

PRINT MEDIA AS A TOOL FOR POLITICAL PROPAGANDA AND IDEOLOGY, A CASE
STUDY OF TRIBUNE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF 2015 GENERAL ELECTION IN
NIGERIA

BY

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ATTESTATION

I, ABDULHAMEED UTHMAN TAIWO hereby attest that this research report is carried out by me and that I am solely responsible for all errors and omissions, if any,

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this research work was carried out by ABDULHAMEED UTHMAN TAIWO with the matriculation number (TAM/14/2098) in the Department of Theatre and Media, Faculty of Arts, Federal University, Oye Ekiti, under the supervision of Dr. Olaide Nasir.

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DEDICATION

This project work is dedicated to the supreme Almighty God, the Most Beneficent and the Most Merciful, who in His grace and blessing guides, direct and leads me throughout the course of carrying out this research work as well as during my four years stay in the university. I also dedicate this project work to my able father Abdulhameed Oladipupo, a strict personality, who supported me in all ways in finance and prayers as well as his poignant remark that keep me motivated throughout my stay in school.

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ABSTRACT

Media in our society today has been deployed as a possible means of transmitting political messages and ideology, focusing on print which impact and relevance outshone other media form. However, this research work aims at finding out how printed material (Newspaper) fared in coverage, reportage and affiliation when it comes to political affairs and how political constructions translate into the concept of media phases focusing the 2015 general election in Nigeria. However, similar review of literature concerning the working title was outlined in establishing opinions on how the print media platform was exploited by political personnel's in portraying their ideology. Examining the Nigerian Tribune Newspaper, the study employed the use of content analytical approach in subsection of selected Tribune papers to thorough evaluation and segregation. However, the research findings shows different patterns of coverage and affiliations as the placement of stories on front pages of the newspaper recorded 64.2% of politics/policy new stories while the inner pages also recorded almost average percentage of 42.4 of political stories, also, the data on campaign coverage of the paper understudy witnessed 82.7% affiliations with PDP, with APC 13.5%, however, the party APC also witnessed 81.5% of criticism and castigation stories while PDP recorded the least of 16.3%. with this generated data, it is obvious that high campaign coverage and affiliations was given to the ruling party PDP/candidate while the opponent party APC/Candidate were castigated in all ramification, also, the paper understudy reportage and coverage of other parties/candidates was extremely low or no coverage at all, establishing the usage and influence of the print enterprise (Tribune) when

it comes to political transmission in elevation and castigation of political parties. The study later suggests that the media should uphold objectivity and adhere to the ethics guiding journalism by providing a fair and balanced political reportage.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Print media has been the earliest form of media outlet in Nigeria, this oldest form include printed materials or publication such as newspaper, magazine, journal, books, novellas, newsletter and pamphlets. The printed materials are reputed to be responsible for more news reports than any other news sources (Sola Balogun pg.23). However, many radio and television presentation follow-up stories that have been published in newspaper. In Nigeria for example, people have come to rely heavily on media information to source news from, more than any other channels, therefore, the tendency of this influence of media on people is basically what will be highlighted in the content of this research work. However, the media in any society plays vital roles in the social, cultural, economic and political lives of the people (Sola Balogun pg.11). Therefore becoming a major aspect of the people's lives.

However, this research work will deeply focus on media and politics (especially on print media 'newspaper'), highlighting the tendency of extreme coverage of political actions, party manifestoes, awareness, as well as political candidates during election. More so, politics and the media has always be interwoven for decades, with printed material "newspaper" to be the earliest form of media outlet for dissemination of information and being the first medium to give room for political ideology. The political ideology here denotes government or political party having absolute control, influence or supremacy over a media outlet for disseminating information. Umaru & Chinenye et al 58) posited that, in our society today, the media have been

employed and hijacked as a means of selling political parties. This clearly tends to leave the society member as victims as a result of the news extracted from the media platforms.

However, the research **1.2 aims and objectives** is clearly meant to expose the media (basically the newspaper biasness and their tendency in favor of ideology of political coverage and affiliation, providing a profound and reformist alternative to enhance media impartiality.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The importance of this research does not varies from the fact that 90% of adults in Nigeria depend on general media channels for information, while about 60% of information are extracted from newspaper, meanwhile, 95% of broadcasting media including radio and television depends on newspaper headlines for their daily news broadcast.

However, if newspaper information favors political ideology and opens to propaganda, then the rest of the media outlet will be dissimilar. Therefore, this research work will deeply emphasized on exposing print media system when it comes to partiality in information dissemination, and also bringing/ raising issues that will awake media system to get rid of nepotism, favoritism, negative propaganda and ideologies.

1.4 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This research work will extremely by no means be a newspaper based research (an aspect of print media) and as well linking it to other media channels. However, the newspaper research work will also be limited to “Tribune” a newspaper enterprise.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What relevance is print media to the society
2. What is the nature of coverage given to various issues by the paper under study
3. Did the newspaper enterprise affiliate to a political party during coverage of 2015 election?
4. Does the paper under study criticize in order to detriment a party/party candidates during 2015 election?
5. What has ownership has to do with issues.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

The research methodology that will be deployed during the course of this research work will strictly be a quantitative approach, meaning that it will take a form of content analytical approach of selected “tribune” papers, in as well as embarking on a field survey.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are different theories that backed-up this research work (basically political communication), however, I will emphasize mainly on the theory of;

Kenneth Burke: Dramatism: the political communication theory and;

Zanism: political communication as absurdity.

1.8 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study will alone cover ‘Tribune newspaper’ among bunches of newspaper series in Nigeria, however, it will be restricted to the above not exceeding this form of print media outlet and also highlighting series of established research work of this same content.

1.9 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Propaganda: This is the form of persuasion used to influence people’s attitudes, beliefs and behavior, a form of spreading information, ideas or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person. The term also refers to concerted set of messages used in influencing people opinion and generating instance responses.

Ideology: Ideology is a comprehensive set of normative beliefs, conscious and unconscious ideas that an individual, group or society has. However, political ideologies can be proposed by the dominant class of society such as the elites to all member of the society as an influence.

Print media: Print media is any form of published material which is composed of newspapers, community newsletter, wire services, magazines, journals and other publications that passes specific information’s to readers.

Politics: This is an activity that is associated with the governing body, governance of a country or area, holding absolute supremacy in a given society; also it can take a form of political party especially the debate between parties having power. Politics can be translated into; gaining influence on public affairs, diplomacy. However, politics is also referred to as activity aimed at improving someone’s status or increasing power within an organization.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Evolution of print media in Nigeria

The modern newspaper which all accessed today has its root initially in the 17th century in Europe. However, in Nigeria, print media began in the middle of 19th century. The first printing press was established precisely in 1846, with the effort of two missionaries; Hope Wadel and Samuel Edgerlyin Calabar, south eastern Nigeria (as recorded). The hope Wadel press as it was named was used for the mass production of religious tract and booklet. According to SolaBalogunp11, “the 1846 “Presbyterians” mission press was said to be established mainly to increase the literacy level among the people and to enhance their acquisition of knowledge through reading short stories and essays on religious matter”

The missionary Henry Townsend create massive awareness when he established another printing press in the western part of Nigeria in 1854, not limited to this, HenryTownsend also started a school of printing where he trained pupils at Abeokuta, five yearslater, Townsend started “IweIroyin”, the first contemporary Nigeria made newspaper. However, the mission printing press established by Townsend folded up in 1862 due to the cultural and political crisis that erupted between the Egba people and the European settlers (Echeruo p19). Therefore, this newspaper was basically aimed at curbing illiteracy among the Egba people, as it combined social, cultural, and political commentary with religious reporting as a strategy to reach out to its targeted readers. (Check Solabalogun p11). The establishment of this newspaper create model for establishment of series of other newspaper on printing scene.

In 1862, another printing press was set up by Robert Campbell, as well as Caxton printing press established in 1875 by Richard Blaize. As record indicates, by the end of the 1880s not less than five printing presses has been established in Lagos. As a result of this, Nigeria government also take a major step in establishing a printing press at broad street, Lagos in 1914 as a developmental process, because existing printing press were owned by missionaries. The government printing press was clearly meant to provide stationary materials to the government during the colonial era. Meanwhile four government press offices were established at Enugu, Ibadan, Cameroon and Lagos.

However, this department became a very important body in government, because government related information can be published firsthand and be easily accessed by people. Other instances of private owned press established later in the 90s include Adeshingin, Tika-tore press in 1910, CMS press in Lagos (1913). Samuel Pearce-Awoboh press in 1920, Ajibade hope rising press, Washington Osilaja'Sifeolu press, P.C-Thomas, Ekabo press and Babamuboni'sTanimola press all in 1913.

However, another tremendous achievement sparked in 1925 with the inauguration of the Nigeria printing and publishing company to publish Nigeria daily times, with the company having what it takes to run a proper and effective printing press. Progressively, the printing business in Nigeria continues to grow due to its viability which accounted for well over 30 print houses as at 1930. Another addition is the UK newspaper "daily mirror" establishing/ importing its brand printing press to Nigeria (citation). In addition Nigeria Tribune was also established in 1949 by the then premier of western region, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, aimed at reporting political, economic and local issues as well as a par basis for development in the region.

The printing press/houses that still stand on its feet at present include; blue print (Abuja)may2011, business day, Lagos 2005,Compass Abeokuta 2008, complete sport Lagos 1995, daily times, Lagos 1925, guardian Lagos 1983, independent, Lagos 2001, mirror Abuja 2006, tribune, Ibadan 1949, new telegraphLagos 2014, punch Lagos 1971, premium times Abuja 2001, vanguard Lagos 1983, daily post Lagos 2013, daily trust Abuja 1998, Among others.

2.2THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF PRINT MEDIA IN OUR SOCIETY

Print media since its inception has always been playing the role of dissipating information to the audience, and with the oldest form of publication to be newspaper, which can be easily accessed at cheaper rate. However, flashing across those years when printed material incepted, the newspaper and magazine was able to feed people then what they can't reach to. And people depend on these printed materials to understand and grasped scenario of what is happening in the country, feeding reader's specific information's about new decree, orders and other related issues across the globe. Before radio and television invention, print has always be the main source where information are dispersed, and up till the present century print has never lost its important value in the society, although technology has taken over the world and a whole lot of print media headlines can be found on electronic media, but still, the unique value of print still remain unrivalled.

According to SolaBalogun pg1 "the print media has been so influential and significant in human history because regular readers of newspaper and magazine tend to be more politically and socially active". The readers of print media usually show active interest in news; centered on political, social and economic issues in the society". Apart from the above assertion, the print media is also reputed to be responsible for more news report on other platform which includes broadcast & electronic media clearly more than any other sources.

In modern societies, many news reports on television are more often than not, mere follow-up stories about news that have been published in newspaper (Sola Balogun pg2).

However, with the above write up and review, we can conclude on the significant tendency of print and its supremacy over other media outlet, this is because, the other popular channels of information dissemination picks their stories from printed materials, reporting and presenting whatever that is published. This proves the uniqueness and the vital role print media plays in our society.

2.3 THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

Kenneth Burke

According to Golden, Berquist et.al pg157; Kenneth burke ranks as the foremost rhetorical theorist of the 20th century... roaming so freely and authoritatively over the humanities and the social and behavioral sciences in order to construct a system that explains how communicators, and in particular, political commentators; can persuade their listeners. However, Burke calls this system “Dramatism” he views it, politics, like all other aspects of life is drama.

DRAMATISM

Dramatism is an interpretative communications studies theory that was devised by Burke as a meta-method for analyzing human relationship. This theory compares life to a drama and provides the most direct route to human motives and human relationship. According to Wikipedia “this theory set the five dramatic pentad strategy for viewing life as not as life itself, by comparing each social unit involved in human activities as five element of drama; act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose to answer the empirical questions of how persons explain their action, and to find ultimate motivation of human activities.

ELEMENTS OF DRAMATISM

Scene

This scene is a container, the place where the action of the act occurs. This includes both physical location and the contextual situation, occasion, event, time. People who put emphasis here believe that changing the scene changes everything else (Burke 11). Scenes generated by communicators include a market scene, or occupational gatherings whereby the agent addressed his/her audience.

Act

The act is a motivated and purposeful action. It may be a simple, single action such as moving or speaking. The act is an important part of the meaning, though it is not the whole meaning, but most times it is drawn on persuasive sentences. The act is thoroughly regarded to as the whole idea or intention of a speaker (inner or outer motive that is needed to be met)

Agent

The agent is the person or group of people who perform/involved in the act. They are the characters in the story, the people who enact the meaning. And also motives such as hatred, envy and love can also act as agents as they are the moving force that acts. Meanwhile countries and organization can also act as agents. People who are focus here believes that you need strong individuals to make things happens. Agents are perpetrator of the whole idea who are vying in return, rewards that will complement their given effort.

Agency

Agency is the techniques or methods by which the agent achieves their goals. This maybe a sequence of acts encompassed by an idea or principle. The agency in this context of media construct is usually the whole media forum itself. Perpetrators deploy and manipulate the media as agency of their thought, they believe media to be a fast link that influence audience imagination for their acts. However, political communicator believe the agency to beany media source, whereby the perpetrator or propagandist deployed to exercise and establish their agenda and since the latter is a powerful weapon that influence audience mindset (gradually or instantly), the agent focuses on the media use.

Purpose

The purpose is the reason that the agent acts, the outcome they are seeking from what they do, sometimes it is obvious and in the open, at other times the agent purpose maybe cover and hidden. Purpose maybe layered and distracting, for example; where an apparent good purpose cloaks or supersede an underlying selfish motive.

However, Dennis Brissett and Charles Edgely examine the utility of Dramatism on different level which can be categorized as;

POLITICAL DRAMA'S

It is acknowledged that the political process has become more and more a theatrical image or dramatic spectacle worthy of a show-business metaphor on a grand scale. Scholars also study how dramaturgical materials create essential images by analyzing political advertising and campaign, stagecraft-like diplomacy,for example; Philip. E. Tetlocks tried to answer why presidents became more complex in their thinking after winning campaign; he found the reason

not to be the president's own cognitive adjustment but a means of impression management (Brissett et.al).

POPULAR ART

Dwight MacDonald and Ernest van den Haag cited by Dennis Brissett viewed that, "popular or mass culture function not as scene, but as one might ordinarily expect as agency "Masscult" itself, which is the force involve in the act of brainwashing the public into accepting lower standard of art. This act is accomplished with the sub-agency of modern electronic technology (the mass media)".

However, in analyzing how politician act their drama, the basics is found in what burke terms "identification" according to burke "you persuade a man only in so far as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, image, attitude, idea (thus) identifying your ways with his' (Golden et.al 158). Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg11 continued in his book that identification comes through shared substances" an omnibus term to describe a person's physical characteristics, talent, occupation, background, personality, beliefs and value. The more overlap there is between the substance of the speaker and the substance of the listener/reader, the greater the identification (Umaru&chinenye11). For example: there is an attempt of identification when politician is addressing an audience of farmer saying, "I was a farmer myself" or "I am a business man like most of you" also there is such a deliberate ploy when Nigeria politician place pictures of themselves, as they sometimes do, mimicking the likes of Nelson Mandela and Barrack Obama in their campaign billboard and print advertisement. All tend to be acting.

Burke advocate in the theory that journalist, editor in communication should look for sign of victimage before publication, for instance, Olusegun Obasanjo repeated protestations that he did

not desire a third-term in office, even while his body language suggested otherwise with indoor meeting to amend constitution. Also in Burkean theory, victimage is the process of designating an external enemy as the source of one's problem. In everyday life such candidates are many; people blame the government, the ruling party, the police, the witches in their family, their mother-in-law, the devil etc.

Lastly, the dramatic pentad of burke theory advocate that student of political communication should study political messages based on god-term or devil-term used by the speaker (positive or negative) in order to avoid revealing of message on ill term structure.

ZANISM: POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AS ABSURDITY

The word Zanism is more familiarly used in reference to a quasi-religious movement founded in the early 1990s, as an attempt to escape the tyranny of sanity, without falling into the prison of zany (advance dictionary). The term Zanism is derived from the word "zany" which implies the state of being amusingly unconventional, absurd or clownish. According to Almond cited by Umaru & Chinenye pg16 posited that the word zany was first used in English to designate a comic performer attending on a clown, a stooge.

However, Zanism as a political communication constructs refers to the practice common in many developing countries whereby the media becomes mere clowns or stooges of the political elites. Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg16 again postulated that, "the media are important in this zany melee for they supply symbolic, meditational and projective means for the substance of the status quo and its concomitant absurdities". According to Akpan & Idiong 2012; "journalist have become book-

licking lapdogs of the political class”. The news writer conjures ridiculous superlatives in a bid to flatters their puppeteers, perpetrators and present a rosy picture of the state of affairs.

Therefore, this takes a form of political journalism that consist false and hackneyed phrases and clinched new bulletin. Soon, the citizens become blasé to its repetitive formula and its invariable, irritating sycophancy (Akpan & Idiong 2012).

The basic characteristics of Zanism include the following:

- An exaggerated and obsequious pre-occupation with the real and supposed achievement of the political puppeteer/ perpetrators, i.e. of the person or person in power
- The exclusion or near-exclusion of the opposition from media coverage except where such mention or alteration is negative and/or deprecatory
- An attempt to portray the political domain of the puppeteer and the status quo that sustains the puppeteer, as perfect or near perfect.
- An effort to restrict the operation of alternative media, voice or failing that, to portray them as lacking credibility and as reporting from a jaundiced viewpoint, the implication being that the accusing media and their controller are the only unbiased parties.
- A repetitive and restrictive use, on the part of the media of journalists that bear close resemblance to the parlance of the political party or oligarchy that controls the media, which media, funded through publicity and not owned by the political party, are nonetheless wholly subservient to the party or oligarchy.

Lastly, Zanism is an attempt to put a name to a style of political affairs reporting that sometimes goes under the erroneous rubric of developmental journalism if anything; it is an aberration of that ordinarily innocuous doctrine. It is neither the old style communist media theory nor is it

authoritarianism per se. however, this kind of theory is important because it plays a part in shaping and legitimating media institutions and has considerable influence on the expectation concerning the media that are held by... the media own audience (McQuail15).

2.4 MEDIA, POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

As media was captured to be a medium of dissemination of information to mass audience through different sources, then it is important to note how this source were used by political propagandist to achieve a goal for personal benefit.

The media in any society plays a pivotal role in the society, since the information shared or cast out is to be extracted by a given mass audience. Schramn and Portal cited by Umaru, Chinenye et.al observed that, “the media have been involved in every significant social change since they came into existence; these include intellectual, political, industrial and revolutions in tastes, aspiration and values”. However, the society relies on a source or medium to feed them, what they can’t reach to in the form of social, cultural and political stance in a society. That is why I polished a phrase “society demand and media supply” meaning that, people thirst for information, while media in return invigorate the thirst.

However, the media was perceived by mass audience as intermediary that supplied information which is believed to have undergone a practical process, in as well as providing series of report including world news, local news, business, health, drama, lectures, orientation and other forms of existing programmes which is clearly meant to lead the listeners, readers and media patrons to development intellectually, politically and educationally in one way or the other.

Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg52 makes a significant comment when they quote that “the mass media have played crucial role in the growth and development of societies... the development of intellect leading to action, political awareness, beliefs, culture and heritage”. However, Gitlin pg18 also posited that in many societies people have come to rely almost entirely on the media for information and explanation of significant events in politics, business, history, commerce etc. therefore analyzing with the above point of view, we can deduce that media has been a major tool for information dissemination in our society today. So, the media has a take or impact on the society members, because it is what media supply on its platforms that will indisputably feed her listeners/reader/audience.

Therefore,in politics, the media have been hijacked as a means of selling political parties, their candidates, campaigns, programmes and policies in as well as propaganda and ideologies (Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg53).

THE USE OF MEDIA DURING ELECTORAL PROCESS

The media have played and continued to play very significant role in shaping the political processes through the coverage of elections, party activities as well as showcasing policies and programmes of government. The concept politics in this context solemnly portrays the government driven ideology, exercising control/supremacy over a media outlet and its delivered information. More so, the media help to set or promote a hidden agenda for public discussions by focusing on certain issues in order to generate public awareness or view on issue raised.

Today, one can safely conclude that it will be suicidal for anyone to dismiss the power of the media in the political process (Umaru, Chinenye pg53). This fact is duly acknowledge by Norman cited by (Nwosu pg66) when he assert “for better or worse, we lived in an age which is

characterized by the widespread use of various channels of communication (including political advertising media) for a broad range of political gain and other purposes.. This comment made it vivid that the power of media especially print, in the shaping of political process is clearly beyond limit, because media is considered to be the best tool by politicalpropagandist in their ill spreading and propagation of their ideologies, manifestoes and their self-interest driven-agendas. For instance, if a candidate is contesting for election, even before rally he would have been in contact with press, media houses and publishers about his plan for the people after election. And however, the fact that people extract facts and happening from the media platform, they get access to the candidate propaganda (negative or positive) even without firsthand meeting with the candidate.

Also, the comment by Norman reflects the great influence that media wield the political process. This also has led some people to speculate that the media uses influence to promote/detriment candidates or political party during or before election. For example, the media have been accused of giving strong coverage to political parties and candidates who are willing to spend more advertising money, while ignoring those with low or no advertising budget (Umaru, Chinenye et.al p56). The obvious effect or consequence here is that, the electorate tend largely to be influenced by the attention and coverage given to such political party and their candidate, to a certain extent that rivals/sycophants gives in voting for the candidate. And to an extreme extent, when an electorate suspects a candidate to be a negative propagandist, he might later be convinced by media information about the candidate.

Empirically, it can be ascertained that the influence of media on politics has really help and geared candidates to success, this is not because the given candidate is genuinely humane,

humble and godly in personality or tested to be a quality leader but due to the media attention and coverage given to the candidates and his party as a result of the sum offered to the media.

2.5 COMMUNICATION AND POLITICAL MARKETING IN NIGERIA

In Nigeria today, communication has been a major aspect in human life and existence, because it deals with passing or sending information for the other party to decode, grasped and got enlightened. Communication is said to be inevitable in human existence.

Therefore, political marketing can be referred to as an act of selling government policy, action and agendas as well as selling political candidates during or before election. Nwosu further posited in his book that “the communication channel propagate the widespread of broad range of political gain, when he was highlighting Norman pontification on related issues, This idea received a backup from Samaila pg67 when he emphasized on the fact that marketing technique is clearly used to influence voter during elections which depend heavily on this strategy to achieve political goal. Political marketing is in form of propaganda (persuasion) that relies on media to aid the process of achieving their aim.

THE ORIGIN

The brief origin of political marketing/ political advertisement started in the United States. Anim (2013) recalled that “political advertising began at a rudimental level with the use of printed materials like pamphlets, posters, and rallies to sell candidates”. The origin of political advertising started with print and with the advent of broadcast media the tempo of political advertisement heightens.

However, in Nigeria, political advertisement emerged after independence precisely by the then action group (AG) candidate chief Obafemi Awolowo who used sky writing ads (a form of print) during his political rally in 1964/65 generation in order to pass message to the electorate (Nzeribe) cited by (Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg57). This was the first attempt of political marketing in Nigeria and was spear headed by Awolowo. The sky ads used at rallies consists details or Information about Obafemi Awolowo and his party emblem which is considered to be a strategy for mass awareness.

According to (Umaru, Chinenye et.al p57) “The 1993 general election appears to be an exemption with the introduction of the two party system by the Babangida regime, the candidate of the social democratic party (SDP) chief M.K.O Abiola and that of the national republican convention (NRC) Alhaji Bashir Tofe (counterpart) used political advertising extensively which were issue based”.

However communication and political advertising has been interweaving since independence even till today, with politician and political candidates taking necessary advantage on the use of existing media platform to sell their agendas in persuading the electorates. The political marketing process is devised and used to sell party candidates by persuading electorate (Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg57). However, the government owned media houses promote its owners as well as defragmenting opponents against all odd. This scenario tend to be worrisome because it translate to a culture of disregard for public opinion and adoption of impunity by political leaders (Umaru, Chinenye pg60)

STRATEGIES DEPLOYED

Samaila pg196 in his attempt he captured the above term saying “the use of marketing techniques in politics is clearly (an ideology) to influence the voting process by (buying) decision of the electorate (costumer)”. In a broader term however, he says “the concept involves the use of marketing system, method or strategy to achieve political goals. To arrive at this, the media was perceived to be the major tool they can adopt, since advert is ruinous, making direct impact and influence on audience thought, mind and imagination (Olufemi pg232). Nkammebe quoted by Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg56 posited that “the customer satisfaction through the presentation of quality product increased sales”. Although Samaila believes what is practiced as political marketing in Nigeria is all about the application of marketing methods rather than the satisfaction of the customer.

The comment by Samaila clearly point out the use of media by political candidates as something related to political marketing, the marketing system adopt persuading people , bribing media houses to sell their agenda in order to arouse interest from customer (electorate or masses).

Also, NcNair pg84 view emphasized that “the term is synonymous to political advertising which they see as (purchase and use of advertising space) paid for at commercial rate in order to transmit political message to a mass audience”. This simply deals with politician making the use of media as a platform for advertising a candidate for election especially in print, which has been a common medium used by majority in our contemporary society today. Taking a cursory glance at this political advert content, political party/candidate contact journalists to publish their achievement, agenda and plans in order to convince people, giving them a par basic why they deserve to contest. During the time of election, it is a rare case you access or read headlines on

any media platform that does not portrays political party/candidate gist's, this is because the media has been driven vehemently by politics, clearly due to the huge sum offered to them for marketing and commercials.

However, it is certain that the whole idea of establishing a media platform is to source the society stocks/bunches of information that is genuine and undeniably not diluted with personal gain and political interest. In this content media should serve the society/public not mainly for publicity and also dealing with impartiality, without being biased and not just allowing information to pass without a valid and effective investigation.

2.6 MEDIA FREEDOM AND FAIR PLAY

Media freedom can be captured as the supreme tendency of media or press to source, reports and published information without passing through any form of repudiation and molestation. Of course, Nigeria is a multicultural country, and therefore the political process in the country has always been characterized by conflict, ethnic rivalries as well as racial segregation. So what can the media do to ensure fair play?

Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg138 posited that “there is no doubt that the media could shape the thought processes of a nation... (Fair or biased)”and for the fact that Nigeria is a multicultural domain as a nation, therefore will the media report issues that will justify ethnic differences or affiliate to one and deserting the others? These are the major issue to discuss in the content of this work. Let's take this for an example; if Tribune, a southwest newspaper favor or affiliate to the southwest people in its news publication as well as Sahara reporters favoring the north, will this ensure a media fair play? No, because some sects have been secede and isolated.

However, the above author's (pg139) also maintained that;

One of the intervening variables is the culture available for media practice...As a watchdog of the society; it is expected of the media to give out Information, headlines and news in a way that will make the public to generate their own view... The media must be transparent, believable and credible to play the watchdog role.

The above phrase advocates for media flexibility to generate public view and opinion, as a result of being the society watchdog who generate, report and publishes facts/happenings and also the need of media/press to be independent and fearless in all content in order to ensure impartiality.

According to Ekeanyanwu

Media freedom is variously defined but mostly emphasizing context, constitutionality and convenience without sounding simplistic...
Media freedom is the freedom to source for news and information of whatever nature, from anywhere and at any time... and the freedom to report such news and information in any form, through any medium to the people in whose name freedom is being exercised.

This comment arouses two distinct issues;

- Freedom of media to source for news or information
- Freedom to report news and information

However, freedom to source news wholly depicts the press liberty to gather relevant information without harassment restrictions and hindrance. Journalist around the world have once argued that there should be a legislation assisting and protecting them when sourcing for information in form of agencies/ independent bodies or parastatas, but the government turn off its attention toward this whistling. However, the ability of the journalist to investigate and reveal hidden facts becomes the basis for the assessment of the success of the journalist and his media organization (Umaru, Chinenye pg141). The press should therefore, investigate, reveal and published what is hidden, without the prohibition of private and public official from disclosing information, this

will become the major or tremendous achievement of any media organization to account for, as advocated by the above authors.

Ekeanyanwu further maintained that; “the idea of legislation (law) compelling people to reveal certain information sound crazy-like and unprofessional”. That you identify yourself as a journalist is not good enough reason for everyone to talk to you about related issues or event in question (Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg141). However, the ability or technique of a journalist is to probe people (to make them talk even when they don’t want to) that should be the journalism.

Moreover, the second phrase which advocates the freedom of press to report news or information without any sort of harassment, molestation, sanctioning, intimidation, fear or favor as well as victimization, all are contentious issues to discuss.

According to Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg141 “no government in the world stops his press from reporting/publishing news and information” is this true? There are several cases in Nigeria whereby reporters were sacked and sanctioned for publishing certain information.

Ekeanyanwu pg45 further posited;

Publishers ,professional journalist, media scholars and enlighten individuals and citizenry all agree that government should remove impediment to the freedom of media organization to publish news and information, as long as such news and information reported or published are factual, objective and of consequence to the majority of the country.

However, according to the above author, he advocated or argued in favor of the press freedom, he believes that the government should adhere to publisher liberty to report and publish information in as much as it is factual, reliable, and free from fallacy and blasphemy. Sometimes, reporter might cooked-up stories, false article or write-up without valid investigation, this

sort should be disposed, but if a news or information is valid, genuine and factual, notwithstanding that it does not favor a particular sect, then it should be allowed to pass through publishing process and reported.

CHALLENGES FACED BY PRESS, PUBLISHERS AND PUBLICATIONS

There are several attempts by government or by its agency that are primarily targeted at frustrating the media organization to gather and disseminate information through obstructions, inhibition, harassment and legal constraints. Some of these challenges include the following;

➤ Denial or reduction in the supply of newsprint;

A newspaper power to publish could be curtailed through the outright denial or reduction in the supply of newsprints. Newsprint is used by the press to print/publish their newspaper and magazines. The scarcity poses a big threat to printing and when the media organizations can no longer print, the required numbers of copies of the newspaper per day supply suffers and readership declines. This is exactly what happens in the newspaper industry when the newsprint is absent (Ekeanyanwu).

➤ Illegal detention, harassment and intimidation;

This is another major means through which the practice of journalism is threatened. In our society today, there are several cases of how journalists were illegally detained on flimsy charges or no charges at all.

For instance, in Nigeria, a journalist was given a compulsory haircut with a broken bottle because he reported teachers strike on the birthday of the state governor. This harassment and intimidation lead to fear which in turn affect extensively and negatively the practice of

journalism. However, the negative practice also results to unethical and unprofessional conduct just to satisfy the journalist oppressors (Ekeanyanwu).

➤ **Impounding of copies of press publication;**

The seizure of published materials obstructs smooth operation of press organization. (Umaru& Chinenye). When copies of newspaper, magazines are seized, dissemination of information will be shut down as well as distribution. The news published will not be accessed; also advertisement won't be achieved leading to a major set-back in a country.

➤ **The closure or threats of closure of media houses;**

This happens a lot in our society today whereby, the incumbent government or agency threatens to close down a media house or printing organization, due to the fact that information disclose does not favor them, thereby charging them on unusual flimsy excuse/issues for closure.

➤ **Over taxation by government;**

This is a common challenge facing media in our community today, the enormous imposed sum on media houses today by the government are not affordable, it is rather a step which was taken to frustrate media organization from operating or functioning effectively. A case of over taxation has led to shut down of several media houses in some part of the country.

➤ **Pressure from family members and employers;**

Journalist often faced undue pressure from friends, relatives, and employers. Since the profession is not too rewarding financially, friends and family members could put pressure on the journalist

to accept financial grants (popularly known as “brown envelope”) in order to allow false information to pass.

Also, employers of journalist also pressure their employee to carry out their egoistic wishes and protect their interest, and in this era of massive unemployment, every journalist will do anything to keep his job. And in the end, professionalism, ethics and morality are sacrificed and the public right to know the truth also suffers (Ekeanyanwu).

2.7 OWNERSHIP AND AGENDA SETTING ON MEDIA COVERAGE

According to Angela, Leonard et.al 2015 “a nation media coverage of issues reflects the view of those who hold and control economic and political power”. And if media content are to be perceived as the product of unspoken cultural values and beliefs by which people’s lives are controlled, then, it makes sense to assert that media content such as news, features, editorials, opinion etc. reflects the preference of the dominant structure (Anim 2013). However, the media in their day to day operations seems to be imposing this dominant ideology on their audience. This is carried out by the media as they perform the agenda-setting function. The following question was raised by Angela & Leonard et.al that;

Whose agenda are the media setting, is it the agenda of the power that be? Maybe they are trying to please those sustaining them or those that hold supreme power all emanating from high places. This very question is important in order to analyze the media functions nowadays. According to Griffin, “the media does not only set agenda for issues or persons that they want to portray as important, but they also transfer the salience of specific attributes belonging to those potential objects of interests.

(Galadima and Enighe pg62) also stated that “the media area often in liberal theory referred to as the “fourth estate” and the “watchdog” of the society. Meaning that, the media exists as an organ of information, sourcing and dissemination, education, promotion, surveillance, social enlightenment and mobilization”. Umaru, Chinenye et.al pg131, also acknowledge this “watchdog” as major characteristics of media. (Ndolo pg21), also avers McQuail, Wright among the many scholars that have studied the function of mass media as they identified surveillance, correlation, cultural transmission, entertainment, mobilization, integration, personal identity and social interaction as the major function of mass media.

Therefore, in performing this, the media often deviate, performing the function of agenda-setting as well as far from being objective establishing the popular quote of “he who pays the diapredictates the tune”. Meaning that, the media favors or side with their sponsors and others who are in control of them.

Olusola 2010 also captured that “the interest of the media ownership is a factor that is always taken into consideration in the presentation of any media content”. This expression point out the media ownership dictates the tendency of facts and information reveal in media outlets. In a case of private owned media house and government owned media outlet are proved to be loyal to their owner, and serving their interest. Media owned by government are often accused of serving as government mouthpiece or megaphone instead of serving the public interest and in the same way media organization owned by private individual and politicians are also often said to be biased of their owners and most of the time profit-driven in their coverage (Angela & Leonard et.al). The view of (Ume Chukwu 2001) is also similar when he maintained that “the Nigeria press has often been accused of aggravating the ugly situation through sinister prevarication in their reportage of events (politics, religious conflicts etc.)

Olusola 2010 also carried out a study on ownership and the coverage of child's right in Nigeria newspaper. The investigation was drawn on how ownership of media affects issue of child privilege against backdrop challenges in the society. The study through content analysis examined two national newspaper owned by two different structures, private and government. However, the finding shows different pattern in coverage, as government owned newspaper did better in the coverage while the private owned newspaper was relatively and generally low.

Also the Angela and Leonard et.al 2015 research work on ownership structure and coverage of 2015 general election in Nigeria was also understudy through similar content analysis of four national newspaper, two owned by politician while the other two owned by private businessman, findings shows scores of coverage given to various issues and affiliation, but however, the private owned newspaper was neutral in their coverage, given equal concern on various issues while politician owned newspaper served their owner interest in coverage and affiliation.

2.8 ANALYZING PROPAGANDA

Propaganda is a form of persuasion used to influence people's attitude, beliefs and behavior. Dictionary defines propaganda as the spreading of ideas, information or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause or a person. Propaganda has been around since and has been deployed for a cause for almost a 1000 years dating back to the past centuries, therefore, the advent of technologies clearly allow us to spread information to a mass group as it evolved to a scientific process capable of influencing a whole nation of people. Propaganda is most evident in time of elections, as it makes clear use of posters, billboard constantly used as a political and social means to influence peoples attitude and reaction.

However, it is clearly obvious, with all instance of commercial and advert on TV, that political candidate are using clear propaganda techniques to elevate themselves above their competition, therefore propagandist explore possible media channel to dispersed and express their propaganda of certain targeted mindset and aims needed to be met. It is also clear that modern propaganda uses all the media available to spread its message including press, radio, television, film, computer, fax-machines, posters, hand-bills, button, billboards, speeches, flags, street names, monument, stamps, books, plays, company report etc. it is most likely that some of these media uses are surprising, not limited to that, propaganda also focuses on the usage of the press in adopting a physical tactics of shaping peoples opinion. The press (newspaper and magazine) is important, because they are the two first subjects of mass media (Roger.D, Joseph.R pg320), and also current news and issues are spread through them.

According to Robert Cialdini “propaganda is so powerful because everyone is susceptible to it” this is true because propaganda cannot be recognize in a rapid instance, it takes an extreme intellectual instinct to discover a propaganda advocate by cunning perpetrators. However, to deal with this, we need shortcuts in analyzing and evaluating this popular scenario; this is done by recognition of event, situation and the perpetrators mindset and body language.

STAGES IN PROPAGANDA EVALUATION

Since propaganda has become a systematic process. It is possible to analyze how the media has used it in shaping public opinions and views. For instance, the media might advocate for the impact of the incumbent president in bringing back the missing Chibok girls, when the reality was the president using the scenario for political ambition and personal benefit. However, in determining and identifying propaganda one has to look into this stages Jowett and O’Donnell 213 advocate.

1. The content in which the propaganda occurs
2. The identification of the propagandist
3. The structure of the propaganda organization
4. The targeted audience
5. Media utilization techniques
6. Special various techniques.
7. Audience reaction to various technique
8. Counter-propaganda, if present
9. Effects and evaluation

However, this afore mentions will clearly aid media critic and individuals to detect a propaganda in any form and structure, as it make a vivid analysis on how perpetrators operates with the use of any possible media outlet to achieve their personal aims and objective.

In conclusion, propaganda as a concerted set of ideas and messages clearly aims at influencing large numbers of audience mindset, imagination and opinions in form of awareness, demanding in return, responses that will birth changes. However, propaganda is perceived to be a powerful weapon in political communication as it triggered responses of diversify targeted audience. So therefore, propaganda must be detected by journalist in all means in order to conceal ill transmission and dissemination.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This given chapter deals with strategies employed in the conduction of the whole study in content and structure during the process of data collection. However, the terminology in the chapter content which will be highlighted vividly later in the work includes; Research Design, Research Instrument, Validity and Reliability of Instrument, Administration of Instrument and Data Analysis.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This form of research work tends to be a form of print media essay in mass communication dealing clearly with intext of publication material in newspapers and magazines, however, the method for data generation format (Newspaper) in regard to the discuss or the working title is strictly devoted to quantitative approach, since quantitative approach of gathering data deals with opinion measurement, gauging of facts, analysis of a given content and opinion generation for possible analysis and conclusion.

This study is primarily meant to find how Newspaper (focusing on Tribune) fared in their reportage and affiliation using the 2015 general election in Nigeria as a case study. To achieve this, the study adopted the content analytical approach by analyzing the reportage of political coverage, affiliation and campaigns during the process of the election. The case study, (Tribune) will be evaluated, also the design will enable a holistic analysis of the issues, so that the recommendation will addressed the problem. However, this study further developed some context classification to determine and analyze the nature of the coverage. Concurrently, newspaper content that will be looked into for necessary issues include the following:

- News stories
- Features
- Interpretative articles
- Editorial
- Crime
- Politics
- Business
- Others

The content analytical design approach is preferable because it employs the thorough evaluation of intext, pages and write-ups in a given published material especially in newspaper and magazine (print) in the detection of errors, deformity, injustice, biasness as well as impertinence emanating from either the media organization or the government and certain individuals for audience/readers consumption. Since the topic is establishing print media as a tool for political propaganda and ideology using Tribune coverage in 2015 general election as case study, therefore, the research will clearly be drawn on content evaluation of the organization newspapers to prove the affiliations all outlined in the research questions.

3.2 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The only germane instrument the research work adopted was the content analytical approach. However, content analytical approach is a quantitative approach that integrates both data collection method and analytical technique to measure the occurrence of some identifiable element in a complete text or set of messages.

Content analysis is a popular term used in print media content as it measure every unit of a structured materials, so, content analysis as it was labelled out earlier relies primarily on evaluating the whole content of a given print source (Newspaper), and in relating this, content analysis outlines, fragment, segment and sieve the whole content stories in a newspaper into slices and units in producing a complete butchered effects for necessary conclusion.

3.3 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF INSTRUMENT

In deploying content analysis as a basis for research methodology and analysis, it is important to note that the given approach integrates data collection in the gathering of series of newspapers and subjecting them to objective dismantling for effective and proper analysis. (I.e. during the process of the content evaluation, nothing can be added or deducted, unless if wished to conceal, proving the validity of the approach. However, content analysis was recognized and acceptable by communication researcher basically in Newspaper analysis scene and the validity of the approach stems in the fragmentation and evaluation of every pages of a given paper, therefore, in doing this, it is undeniable and acceptable that the generated outcome will be radical and correct since the analysis and conclusion was derived and established based on the subject of the whole newspaper content.

Content analysis focus on bringing out issues based on the subject of the content and during the course of evaluation, the pages administered will be debunked, establishing necessary facts/issues which was focused and targeted to reveal in the first place.

3.4 ADMINISTRATION OF INSTRUMENT

The instrument administration relies primarily on Tribune organization cooperation as series of newspaper were selected in their library for evaluation.

Since the study covered a period within December 2014 to March 2015 before the general national election in Nigeria, so papers that will be highlighted later in the next chapter will be limited to the aforementioned dates and not exceeding beyond that.

The data will be analyzed using percentage ratio. For instance;

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
The Nation	96	49.7%
Daily Telegraph	97	50.3%
Total	193	100

($96/193*100=?$)

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 DATA ANALYSIS

The study through content analytical approach generates and highlights the following newspapers all in regards to political coverage and affiliation in the 2015 general election, focusing more on presidential election/ candidate's coverage in the paper understudy for analysis. However, content analysis was the major approach employed as research method and all newspapers published by the Nigeria Tribune from December 2014 to march 2015 before the general election served as the universe of the study. To study all of the issues of these papers was not possible, so careful selection of these dates was made thus;

Table 1: Sample of selected newspapers and dates.

PDP gubernatorial primaries of 8 th Dec. 2014	Dec. 8,9,10, 2014.
PDP presidential primaries 10 th -11 th Dec.2014	Dec.10, 11, 12,13,14,15, 2104.
APC Gubernatorial primaries of 4 th Dec. 2014	Dec. 2,3,4,5, 2014.
APC Presidential primaries of 10 th Dec. 2104	Dec. 10, 11, 12, 2014.
Election postponement, INEC, 7 th Feb. 2015	Feb. 7,8,9,10,11, 2015.
Presidential election, campaign coverage and declaration of winner. 28 th -31 th March 2015	March, 4,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,28,29, 2015.
TOTAL	28 papers.

The below were constructed on coding in order to meet the need of the study, also the prominence given to stories was measured by looking at every content including the front page, inside and back.

1. What relevance is print media to the society?

A subtle examination was made and the outcome was already obvious as alternative media dependence on print media escalate;

Table 2:

Radio	Very High
Television	High
Electronic	High

However, since this dependence was glaring, it means the other alternative media also transmit information on print media proving its relevance and worth to the society.

2. What is the nature of coverage given to various issues by the paper under study

The placement of stories

I. Front page

Table 3:

Issues	Frequency	Percentage
Politics & Policy	88	64.2%
Crime & Terrorism	23	16.8%
Business & Economy	14	10.2%
Health	04	2.9%
Entertainment	04	2.9%
Law	02	1.5%
Religion	02	1.5%
Total	137	100

Prior to the front page which is believed to be the face of a paper, witnesses 137 overall published stories, however, 88(64.2%) of the stories tend to be politics oriented news, claiming the majority of headline, while Crime & Terrorism recorded 16.8%, coming second to Politics while others stories remain minor. This clearly shows and prove the political-driven influence in coverage of the paper understudy in front page stories.

ii. Other issues in inside pages content

Table 4:

ISSUES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Politics & Policy	1209	42.4%
Health	144	5.0%
Business & Economy	325	11.4%
Crime & Terrorism	228	8.0%
Sport	264	9.2%
Entertainment	202	7.1%
Law	47	1.6%
Religion	93	3.3%
Editorial, Editor & Opinion	146	5.1%
Features stories	62	2.2%
Education	133	4.7%
TOTAL	2853	100

Analysis in this table shows that out of 2853 different stories published in the paper, 1209(42.4%) were political news, recording almost average percentage of the entire stories published in the newspaper. This was without a doubt an establishment of political tendencies in

the paper understudy publications. Also laced in the content include Business & Economy recording 11.4%, while sport registered 9.2%, Crime 8.0%, editorial 5.1%, Education 4.7%, all still far from prominence given to politics. This also shows that the paper understudy was more inclined to political concern in coverage.

3. Did the newspaper enterprise affiliate to a political party during coverage of 2015 election?

In analyzing this, prominence was given to advert, editorial, editor, opinions and special write-ups in the content of the newspapers both in front, inside and back pages.

I. Campaign coverage by the paper understudy

Table 5:

PARTY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
PDP	129	82.7%
APC	21	13.5%
OTHERS	06	3.8%
TOTAL	156	100

Table 5 revealed the outcome of political campaign and coverage, as the paper understudy directly and unarguably affiliated with PDP due to the extreme coverage, transmission and reportage given to the party. Campaign coverage by the paper understudy recorded the overall

frequency of 156, as 129(82.7%) of campaign stories were issued to PDP, (extremely affiliating with the party), 13.5% was focused on APC while 3.8 was on other parties.

- 4 Does the paper understudy criticize in order to detriment a party/party candidates during 2015 election?

Prior to the just concluded research question, the given analysis was also drawn on stories in advert, editor, editorials, opinions and special articles.

I. Criticism of a party/party candidates

Table 6:

PARTY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
APC	85	81.7%
PDP	17	16.3%
OTHERS	02	2%
TOTAL	104	100

The above table revealed scores of frequency in the criticism of parties by the newspaper understudy as 85(81.7%) out of the 104 stories focused mainly on APC, recording the highest scolding and detriment coming from the published content stories. PDP recorded 16.3% while others registered the least, 2%. This show how the paper understudy condemned APC as a party to abhor or detriment.

5 What has ownership got to do with issues?

Although ownership is responsible for the whole story content published, but however, in saving the stress highlighting the whole paper content prior to ownership issues, stories were selected from the mouth-piece of the paper understudy, which includes; Editorials, Advert, Editor, Special Column, Reviews and to some extent, Primary elections.

I. Prominence given to content issues in regards to ownership.

Table 7:

LESSONS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
EDUCATION	62	19.3%
INFLUENCE	97	30.1%
CASTIGATE	163	50.6%
TOTAL	322	100

Findings in table 7 revealed the tendency of 322 published stories laced with the attribute of afore-mentions all explaining ownership influence on issues. However, the majority of the stories witnessed 163(50.6%) of castigation of party/party candidates out of the overall 322 stories, while influence and education follows. However, 62(19.3%) were educative in nature, 97(30.1%) were aimed at influencing readers to vote, while the remaining 163(50.6% majority) were aimed at castigating parties and political candidates.

5.2 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

From the data generated from this study, it is obvious that some of Nigeria newspaper (focusing on Nigeria Tribune) are far from being objective in their coverage and reportage, deviating from the ethics that guides the profession of journalism. And through gathering, processing, transferring, transmission and dissemination, they swiftly portrays the terminology that underpins the whole research work which is “Zanism”. Zanism refers to the state of being amusingly unconventional, absurd or clownish, and either way in media construct depicts how journalists and their organization become a mere-clown, stooges and book-licking lapdogs to political elites.

However, the series of selected Tribune newspapers was chosen mainly to find out how political propaganda, ideology and campaign find its way into the printed materials of media source, however, the selected papers highlighted was papers published during the interval of 2015 general election. The reason was because it is this very moment the transmission of political messages and action heightens and national issues were given serious coverage. And in order to measure how driven or neutral the print organization was, the election process dates were inhabited for the study.

The first research question sought to established print media prominence and relevance in the society, and with subtle examination, most of print (newspapers) headline and stories were found extremely high in radio transmission, and high in both television and electronic media reportage, all registering Sola Balogun pg2 assertion that “In modern societies, many news report of television and radio are more often than not, mere follow-up stories that have been published in a newspaper”.

The second research question examines the nature of coverage given to various issues with attention focused on the front pages and inside pages. However, the placement of stories in the front page recorded high percentage ratio of (65%) of political stories, reiterating the fact that the paper understudy interest itself more in political coverage. Also in gauging and segmenting other issues in the whole content of the paper, findings make it obvious that coverage and prominence was given to politics to an extreme extent more than any other issues as 1209(42.4%) out of 2853 stories were centered on political actions establishing Umaru, Chinenye et.al assertion that in politics “the media have been hijacked as a means of selling political parties, candidates and campaigns during election.

The third research question aims at finding out whether the paper understudy affiliated with certain political party during 2015 election in campaign and coverage, however, the outcome of the analysis was predicted earlier as the paper understudy turns out to affiliate with the incumbent and ruling party PDP in coverage, witnessing the highest percentage of 81.7% of stories coverage in contents of front, inside and back pages. However, with the generated data, the paper understudy served the mouth-piece of PDP party, establishing Akpan & Idiong quote that “In political reportage, journalist/organization has become a book-licking lapdogs to political class... flattering their puppeteers in coverage.

However, prior to the just concluded question, the research question 4 was also drawn on examining the castigation/criticism of a party by the paper understudy, so, findings shows and recorded 81.7% of castigation directed to the party APC, as this obviously revealed the wholly affiliation of the paper understudy to PDP in elevation and detriment the opponent party APC in all possible odds. Tracing back to political marketing, NcNair comment against the backdrop of

aforementioned maintained that "Politician employed media as a platform for advert, in elevating a candidate and detriment opponent with sum offered to the media".

However, the last research question was basically meant to examine the ownership influence in prominence given to content issues, the findings tend to be consonance with the view of Olusola(2010) that the interest of the media owner is always taken into consideration in the presentation of any media content.

The generated data from this study debunked widespread of political messages, political coverage and reportage as well as campaigns transmission all emanating from the paper understudy. However, the findings was crystal clear that the paper understudy interest more in political stories in her publication, as well as affiliating with PDP and castigating the party opponent APC in all stratifications in a valid bid to elevate the former and detriment the latter. However, prominence given to stories placement also witness high percentage of castigation, more than influence and education.

Therefore, the study draws its conclusion on the media using influence to elevate a party and detriment its opponent either due to the sum offered to them for advert, registering the popular phrase of “He who pay the dipper dictates its tune”. However, it is believed that media set agenda for public discussion and reportage as they focus on certain issues basically to influence or shape public awareness.

In the other hand, the conclusion was also made on ownership structure influencing the entire content. To arrive at this, Nigerian Tribune was established by the then premier of the western region “Chief Obafemi Awolowo” and till date, it was still controlled by the deceased iconic family. However, the whole castigation of APC and presidential candidate General Muhammad Buhari in various stories in the paper content during the 2015 election may be linked to the humiliation received by the then premier of the western region in Buhari 20months administration as military governor-general of Nigeria. Chief Obafemi Awolowo home was raided at dawn, his passport was seized and prevented from travelling oversea for a scheduled medical trip for no justifiable reasons (Nigerian Tribune pg17). And with the aforementioned, it

is possible the ownership deliberately structured stories of castigation due to the past actions of the APC presidential candidate in order to prevent him from getting elected.

5.2 RECONMENDATION

It is a challenge to the press to redefine itself by refocusing the traditional surveillance radar on its people development based information process (journal of comm. Pg1)

With reference to the assertion, the media should adhere to the ethics guiding the profession of journalism in gathering, processing, transferring and dissemination of information by being objective and not biased nor sentimental in coverage and reportage. However, politics is a movement and action on its own in which media should deviate from and rather monitor actions of politicians, probe them and reports generating actions candidly in order to serve the interest of the people. Also, the idea of charging enormous sum for advert cannot be condemned since one of the primary aim of establishing a media sector is to maximize profit. However, in projecting advert on print, journalist must identify and detect propaganda in all possible means in order to conceal and avoid ill dissemination of information. The summary of recommendation based on findings goes thus;

- The media should carry out development task in line with national established policy without neglecting their traditional roles (informing, education and entertainment).
- Nigeria journalist should uphold objectivity no matter the pressure from their financier.
- There is need for journalist to be socially responsible for whatever that is published, especially in the coverage of politics and election.
- Nigeria journalist must strictly adhere to the ethics guiding the profession of journalism by providing fair and balanced political reports.