiries into issues, reveal accusation and counter accusations emanating from political actors of varied orientations. There was no freedom of the press because the (media) works under restriction in other to please who were controlling them.

While the government owned media and broadcast organization were established to disseminate information without bias to the public, the state owned media were given attention to some particular parties and candidates only. They never put the public in mind.

According to Udejah (2004, p.288) the strength of Nigerian broadcasting media pivots on the ability to reinforce democracy by acquainting different groups with each other and by facilitating the membership of a single person in more than one group. There is no way one can discuss about Nigerian politics without recognizing the role the media have played in politics. The media has played its various roles right from the 60s to date and today the democratic government in Nigeria is neither friendly nor repressive. The press is an integral part of democracy and for it to remain relevant.

Afamuefuna gave points on the roles it must play:

Providing Information: the media must play its watch dog role by providing adequate information on the business of governance in a polity. The press monitors and checkmates the state administrators against excesses and violation of the social contracts and report's findings to the people. That is why Onyedika (2006, p.41) observed correctly that "... journalist through objective reporting could be catalyst of positive change in the nation's democracy". Public opinion polling function: representative democracy is participatory and requires that all shades of opinion should be recognized and respected because the leaders and the people have equal stake in the polity since decisions taken by the leader affects the people. The concept of public opinion has developed in step with the idea that powers of the government should be based on the consent of the governed and hence with the idea of democracy.

The workability of democracy depends on how much the press objectivity sample and conveys people's opinion to the government. "the safety of the people in modern society depends

upon the free and untrammelled expression of enlightened public opinion...through an objective press”(Nnamani,2003). The press should therefore not neglect this role as it is the index for measuring good governance.

Political mobilization: the media is expected to conscientize and sensitize the Nigerian people in order to build a new political culture and orientation devoid of the negative elements such as rigging, political corruption, embezzlement of public funds, assassinations and other politically motivated vices. Mobilization transforms the perception, orientation and views of the society. According to Moemeka (1991:22) in “mobilization is a process which begins with a radical change in the political orientation of the people”. The ultimate result of this change is the formation of new social relations. This is because the press constitutes the institution for social change and political orientation which serves as the central nervous system of democracy.

Mobilization makes people to be politically conscious through subtle strategies of the mass media. These strategies are aimed at making people involved in rebuilding the society. For this to be a sustainable fruit, it has to be backed with political education. This is because if the people are not well educated about the meaning and reasons for some political occurrences, they will be very reluctant to imbibe a new political culture. It is for this purpose, that the media is expected to design educative programmes that can bring about enlightenment.

The three essential requisites of democracy are, a well informed citizenry, participation of the citizens in the day-to –day governance of the society, and accountability of the citizens of those who exercise power on their behalf. It is on this point that democracy is been described as a regime where the rule of law enacted by the people and not the rule of men prevails and where none is above the law. Unless the citizens have adequate accurate information on issues and problems confronting them, they will be unable to take enlightened decisions on them.

The freedom of the media is an aspect of the larger freedom of speech and expression which is guaranteed as a fundamental civil right in all democracies. The media has the power to mould the minds of the people and influence their decisions in private and public life. The media serves as “the ears” and “eyes” of the people. A free media can only exist where there is free democracy and true democracy is possible only with free media. No society can exist or can be conceived of without it because it is the life-line of democracy. McQuail (2005) identifies the media’s relevance to the political realm as follows:

- a. They have become an essential element in the process of democratic politics by providing an arena and channel for wide debate, for making candidates for widely known and for distributing diverse information and opinion.
- b. They are now a means of exercising power by virtue of relatively privileged access that politicians and agents of government generally claim from the media as a legitimate right.

2.4 Media Coverage of Campaigns of Buhari: 2019 Experience

Political campaigns provide the platform for political aspirants to solicit the support of voters in their constituencies for executive and parliamentary seats. Political campaigns have always seized upon new modes of communication to reach voters (Oboh, 2015). In an election period, the political parties and candidates seek for platforms to reach large number of audiences to articulate their candidacies and manifestoes to prospective voters. The earliest forms of campaigns were characterized by face-to-face communication among party members and voters, and mass events and rallies organized by the parties were dominant. In the “modern” era of political campaigns, communication has shifted to more impersonal channel of the mass media, especially television. This was pioneered in the 1960 American presidential elections by

President John F. Kennedy. Since the 1960 episode, the political class embraced the media for campaigns and these have been supportive of their political pursuits (Aronson, 2011).

In the build up to the 2019 presidential elections held on the 28 of February 2019, the parties in a bid to sell their candidates and party programs adopted different media platforms that include pasting of posters, erecting billboards in strategic locations nationwide, placing adverts on the front pages of major national dailies, political advert placements on television channels, playing jingles on radio and launching Internet presence through WNTAites, Blogs, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube accounts, BlackBerry Messenger and WhatsApp. These media channels were deployed to increase electoral chances in the keenly contested campaigns (*Vanguard*, January 17, 2019, 13).

The application of the print media by the political class has occasioned credibility in information flow thereby bypassing promoting the gate keeping function of the traditional media (Castells, 2007). The mainstream media still had important role in the 2019 Nigerian presidential elections since it had to adopt the convergence for its interactions with the media audience. To Castells (2007), this synergy reflects the vertical and horizontal communication modes. The media channels such as the *The Vanguard Newspaper*, *This Day*, *The Tribune*, and *Nigeria observer* had interactive features on Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter and wNTA.

It is imperative to explain the three broad dimensions of the role of the media in the 2019 presidential elections campaign. First, the influencing role the candidates were having on the media or the agenda setting role of the media on issue base campaigns. Second, the use of media techniques to “murder” opponents’ character; and the third involved media campaign by political parties and candidates based on sectarian premise for votes. The mainstream media and the new media were utilized for these purposes.

In the 2019 presidential elections, the media was used to project the candidates to the audience or electorates before the election proper. As pointed out by Castells, (2007, pp. 3-4), political actors exercise considerable influence over the media. In other words, the political class raised issues for the media during election campaigns, which the media projected to the audience. Since the political actors are perceived as the opinion builders, it became imperative for the media to cultivate cordial relations. This was evidenced in the media presence at the candidate and rallies, press conferences.

The media control political agenda and decide the party that wins or loses election. This perspective was buttressed by Budge and Farlie (1983) when they averred that political parties actively attempt to influence the salient issues that are favorable to their interests. The basic assumption is that there are latent dimensions that can be brought to the surface by the parties and the media during an election campaign (Narud, 1996, pp. 46-48). Underlying the salience theory is the idea of issue-ownership in the sense that voters associate an issue with a specific party, believing that the party may have a better policy or may be more competent to handle a particular problem than other parties (Petroci, 1996). Issue-ownership thus provides the link between issue-voting and the agenda-setting role of the mass media. The interface of issue-voting and the agenda setting role of the mass media have been characterized by corruption and how to curb it.

The media portrayed former vice President Atiku as unpatriotic due to the past leadership role played and unsupportive of the war against corruption through his popular action “2006 saga” while Buhari’s antecedents were projected as demonstrating the political will to continue fighting corruption (*Nigeria Observer*, January 12, 2019, p.21, February 26, 2019, p.14). To Pat Utomi, a former Presidential aspirant: I do agree with Soludo that issues matter. I also think that

those who turn to divisive emotion-laden type casting of others rather than issues pertaining to the well-being of the Nigerian people do a grave disservice not only to democracy but to the long term common good of all. (*Vanguard*, February 5, 2015, p.26)

Put differently, the campaigns lacked substance in terms of debating of issues ranging from the country's external reserves which is declining, the electricity and energy sector, the large-scale unemployment in the country. It had focused on rather mundane issues such as the expected role of the entertainment industry and actors in the economy.

The use of media assassination techniques to “murder” opponents’ character characterized the 2019 presidential elections. To Castells (2007), the character attack and mudslinging of opponents is a ploy by political parties to malign or destroy the credibility and character of rivals for electoral advantage. This is actualized through the manipulation and fabrication of half-truth and lies. Instances are the twin documentaries in 2015 on the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and African Independence Television (AIT) about “The Real Buhari” and “The Lion of Bourdillon”. These documentaries elicited controversies in the mainstream media and the new media especially on YouTube where it had thousands of views (Channels YouTube and Television Continental YouTube). The controversies reflect in the article titled, *what do Nigerians do with the Tinubudocumentary?* The writer reasoned that the documentary was meant to destroy the image of Senator Bola Tinubu before the electorate.

Similarly, the death wish advert that was sponsored by Governor Ayo Fayose of Ekiti State on the front page of *The Punch* (January 19, 2015) captioned, “NIGERIANS BE WARNED!” Fayose insinuated in the advertorial that Nigerians may risk another state burial if they cast their votes for the septuagenarian, Alhaji Muhammed Buhari. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the President’s Campaign Organization’s denial of the advertorial did not deter

its sponsor, Mr. Fayose who owed no apology. Despite the outcry that followed the controversial advertorial, he placed a fresh advert wherein he wrote that if former President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999 was called “Baba” (father) at 62, Buhari should be called “Baba baba” (grandfather) at 72 in 2015 (*The Punch*, January 22, 2015). He insisted that President Buhari was too old to govern Nigeria, and he insisted his candidacy was an agendum of a few cabals (*The Punch*, January 24, 2015). This indicated the tie back of controversial reports from the media in the coverage of elections in Nigeria.

The third aspect of party campaigns adopted in the presidential elections was based on sectarianism, political and social cleavages to mobilize the electorates to vote in specific manners. Cleavages reflect differences in the electorates’ attitude to a politically relevant issue. These cleavages could be channeled through the media to activate ethno-religious sentiments. The 2019 Presidential Election Campaigns were based on ethnic and religious fault lines as former vice President Atiku attended different Muslim group to seek for vote while his running mate former Governor of Anambra state Peter Obi attended denominational church services to seek for the votes of Christian segment of the society.

2.5 Review of Empirical Studies

In various studies, several attempts have been made to understand the role of mass media in the coverage of elections as well as how the audiences perceive their role in these elections. For instance, Lai Oso (2013) conducted a study to explore the role of the media in a democracy in Nigeria. The study it focused on the critical analysis of the level of freedom provided by the democracy Nigeria practice and how well the media have helped in making or and enhancing the liberty. The study used XY methodology to collect. Findings showed that the media is the opium

of the society however there showed be more professional practitioners to drive the goal of the industry forward.

Two main theoretical frameworks have been used to explain the relationship between the mass media and the democratic process. The first historically and probably the pervasive and influential is the liberal perspective which draws its main arguments from market theory and pluralist sociology. The other, critical media theory draws a lot from Marxist scholarship and social theory.

The article discussed the relevance of the liberal narrative to the functions and structure of the Nigerian mass media. The article attempts to explicate the main principles of this perspective. Drawing from the literature, he discussed the arguments that have been advanced in critique of these principles. It is submitted that recent developments have undermined the credibility of the liberal perspective. Within the Nigerian context, the article posits that as presently constituted, the Nigerian mass media cannot fulfill the mandate of this Western-inspired theory.

Though, it remains the over-arching explanation of framework, its inadequacies became more glaring if we consider the socio-historical context of journalism practice in Nigeria. The research was aided by the following objectives: To evaluate the media practices performance over the years, to distinguish the media practices of now (democratic) and before (military rule), to find possible solution towards enhancing media practices in Nigeria mass media.

More so, the research work was anchored on the pluralist theory in determining the media view of the society and how well they have helped in conglomerating as well as aiding vital movement towards objectives practices. Thus, Lai Oso (2013) study becomes pertinent to this study as it tries to critically analyse the Nigeria mass media practices in the democratic practices.

It also creates an easy platform for my research to excel as it left a little gap to fill in the sense of also looking at the Nigeria politics and political practices. It is on this basis that our research differs and the need to analyses politician in the present Nigeria political sector is imperative.

In same vein, Olutokun and Seteolu (2001) in their paper analysed the watchdog role played by the media in Nigeria's current democratic dispensation. They discussed the role of the media in the transition period between 1988 and 1999, as well as their championing of a cleaner and healthier polity in exposing highly placed state officials who got into office through fake credentials or by making bogus claims.

Case studies of the media's role in this respect include the disgrace from office of Alhaji Salisu Buhari, former Speaker of the House of Representatives; as well as the fall of Senator Chuba Okadigbo former Senate President, who was impeached in the wake of allegations of corruption and misappropriation of funds. To get to grips with the role of the media in these national controversies, the editorial content of the publications, which championed these struggles, were identified and collated. These were complimented where possible, by interviews with some of the editorial personnel involved in these episodes. Hence, they considered in some depth media coverage of: the transition to democracy 1998-1999, the documentation controversy which led to the fall of Alhaji Salisu Buhari, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, media's role in the controversy which led to the impeachment of former Senate President, Dr. Chuba Okadigbo.

However, Olutokun and Seteolu were more interested in critically analysing the watchdog role of the media and some gates they have played. They however paid little attention on the democratic structure of Nigeria but mainly kept politicians as the main focus for the study. It should be borne in mind that the watchdog role of the media in this period went beyond these

cases to include for instance, exposure of the irregularities in and falsification of the biodata of Chief Evans Enwerem, former Senate President, which led to his forced resignation, as well as the furore over the biodata of Lagos State Governor, Chief Bola Tinubu, which triggered a political crisis. The latter, however, narrowly survived impeachment, largely because the Alliance for Democracy – dominated Lagos State House of Assembly ruled that the inconsistencies in his Curriculum Vitae, arose from genuine mistakes. They only focus on three of these cases, however as mentioned earlier.

The study however was anchored on the Gatekeeping theory. They tried to explain the modus in which the media exposed some ill found politicians in Nigeria. Thus it is saddled onus on the media to stand as the fourth echelon of the realm. This work is closely related to my study as well only that different approach and theory was adopted. Despite the fact that this study aims at analyzing the role of the media in sustaining democracy and political activities, it also focuses on evaluating the transition of Nigeria from one republic to another. Thus this study is pertinent to my study as it will help guide me on analysing some media and gates and how well Nigeria media has played in sustaining democracy as well as exploring some ill fate politicians over the years.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

In order to situate and align any study within its proper perspective, there is a need for existing theories that will form the pivot on which the study will revolve. Therefore, this study is anchored on social responsibility theory.

Social Responsibility Theory

This study also used the social responsibility theory which is one of the four normative theories of the press. This theory came as a result of Hutchins commission on freedom of the

press that was established in 1942 and it released a major report of its findings in 1947. This theory involves a number of ways in which the state could attempt to play role in attempting to ensure that news media fulfilled their social responsibility and obligations. At the same time tries to retain the Independence of Journalism and freedom of speech.

Social responsibility theory allows free press without any censorship but at the same time the content of the press should be discussed in public panel and media should accept any obligation from public interference or professional self-regulations or both. The theory lies between both authoritarian theory and libertarian theory because it gives total media freedom in one hand but the external controls in other hand. Here, the press ownership is private. The social responsibility theory moves beyond the simple “Objective” reporting (facts reporting) to “Interpretative” reporting (investigative reporting). The total news is complete facts and truthful but the commission of the freedom press stated that “No longer giving facts truthfully rather than give a necessary analyzed or interpretative report on facts with clear explanations”. The theory helped in creating professionalism in media by setting up a high level of accuracy, truth, and information.

It emphasizes the need for an independent press that scrutinizes other social institutions and provides objectives, accurate news reports. The most innovative feature of social responsibility theory is its call for media to be responsible for fostering productive and creative “Great Communities.” It said that media should do this by prioritizing cultural pluralism by becoming the voice of all the people, not just elite groups that had dominated national, regional, or local culture in the past. In some respects, Social responsibility theory is a radical statement. Instead of demanding that media be free to print or transmit their owners want, social responsibility theory imposes a burden on media practitioners.

This theory encourages the press to see themselves as front as front-line participants in the battle to preserve democracy in the world drifting inexorably towards totalitarianism. The researcher has decided to use this theory because of the following:

1. It allows Community opinion, Consumer action and professional ethics.
2. It allows everyone to say something or express their opinion about the media.
3. It allows serious invasion of recognized private rights and vital social interests.

Since public interest is sacrosanct to the society, therefore it is imperative upon the mass media to take a socially responsible stand in discharging their duties. On this not only in the cause of their duty but also the content they disseminate to the public.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology adopted for this study. It explains the research design, population of the study, the sample size, sampling techniques; instrument used for data collection, validity and reliability of research instrument, method of data collection and method of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The technique adopted in this study was survey design. The survey design, allows researchers to measure characteristics, opinions and behaviours of a given population, and this works on the premise that the population is too large for researchers to realistically observe all the elements in the population.

Asemah et al (2012, p.107), they succinctly put that “a survey is an empirical study that uses questionnaires or interviews to discover descriptive characteristics of a phenomenon. It enhances the study of both small basic and large population. Thus from entire population, some basic elements that share the same characteristics would be studied”.

Therefore, this study employed the questionnaire as the potent instrument of the survey design. This again made the use of survey design justifiable for this study

3.2 Population of the Study

A population is made up of all conceivable elements, subjects, or observations relating to a particular phenomenon of interest to the researcher" Asika (2002: p.39). It involves the general targeted area of study; their opinion, belief, motivation, attitudes, and or behaviour. Asemah (2012: p.149) opines that a population is the universe from which a sample is drawn.

Thus, the population of this study comprised of the total number of residents of the University of Benin, Benin City which holds an approximately 1600 households excluding Ugbowo, and Ekehuan axis.

3.3 Sampling Technique

The purposive sampling technique (non-probability sampling) was adopted for this study. Therefore, 18% of the entire populations of the residential in university were selected purposively to represent the total population for accurate and unbiased study.

3.4 Sample Size

Sampling is “a scientific method of obtaining an unbiased and representative data from a given universe or population” (Osemwota 2007: p.126). The sample size for this study will be four hundred (400) respondents which were derived base on the purposive sampling. This however is a choice made out of interest in politics, access to NTA programmes and news, domicile in Benin City Road.

Given that the sample size is already known, Asemah et al (2012, p.216) asserted that “when the proportion of a population is known, the formula for each stratum will be”

According to Taro Yamene (1964) to determine a sample from a population:

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

where n = Sample

N = Population size

e = Error limit

The estimated population of respondents across Benin City Road is 1600, level of significance error or error limit.

$$= 0.05$$

$$\begin{aligned}
n &= 1600 \\
N &= 1600 \\
e &= 0.05 \text{ or } 0.0025 \\
&= 1600 \\
1 &+ (1600 \times 0.05) \\
1 &+ (1600 \times 0.0025) \\
n &= \frac{1600 - 400}{4}
\end{aligned}$$

3.5 Validity of the Instrument

Validity is the extent to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure and performs as it is designed to perform. It is however rare to see 100% accuracy in validity as it is measured in degree. On this, the questions obtained in the questionnaire were deemed valid and reliable as it answers the research question to a greater level.

3.6 Reliability of Instrument

According to Mehren and Lehman as cited in Asika (2002), reliability is the degree of consistency between two measures of the same thing. As Asika avers, it is the stability and dependability and predictability of measuring instrument, (Asika 2002). Based on this, the questionnaire used for this study is finely reliable as vetted by the supervisor.

3.7 Method of Data Collection

The method of data collection for this work was face to face or interpersonal administration of questionnaire by the researcher.

The researcher walked to each of the selected respondents in the metropolis with copies of the questionnaire and administered it until the copies meant for each division is exhausted.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

The data collected and collated for this study was analyzed using frequency tables and sample percentage.

However, the simple percentage was adopted in analysing: the data was derived from questionnaire completed by the respondents. The responses from the questionnaire will then be coded in simple percentages by the use of this formula percentage score with the aim of studying further the media coverage of violent protests and its effectiveness.

$$\frac{\text{Number of Respondents}}{\text{Total of Respondents}} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

This is the basis to which this research will be analysed.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Preamble

Four hundred (400) copies of questionnaire were administered to respondents. Only three hundred (300) questionnaires were retrieved, which indicate a 75 percent return rate.

Questionnaire	Frequency	Percentage
Not retrieved	100	15%
Retrieved	300	75%
Total	400	100%

According to Ohaya, (2003), the analysis of research data requires a brief description of the sample. The description is briefly given below.

4.1 Presentation and Analysis of Data Based on the Demographic Data of Respondents.

Table 1: Age Distribution of Respondents

Age	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
18– 22years	80	27%
23 – 27 years	60	20%
28-32years	60	20%
33 and above	100	33%
Total	300	100%

Source: Source: Field Survey, 2022

Table 1 show that 80 respondents representing 27% are between the age range of 18-22years. 60 (20%) respondents are of the age range of 23-27years. While 60 respondents representing 20%

are between 28-32years age bracket. Total numbers of 100 respondents only are between the age range of 33-above representing 33% of the total population.

Table 2: Gender Distribution of Respondents

Gender	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Male	180	60%
Female	120	40%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Table 2 indicates that 180 respondents representing 60% of the total population were male while 120 (40%) respondents were females.

Table 3: Marital status of Respondents

Status	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Single	160	53%
Married	140	47%
Divorced	-	
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

This table indicates that 160 respondents are single representing 53% of the total population, 140 respondents representing 47% are married while none of the respondents indicated divorced.

Table 4: Religion of Respondents

Religion	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Christian	160	33%
Muslim	100	54%
Traditionalist	40	13
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Table 4 shows that 100 respondents representing 33% of the total population are Muslim, while 160 (54%) respondents are Christian. Meanwhile, 40 respondents representing 13% indicated as being traditionalist.

Table 5: Academic Qualification of Respondents:

Qualification	No of Respondents	Percentage
FSCL	8	2.7
SSCE/WASC	22	7.4
Diploma	49	16.6
Bsc/BA	165	54.4
Masters Degree	56	18.9
PhD	0	0
Total	300	100%

From the above, respondents who have First School Leaving Certificate were eight (8) or 2.7% of the sample size. Twenty-two (22) respondents had WASC/SSCE representing 7.4%. Holders of diploma were forty-nine (49) representing 16.6% of the universe. B.Sc./BA holders were one hundred and sixty-one (165) respondents representing 54.4%, fifty-six (56) respondents

were Masters' Decree holders and they correspond to 18.9% of the sample size. While none of the respondent is a PhD holder representing 0 percentage of the population.

SECTIONB: PSYCHOGRAPHIC DATA

Table 6: Do you have an active access to Television (s)?

Questionnaire	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Yes	300	100%
No	-	-
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

This table shows that out of 300 respondents 100% affirmed to have access to television.

Table 7: Do you have an active access to NTA Television (s)?

Questionnaire	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Yes	300	100%
No	-	-
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

This table shows that out of 300 respondents 100% affirmed to have access to NTA television station.

Table 8: NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	120	40%
Strongly Agree	100	33%
Disagree	60	20%
Strongly Disagree	-	
Neutral	20	7%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Table 8 shows respondents affirmation to NTA involvement in the coverage of Buhari policies. From the table above, 120 respondents representing 40 percent of the total population agree that NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office. While, 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agree to this effect and only 20 respondents representing 7 percent stand neutral to this question. 60 respondents disagree while no respondent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office.

Table 9: NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	120	40%
Strongly Agree	100	33%
Disagree	60	20%
Strongly Disagree	-	
Neutral	20	7%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 120 respondents representing 40 percent of the total population agree that NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election. 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agree to this effect and only 20 respondents representing 7 percent stand neutral to this question. 60 of the respondents disagree while none strongly disagree to the fact that NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election.

Table 10: NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	75	25%
Strongly Agree	120	40%
Disagree	10	3%
Strongly Disagree	60	20%
Neutral	35	12%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 75 respondents representing 25 percent of the total population agree that NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office. Also 120 respondents representing 40 percent strongly agree to this effect while 10 respondent disagree. 60 respondents representing 20 percent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office. Only 35 (12%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 11: NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is transparent?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	50	17%
Strongly Agree	100	33%
Disagree	70	23%
Strongly Disagree	80	27%
Neutral	-	
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 50 respondents representing 17 percent of the total population agree that NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is transparent. Also 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agree to this effect while 70 respondents disagree. 80 respondents representing 27 percent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is transparent. No respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 12: NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is effective?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	80	27%
Strongly Agree	20	7%
Disagree	20	7%
Strongly Disagree	100	33%
Neutral	80	27%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 80 respondents representing 27 percent of the total population agreed that NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is effective. Also 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 20 respondents disagreed. 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is effective. While 80 (27%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 13: NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is politically oriented?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	120	40%
Strongly Agree	130	43%
Disagree	50	17%
Strongly Disagree	-	
Neutral	-	
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 120 respondents representing 40 percent of the total population agreed that NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is politically oriented. Also 130 respondents representing 43 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 50 respondents disagreed. No respondents strongly disagreed or stood neutral to the fact that NTA coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is politically oriented.

Table 14: Benin City resident believe in President Buhari’s policies due NTA station coverage?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	94	31%
Strongly Agree	90	30%
Disagree	30	10%
Strongly Disagree	20	7%
Neutral	66	22%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 94 respondents representing 31 percent of the total population agreed that Benin City resident believe in President Buhari’s policies due NTA station coverage. Also 90 respondents representing 30 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 30 respondents disagreed. 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that Benin City resident believe in President Buhari’s policies due NTA station coverage. While 66 (22%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 15: Edo resident are positive about President Buhari’s administration due to NTA station coverage?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	60	20%
Strongly Agree	100	33%
Disagree	30	10%
Strongly Disagree	-	
Neutral	110	37%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 60 respondents representing 20 percent of the total population agreed that Edo resident are positive about President Buhari’s administration due to NTA station coverage. Also 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 30 respondents disagreed. No respondents strongly disagreed to the fact that Edo resident are positive about President Buhari’s administration due to NTA station coverage. While 110 (37%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 16: Benin city resident accepts the impact of President Buhari’s policies due to NTA station coverage?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	80	27%
Strongly Agree	60	20%
Disagree	120	40%
Strongly Disagree	10	3%
Neutral	30	10%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 80 respondents representing 27 percent of the total population agreed that Benin City resident accepts the impact of President Buhari’s policies due to NTA station coverage. Also 60 respondents representing 20 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 120 respondents disagreed. 10 respondents representing 3 percent strongly disagreed to the fact Benin City resident accept the impact of President Buhari’s policies due to NTA station coverage. While 30 (10%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 17: The presentation of Buhari policies by NTA has affected how the masses sees NTA station?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	30	10%
Strongly Agree	20	7%
Disagree	120	40%
Strongly Disagree	100	33%
Neutral	30	10%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 30 respondents representing 10 percent of the total population agreed that the presentation of Buhari policies by NTA has affected how the masses sees NTA station. Also 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 120 respondents disagreed. 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that the presentation of Buhari policies by NTA has affected how the masses sees NTA station. While 30 (10%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 18: NTA station coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is positive?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	140	47%
Strongly Agree	60	20%
Disagree	40	13%
Strongly Disagree	40	13%
Neutral	20	7%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 140 respondents representing 47 percent of the total population agreed that NTA station coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is positive. Also 60 respondents representing 20 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 40 respondents disagreed. 40 respondents representing 13 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that NTA station coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office is positive. While 20 (7%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Table 19: NTA station coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office has rendered public station as government prey?

Category of Response	Frequency of Response	Percentage of Response
Agree	150	50%
Strongly Agree	50	17%
Disagree	30	10%
Strongly Disagree	20	7%
Neutral	50	17%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the table above, 150 respondents representing 50 percent of the total population agreed that NTA station coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office has rendered public station as government prey. 50 respondents representing 17 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 30 respondents disagreed. 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that NTA station coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office has rendered public station as government prey. While 50 (17%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

4.3 Answers to Research Questions

Research Question One: What is the direction of NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari’s policies over the years in office?

Table 8 and 9 provided answers to research question one. Table 8 shows respondents affirmation to NTA involvement in the coverage of Buhari policies. From the table above, 120 respondents representing 40 percent of the total population agree that NTA station was actively

involved in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office. While, 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agree to this effect and only 20 respondents representing 7 percent stand neutral to this question. 60 respondents disagree while no respondent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office.

From table 9, 120 respondents representing 40 percent of the total population agree that NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election. 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agree to this effect and only 20 respondents representing 7 percent stand neutral to this question. 60 of the respondents disagree while none strongly disagree to the fact that NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election.

Research Question Two: How effective is NTA station in the coverage of President Buhari's policies?

Table 10, 11 and 12 answered research question two. From the tables, 75 respondents representing 25 percent of the total population agree that NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office. Also 120 respondents representing 40 percent strongly agree to this effect while 10 respondents disagree. 60 respondents representing 20 percent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office. Only 35 (12%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

More so, 50 respondents representing 17 percent of the total population agree that NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is transparent. Also 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agree to this effect while 70 respondents disagree. 80 respondents representing 27 percent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA coverage of

President Buhari's policies over the years in office is transparent. No respondents stood neutral to this question.

Additionally, 80 respondents representing 27 percent of the total population agreed that NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is effective. Also 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 20 respondents disagreed. 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is effective. While 80 (27%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Research Question Three: What is the audience perception of NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies?

Table 13, 14, 15 and 16 provided answer to research question three. From the tables 120 respondents representing 40 percent of the total population agreed that NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is politically oriented. Also 130 respondents representing 43 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 50 respondents disagreed. No respondents strongly disagreed or stood neutral to the fact that NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is politically oriented.

Table 14 shows 94 respondents representing 31 percent of the total population agreed that Benin City resident believe in President Buhari's policies due NTA station coverage. Also 90 respondents representing 30 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 30 respondents disagreed. 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that Benin City resident believe in President Buhari's policies due NTA station coverage. While 66 (22%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

From the table, 60 respondents representing 20 percent of the total population agreed that Edo resident are positive about President Buhari's administration due to NTA station coverage. Also 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 30 respondents disagreed. No respondents strongly disagreed to the fact that Edo resident are positive about President Buhari's administration due to NTA station coverage. While 110 (37%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

80 respondents representing 27 percent of the total population agreed that Benin City resident accepts the impact of President Buhari's policies due to NTA station coverage. Also 60 respondents representing 20 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 120 respondents disagreed. 10 respondents representing 3 percent strongly disagreed to the fact Benin City resident accepts the impact of President Buhari's policies due to NTA station coverage. While 30 (10%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

Research Question Four: Does the perception have influenced on audience general perception of the performance of the Buhari administration?

Table 17, 18 and 19 provided answer to research question four. 30 respondents representing 10 percent of the total population agreed that the presentation of Buhari policies by NTA has affected how the masses sees NTA station. Also 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 120 respondents disagreed. 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that the presentation of Buhari policies by NTA has affected how the masses sees NTA station. While 30 (10%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

From the table 18, 140 respondents representing 47 percent of the total population agreed that NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is positive. Also

60 respondents representing 20 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 40 respondents disagreed. 40 respondents representing 13 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is positive. While 20 (7%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

From the table 19, 150 respondents representing 50 percent of the total population agreed that NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office has rendered public station as government prey. 50 respondents representing 17 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 30 respondents disagreed. 20 respondents representing 7 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office has rendered public station as government prey. While 50 (17%) respondents stood neutral to this question.

4.4 Discussion of Findings

The data generated in this study provide insight to the Audience Perception of the Role of NTA in Promoting President Buhari's policies: A study of Benin City Road Residents. In conducting the study, the researcher deemed it necessary to begin with the demographic variables of the respondents; this decision was aimed at determining the level of television exposure of Benin City residents of the Benin metropolis.

The gender distribution shows that the male respondents out number their female counterpart in Nigeria Benin City Road. The data shows that most of the respondents were within the age brackets of 22-35, which constitute the highest.

The findings from the study revealed that majority of the respondents are exposed to NTA station. Also, 120 respondents representing 40 percent of the total population agree that

NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office. While, 100 respondents representing 33 percent strongly agree to this effect and only 20 respondents representing 7 percent stand neutral to this question. 60 respondents disagree while no respondent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office.

It was noted that 40 percent of the total population agree that NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election. 33 percent strongly agree to this effect and only 7 percent stand neutral. 60 of the respondents disagree while none strongly disagree to the fact that NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election.

From the findings, 25 percent of the total population agreed that NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office. Also, 40 percent strongly agree to this effect while 10 respondents disagreed. 20 percent strongly disagree to the fact that NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office. Only 12% respondents stood neutral to this question.

Also, it was established that the people of Benin City in Benin metropolis believe in the policies of Buhari through the influence of NTA station. 31 percent of the total population agreed that Benin City resident believe President Buhari's policies due NTA station coverage. 30 percent strongly agreed to this effect while 30 respondents disagreed. 7 percent strongly disagreed to the fact that Benin City resident believe in President Buhari's policies due NTA station coverage. While 22% respondents stood neutral to this question.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The study basically examined the Audience Perception of the Role of NTA in Promoting President Buhari's policies: A study of Benin City Residents. Without doubt the role of television in promoting the social, economic and particularly political development of Nigeria is cannot be underestimated. It offers platform for political debates, activism, political promotion, political mobilization and policies campaign.

The Buhari first administration was a monumental relationship with Edo state due to the affiliation in the political party that brought him to power. Since the Edo government was under the umbrella of APC it become an onus saddled on the state owned station NTA to promote the affairs of her pay master. The research practically explained how NTA finely promoted the policies of Buhari administration in both the first tenure and the current administration.

The research was divided into five chapters; Chapter one contains the background in the study, statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, methodology, limitations of the study and definition of terms. Similarly, in Chapter two; meaning of television, policy and form of policy, and role of television, television and political mobilization were discussed. In Chapter three of the study, survey research method was adopted in which 400 copies of questionnaires were administered and 300 were retrieved. Simple random sampling technique was also adopted to select respondents.

Chapter four of the project revolved on the data analysis and interpretations of findings. The frequency and percentage method of data analysis was used.

This chapter contains the summary, conclusion and recommendation of the study.

5.2 Conclusion

Having examined the responses from the respondents and reviewed some literatures on the topic and analyze some responses from the selected respondents. It is safe to conclude that NTA station plays and continue to playing a crucial role in policy development of Buhari and Nigeria.

Basically, past administrations in the country had attempted to nip the menace of corruption in the bud but their efforts had yielded very little or no reprieve. So was the ugly situation that in May 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari, as part of his administration's ten-point agenda, vowed to fight against the "pervasive corruption" which had crippled human and infrastructure development in the country for decades. President Muhammadu Buhari major policies have been to tackle the issue of corruption which NTA has finely promoted over the years.

One key challenge facing the Nigerian state is violence and instability that had plagued northern Nigeria as a result of the activities of the Islamic militant group Boko Haram. However, while the attention of the international media and western powers has been largely focused on the militancy of Boko Haram in northern Nigeria, NTA have been more focused in the economic policies of Buhari promoting his agendas properly with some political biases.

Larger percentage of the respondents established that some information are provided base on half-truth due to the political affiliation of the state and federal government. However, 57 percent of the total population agreed that audiences in Benin accept the impact of President Buhari's policies due to NTA's coverage. Only a few respondents stood neutral to this. Thus, it is important to state that NTA finely carried out massive campaign and promotion of PMB policies in office as a state owned media and is able to convince the masses towards accepting these contents.

5.3 Recommendations

From the findings, the research recommends the following:

1. Since the media is the opium of the society, maintaining the social responsibility in setting agenda is important. Therefore, NTA should continually be a watchdog of the society instead of playing double standard.
2. That ownership of NTA should not interfere in the activities of the reportage in order to achieve the truth in every government activity and coverage.
3. That NTA and every other media station should be independent from control and influence, hence they should serve the society and promote truth at every given time. Policies that will improve the standard of the people should be covered rather than covering irrelevant policies base on party loyalty and affiliations.
4. Since NTA is the voice of Edo masses, as well as the eyes, it is imperative of the NBC to monitor and control public stations with same measure they control private. Thus, NTA content and every other public funded broadcasting station should be monitored and free from misleading the masses.

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APPENDIX I

Department of Mass Communication,
Auchi Polytechnic Auchi,
Auchi.

12th October, 2022.

Dear Respondent,

Request to Complete a Questionnaire

I am a final year student of Mass Communication; I am conducting research on “**Audience Perception of the Role of NTA in Promoting President Buhari’s policies: A study of Benin City Residents.**”

The research is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Higher National Diploma (HND) in Mass Communication.

I will be grateful for your assistance and co-operation in spending a few minutes to complete the attached questionnaire in order to facilitate the research.

I assure you that the information you provide will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will be used strictly for academic purposes.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Etokhana Jennifer

Researcher

APPENDIX II
Questionnaire

Instruction

Please tick (✓) or (x) as appropriate

SECTION A

1. Age:

(a) 18 – 25 [] (b) 26 – 30 [] (c) 30 and above []

2. Gender:

(a) Male [] (b) Female []

3. Academic Qualification of Respondents:

(a) FSLC/SSCE [] (b) ND [] (c) HND/BA [] (d) M.sc and Above []

4. Marital Status:

(a) Single [] (b) Married [] (c) Divorced []

5. Religion:

(a) Christianity [] (b) Islam [] (c) Others []

SECTIONB: PSYCHOGRAPHIC DATA

6. Do you have an active access to Television (s)?

Yes [] (b) No [] (c) Undecided []

7. Do you have an active access to NTA Television (s)?

Yes [] (b) No [] (c) Undecided []

8. NTA station was actively involved in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office?

(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []

9. NTA station promoted Buhari policies before, during and after election?

(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed [] (e)
Neutral []

10. NTA was effective in the coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office?

(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []

11. NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office transparent?

(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []

- 12. NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office effective?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []
- 13. NTA coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office politically oriented?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []
- 14. Benin City resident believe in President Buhari's policies due NTA station coverage?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []
- 15. Edo resident are positive about President Buhari's administration due NTA station coverage?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []
- 16. Benin City resident accepts the impact of President Buhari's policies due NTA station coverage?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []
- 17. The presentation of Buhari policies by NTA has affected how the masses sees NTA station?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []
- 18. NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office is positive?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []
- 19. NTA station coverage of President Buhari's policies over the years in office has rendered public station as government prey?**
(a) Agreed [] (b) Strongly Agreed [] (c) Disagreed [] (d) Strongly Disagreed []
(e) Neutral []