

AN APPRAISAL OF THE PRINT MEDIA IN POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN  
NIGERIA.

BY

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( TMA/11/0108)

A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE AND MEDIA ARTS;  
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OF B.A (HONS) THEATRE & MEDIA ARTS

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ATTESTATION

I, OLUWASOLA TITILOPE GRACE, hereby attest that this research report is carried out by me and that I am solely responsible for all errors and omissions, if any.

OLUWASOLA TITILOPE GRACE



.....  
Sign & Date



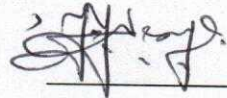
CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this research work has been carried out by Oluwasola Titilope Grace under the full supervision in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Theatre and Media Arts, Federal University Oye Ekiti, for the award of the B.A (Hons) Degree in Theatre Arts.

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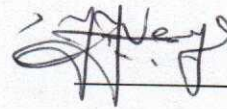
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## DEDICATION

Dedicated to my beloved parents, Mr. and Mrs Oluwasola;  
for their love , moral support, encouragement and financial support all through my journey in  
Federal University Oye-Ekiti.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to thank God almighty for the wisdom, knowledge and understanding given unto me to finish this project. I wish to acknowledge the immense contribution of my dear parents Mr and Mrs Oluwasola whose effort financial material aid, advice and inspiration made me sail through. Also to Mr Agbeleoba for his moral support and advice. I also wish to acknowledge the immense contribution of my supervisor and Head of Department, Dr.BifatifeAdeseye , whose supervision and guidance made my essay come to a logical conclusion.

I extend the gratitude to my great friends ObereObianujunwa, AgunsoyeAdenike , AdeoyeAdetutu, OgunleyeTinuade, AriyoEniola, OgunwuyiOmobola, Smith sekinath, . I give special thanks to Olawande Samuel Olalekan, I appreciate your genuine concern Adesunloye Oyindamola.

My sincere appreciation also goes to my beloved brothers and sisters. Jeremiah, Sayo, Elizabeth, Peter, Victor and the others for their immense contributions towards my success.

Lastly, I am not forgetting my hostel mates and my fellow thespians in general. The almighty God in his infinite mercy bless you all.

Amen.



## ABSTRACT

This study appraises the role of the print media in political mobilization in Nigeria; using the Hope newspaper as a paradigm of the print media. The Media is the mirror of the society, and its role in developing the society cannot be overestimated. Suffice to say that the mass media as the fourth estate of governance had been assigned the various responsibilities in the society including the watchdog role, the educator and entertainer of the various segments of the people. The research design situates its findings in the Hope Newspaper using opinion poll method to gather facts as well as analyse same about the organization and the society. The study observes that Nigeria democratic system, having been bastardized and destroyed by poor politicking, the mass media as a mirror of society deserves a good image of self if it must correct the abnormality and injustice in the Nigeria democratic dispensation. This work identifies the functions, problems and prospects of the mass media (especially, the print) and equally highlights their ability to carry out this enormous responsibility of mobilizing the people towards a viable and sustaining democratic polity. The work highlights the impacts of the mass media in informing educating and entertaining the masses towards polity. It is hoped that the findings and recommendations in this work would be a relevant material for further research work in this field.



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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 Introduction

The role of mass media, such as newspaper, in improving people's awareness and political mobilization cannot be overemphasised; Mass media promote people's awareness about the nature of political system that is being practiced in their community. Mass media is an agent of socialization which serves as middlemen between the citizen and government. Communication is a very important aspect of human life, especially relating to the management of a country's political and economic system. The focus of this project is about the role of Newspaper in social and political mobilization.

Media continues to be useful in mobilizing and drawing citizens to focus on issues that are perceived as important and in priming public opinion. Among many Africans to get engaged in the political process of governance and democratization Kalyango (pg100); Montero,(pg70).

In Nigeria, the cliché "publish and be damned" dates back to the colonial era when the founding fathers of the Nigerian press such as NnamdiAzikiwe, ObafemiAwolowo and LateefJakande used their papers to fight for independence. Before the 1990s most publications were government-owned, but private papers such as the Nigerian Tribune, The Punch, Vanguard and the Guardian continued to expose public and private scandals despite government attempts at suppression.

The mass media generally referred to both the print (s) and electronic media as supported in section 22 of the 1989 constitution of Nigeria. "The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media should at all be free to upholdthe fundamental objectives and highlights the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people".



The role of the mass media according to General Abacha in his maiden independence broadcast on the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1995 was to inform educate and entertain the citizenry.

Onyishi (pg54) while highlighting on the role of the mass media in democracy notes that the press not only sustains the democratic principles but also end with transition period. The media should help in ushering in democracy they should play a crucial role in nurturing and sustaining the success or failure of our practice of democratic government. To large extent, their success depends on how well the mass media carries out their function as the midwife of democracy.

It has long been established that the mass media have an important effect on political socialization. In this respect, some research works suggest that the web may be an effective mobilization tool and serve to increase interest and participation in politics among youth (Shah, Kwak, & Holbert, (pg33). For example, reports have shown that young people visited some popular web sites to fill out online voter registration forms (Kollock & Presto, ( pg12). And youth are increasingly turning to the Internet for their political understanding. For example, reports in 2004 showed that 44% of 18-29-year-olds claimed to have learned something about the presidential campaign from the Internet (Pew Research Centre, 2004a), and 28% of that same age group reported they got most of their information about the election from the Internet (Pew Research Center, 2004b). However, young people consistently vote at lower rates than do older ones and appear to be more cynical about and disengaged from politics as well. Iyengar and Jackman (pg51) expounded that no other group is as disengaged from elections as youth who are still in their prime time. Even in the United States voter turnout trails that of other industrialized societies of the Europe, South Americas, Australia and New Zealand. Being disinterested in elections is anaemic among youth between the ages of 18 and 24, and this has been observed since eighteen year olds were enfranchised in 1972.



Communication via media such as newspaper brings politicians and parties closer to their potential voters. It allows politicians to communicate faster and reach citizens in a more targeted manner and vice versa, without the intermediate role of mass media. Reactions, feedback, conversations and debates are generated as well as support and participation for offline events Kalyango,(pg100). Apart from this through newspaper information about the country economic growth and development are disseminated to citizen. Meanwhile during the period of election, newspaper contribute to free and fair election by service as watch dog during the convey of adequate information on the conduct of electoral activities in the country Montero, (pg30). The role of newspaper media cannot be overestimated in today world of communication technology. Newspaper has played major roles in greasing the wheels of country's political economy. Newspaper makes unbeatable contributions to the enhancement of the country's political growth as exemplified in its massive political education, enlightenment, awareness, of Nigerian political system. It is necessary to investigate empirically the role of media (Newspaper) on political mobilization.

### **1.2 Research Problem**

In democratic societies, the mass media are the watchdog of the people. They usually mobilize and inform the people to create awareness on political culture and other happenings in the society. It is however observed that the level of mobilization by the media falls short of expectation.

Some people even show apathy to the electoral process preferring to remain mere spectators due to either lack of adequate information about the political process or because the media have not been alive to their responsibility of being objective in their reportage. By political culture we mean the system of politics where the traditional orientation of the citizens of a nation towards politics, affects their perceptions of political legitimacy. The incipient crises which have so far beset the process of nation building and political development in Nigeria has been noted by Ofoeze(pg23)as being located in the crisis of political participation.



Perhaps, it could be argued that the political crises that pervade our recent past is due to the fact that most people are apathetic about electoral situation in the country. The sectional interest shown by some politicians and their readiness to pursue their interest is also a threat to the survival of democracy in the state and the country at large. Apart from ethnic and interest of others the profession has also become an all comer's affair thereby threatening its credibility.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The present study will answer the following questions

- i- What is the attitude of people toward the use of newspaper?
- ii- To what extent does newspaper influences political mobilization?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The main objective of the study is to examine media as tools of political mobilization, a case study of Hope Newspaper; the following are the specific objectives.

- 1- To investigate prevalence of people political participation.
- 2- To analyse attitude of people toward the use of newspaper.
- 3- To examine the influence of media(Newspaper) on political mobilization

### **1.5 The significance of the study**

The findings of this study have both practical and theoretical benefit. In its broadest sense, the findings of this study are expected to provide empirical data on the prevalence and attitude of people toward the use of Newspaper and also expected to provide empirical data on the effect of media on political mobilization. These data will provide human government with data on the prevalence of political participation of the citizen. In terms of theoretical benefit, the findings of this



study are expected to improve the existing literature on political mobilization. In other words the study findings are expected to add to the body of knowledge on the subject of political mobilization.

### **1.6 Scope of the study**

The study has chosen „political mobilization” by Hope Newspaper in residents of Akure North L.G.A. as the scope of study. Also in focus are the issues of ethnic domination, mutual suspicions, apathy in the electoral process by a section of the population and illiteracy which provides a breeding ground for power seeking politicians. The role of the media in eliminating mutual distrust, providing effective political education, strength, unity and encouraging participation in the electoral process will also be covered by this study.

### **1.7 Operational Definition of Terms**

**Media:** Device for moving messages across distance or time to accomplish mass communication.

**Politics:** The pursuit and exercise of the political process necessary to make binding policy decision for the community and to distribute patronage and government benefits.

**Mobilization:** To organize or prepare group of people for action or purpose.

**Political mobilization:** Organizing or preparing group of people to take part in political activities, especially the electorate of their rights and the need for full participation in the electoral process.

**Electoral process:** Participating in the laid down process or rules by the electorate, culminating in successful elections.



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The review in this chapter is done under three headings:

- (i) Review of literary submissions
- (ii) Review of related theories
- (iii) Review of concepts

The role of the mass media in polity was highlighted S.P Eze' ( pg 7 ) while presenting his article "mass media and social political Transformation'' He notes that the politics of any nation depends very much on the mass media as a platform of articulating ideas and issues on national problems to the people. The assertion is consolidated on the fact that whether we like it or not the mass media have become a vehicle of politics on which any political system generally depends.He further asserts that "The mass media exist for the protection, propagation, perpetuation or pursuit of the interest of the people and the stability, development progress and prosperity of the country."

Most political observers agree that some level of political knowledge or information is necessary for an active and satisfying participation in the political system in the US, information and knowledge about politics across the board appears to be low, but the problem is particularly acute among young citizens and women. Low levels of political knowledge may also account for lower turnout rates among young citizens. For instance, the Millennium study of young voter'' motivations for voting and not voting found that the young generation often cited the fact that they did not feel they had „enough time or information“ as a reason for not voting in 2000 (Murphy, pg11). On lack



of knowledge as a barrier or 'de-motivator' to electoral participation, Kaid, McKinney and Tedesco (pg22) proposed conceptual links between the notion of general political information efficacy and what they call political information efficacy. The general concept of political information efficacy is usually defined as an individual's feeling that he or she has the ability to influence the political process (Campbell, Gurin & Miller, pg110). Whereas, Kaid, McKinney and Tedesco (pg29) defined political information efficacy as the extent to which citizens are confident in their political knowledge and possess sufficient knowledge to engage with the political process, including voting. This concept is related to internal efficacy Niemi, Craig & Mattei (pg72), but differs in that it focuses solely on the voters confidence in his or her own political knowledge and its sufficiency to engage the political process, that is, to vote. Tedesco (pg24) too demonstrated that the web interactivity can also enhance political information efficacy levels for young citizens. However, the concept has not been tested in regard to exposure to blogs. Research has also shown that a solid relationship between the channels of communication from which information is sought and the level of political knowledge one has.

Again General Olusegun Obasanjo (1992) on "The Elements of Democracy" states that the mass media exist in building and monitoring an environment conducive to democracy in any country, capable to promote a free choice of leadership, especially through the ballot box, respect for the rule of laws by both the ruler and the ruled, social justice as well as respect for human rights. In carrying out the role the mass media must not merely mirror the society by passively reporting events; they must act as the watchdog of the citizenry and instigator of a positive change. He emphasized further that: "To effectively perform its roles the mass media must be independent. This does not mean absence of government involvement, rather the media should be given a free hand to perform within the ethics of their profession even when they are owned by private individuals". Writing on the role of the mass media in the third republic Justice Agwuwa pleaded "Television broadcast should not only contribute to the development of National Unity and stand to the continued expression of



Nigeria Unity and density but should also act in promoting national consciousness with a view of safeguarding enriching the unity of the nation and free and democratic society.

John Planets (pg56) on "Democracy and illusion" noted that even in industrial and literate society which is authoritative in nature the mass media are used to get the people to act as much as possible to think as it suit the society and the rulers.

IfeanyiAluba agrees no less when he commented on "Press freedom and Democracy". He said the press represents the salient mechanism of vital element in the overall democratic process..... Without the press and other communication channels the government would be telling to itself. (pg102)

Thus, mass media have an enormous duties to the society and in his book mass communication and National Development Nwosu (pg22) foresees the need to simplify the language used in airing political programmes as he rightly observed that most of the messages are passed down to the elite and the literate Nigeria.

Also in a prologue to the book "The Anderson Papers, Jack Anderson (pg92) a veteran America Journalist: writes:

The men of the press seldom remind their leaders of power. Many too, who write about government have been seduced by those who govern. The press like the powerful often forgets its obligations to the people.

Anderson believes that the press is no doubt a viable instrument for the dissemination of information and the mobilization of the literate populaces.

Mr James Audu (pg88) submitted that the high degree of illiteracy of the greater percentage of the masses had to the political; apathy and crisis in this country.



Also Chief Anthony Enahoro (pg45) maintained that the mass ignorance of the people have been sustained by the inarticulateness of the Nigeria press and mass media.

However, the print media has seen external influence from imported television programmes creating the problem of fostering indigenous political cultural particularly in developing countries such as Nigeria where television takes a high percentage of the cultural and entertainment content. This was later supported by Herbert Schemers while writing an article on the "News media and African" he stated – I did a study in Nigeria a couple of years ago, during which I watched television programmes. Do you know that most of the prime hour of programming times on Nigeria television was made up of filmed television shows from the United States many of them of soap opera variety.

Nigerians apparently watched them because there was nothing else to watch. But all are sheer waste of programmed period.

In a country faced with grave cultural and linguistic problems as we see today, it is just atrocious that this medium with a potential of a television is utilized this way.

Furthermore Nwosu, writing on a "Primitivism and Journalistic credibility" said to most media outside and even inside therefore, media in Nigeria these days are nothing but lies, naked propaganda half-truth sensationalism blackmail and even worse and finally Tale Omole while delivering a paper crisis the press because so leached provable and partisan that the average reader saw them to what they were.

All the studies analysed above are views represented by various interest and writers. One sees that while their studies explained the role of the mass media and problems associated with them they have failed to expose the reason for their inability to mobilize the people in polity and that is where



this research becomes relevant. However the studies above are adduced relevant to this work and act as guide to this research for a suitable advancement on the solution to this topic problem.

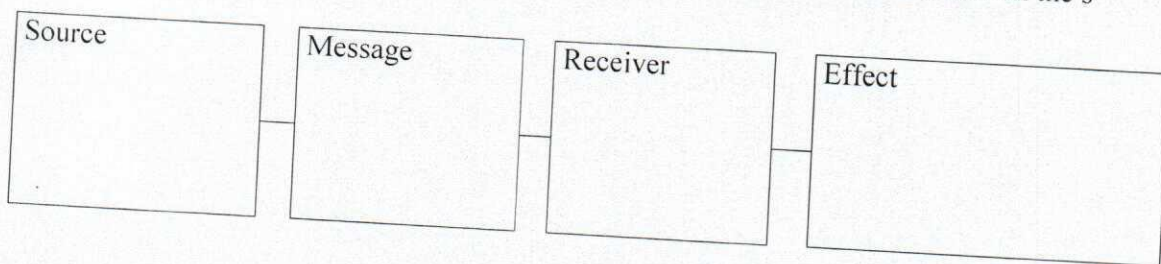
## 2.2. Bullet Theory of mass communication

In all intent and purposes communication theory is very relevant to this topic, hence the use for the purpose of thorough analysis, the researcher decided to use specifically the "Bullet Theory" of mass communication. The Bullet theory also known as the Hypodermic needle theory or the mechanistic S. R. theory was propounded by (F. Defiler pg19) and was view attributed to the power of the mass media effect.

In his attempt to understand the effect of the mass media, Defluer compared the message with a bullet, released at a number of audiences. Like a bullet the message would be received by the individuals directly and it would have an immediate effect on him/her persuading him/ her to behave exactly the way media message advocates. This is the view of mass communication underlying the bullet theory of the mass communication effect.

This theory is also called the hypodermic needle theory because it is believe that the media message acted like the content of a hypodermic syringe when emptied into the audience member would have an instant effect like the drug from the real syringe.

Also the direct influence of the mass media according to Defluer is based on the s



source- message – receiver – effect (SMRE) model of mass communication. The basic assumption underlying this model is that people receive information directly from the mass media and



react individually and sometimes collectively to such information. This information (messages) from the mass media (source) would have a direct impact (effect) on the individual (receiver)

The bullet theory was the view that influenced the apparent power of the media propaganda during the world war I. To reinforce on this bullet theory, John Lilly an expert on interpersonal communication wrote, recently; "we all have been educated on the fantastic power of the media in changing public opinion" (Lilly and Lilly pg22).

From the above bullet theory of analysis the mass media have the power of changing voter's attitude decisions and behaviours in the political system. Hence, political mobilization from the point of view of this bullet theory is the preference dictate and the agenda set by the mass media. The message is dropped by the media like a syringe which affect the listener instantly and direct him to act in accordance to the message.

Berelso (pg33) says same kind of communication some kind of issues brought to the affection of people under some kind of condition have some kind of effect: I have the pre-occupation that the mass media is of great effect on the society. This is because the media has the special power to affect the way people think, feel or behave. The mass media have been credited with incredible persuasive ability to mobilize the people by changing their attitude and behaviour in polity.

So political mobilization in form of campaign symposia news and news commentaries and even propaganda by the mass media leads to political awareness and democratic consciousness. I will at this juncture conclude this discussion on the Bullet Theory of mass communication using the words of peter sandman (1976).

The persuasive power of the mass media is neither as great as the alarmists warn us or as little as the optimist assured us.



The media are rarely able to convert the audience to an opposing viewpoint overnight. But they can reinforce old attitude which create brand new ones and at times even achieve a total change. Readers and viewers are active participants in this process using the media for their own purpose and need. The media protect us from specific influence and create the reality of the society which we live and respond. Writing on the role of the mass media in the third republic JusticeAgwuwa pleaded.

“Television broadcast should not only contribute to the development of National Unity and stand to the continued expression of Nigeria Unity and density but should also act in promoting national consciousness with a view of safeguarding enriching the unity of the nation and free and democratic society.

John planets (1975) on “Democracy and illusion” noted that even in industrial and literate society which is authoritative in nature the mass media are used to get the people to act as much as possible to think as it suit the society and the rulers.

IfeanyiAluba (pg95) agrees no less when he commented on “press freedom and Democracy”. He said the press represents the salient mechanism of vital element in the overall democratic process..... Without the press and other communication channel the government would be telling to itself.

### **Concept of Political Mobilization**

Mobilization in a lay man understands means to organize a group of people for action. Mobilization is defined as the development of social relationship between two types of actors, the individuals and the parties. Nwogbunyama (pg125). According to him, the analytical concept of mobilization



activities consists of three processes: the process of interest formation (cognitive dimension), the process of community building (affective dimension), and the process of employing means of action (instrumental dimension). Political mobilization is defined as the actor's attempt to influence the existing distribution of power. A directional variable is introduced in order to define more precisely the type of relationship which develops between individuals and parties.

Three different models of practical mobilization are then presented: two examples of models of downward mobilization, historical mobilization and the Leninist concept of the vanguard party; grass-root or populist mobilization and the ideal-democratic model of mobilization.

A fourth model, horizontal mobilization incorporates the stability of internal process of mobilization taking place within the two types of actors. These models help to analyze the present political situation as characterized by the coexistence of vertical and horizontal process of mobilization, with an increasing predominance of the later. It remains as a future task of mobilization research to investigate the assertion made here that the institutionalized hierarchical relationship between individuals and parties is weakening as a result of both actor's increasing orientation to them when becoming aware of and articulating interest developing affective loyalties and using means of mobilization.

### **Political Mobilization**

Since the media deal with the provision of diverse information, politics form major issues that arouse public interest. This is because politics provides a rallying point for people to know and participate in the emergence of the person that governs them. At global level, Market (1967) described politics as: A notable quest for good order and justice and at its worst, a selfish grab of power, glory and riches. In another definition Umechukwu P. (pg98) describes politics as: Conjuring the images of power domination and struggle to grab state apparatus. From the above definitions, politics can be seen as a tool for bringing about justice, change, unity and progress in



the society. On the other hand, politics can be seen as a struggle for power, by a few political elites to achieve self-actualization at the expense of the larger poorer society. In order to understand the importance of politics to the society, before we can appreciate the role of the media in mobilizing the populace to participate in the political process, we can quote Harold Lasswell's expression of politics as "who gets what, and how." This implies the sharing of available resources, by those in position of authority. As a result, people scramble to achieve political power.

In defining power, Joseph (pg102) says „it is the ability to get one's wishes carried out, despite opposition, the ability to influence the actions of others in accordance with one's own end“.

Also contributing to the definition of power, Niccolo Machiavelli (pg10), sees power as „a complex strategic situation in a given society social setting“. Borrowing a leaf from Machiavelli, Osuji says (pg23) politics is the pursuit and exercise of the political process necessary to make policy decisions for the community and to distribute patronage and government benefits. Politics is invariably the activities or a set of process which includes a community, a set of laws and constitution. The object of this is to promote general good of the people. Political process on the other hand is the activities of politicians, administration, elected officials and even those aspiring to lead. Political process includes the formation of political parties and their organization, conduct of elections, assigning responsibilities to those holding political offices either elected or appointed, drafting of rules and regulations, bye- laws, constitution, amendments and the overall existence of a corporate entity.

For a virile political process and the growth and sustenance of democracy, the citizenry must be effectively informed, sensitized and adequately mobilized through mass media channels. There are other important media channels such as intra- personal, inter-personal, group communication, public speaking and oral media/ folk media but our focus in this piece is radio and its role in politic.

### 2.3 The Agenda- Setting Theory



The proponents of this theory including McCombs and Shawin 1972/1973 made reference to agenda setting function of the media. In their study on the 1968 presidential election in America, they were able to determine the degree to which the media determine public opinion.

The theory asserts that media set agenda for political participation. It describes the "ability of the news media to influence the salience of topics on public agenda.

According to this theory, people mass media audience judge as important what media judge as important. By implication, media help people to determine what is important in the public discourse.

The theory describes the very powerful influence of the media, the Media "stability to tell us what issues are important, and what persons are important in the society. Those issues and individuals who the media choose to publicize become the issues and individuals we think and talk about.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### 3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY INTRODUCTION

This study is intended to examine the impact of the Newspaper in the political mobilization of the people of Akure South L.G.A. in Ondo State.

Democracy being a participatory system of government requires the involvement of the citizenry in the electoral process, and the Newspaper provides the channel through which the people can be sensitized and



mobilized to be actively involved.

### **3.2 Research Design**

The survey method is used. The approach involved drawing up a set of questions on various aspects of the subject in a questionnaire which is administered to the sample.

### **3.3 Population of the Study**

Bestand Kahn (p. 111) described population as, "any group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher. The population may be all the individuals of a particular type or a more restricted part of that group." According to 2006 Nigeria Census, Akure North Local Government Area has an estimated population of 353,211 spread in ten communities.

### **3.4 Sample Technique/Sample Size**

According to Ujo (p. 141), "sampling technique is specifying how elements will be drawn from population" Furthermore, the purposive sampling technique is used to select. Therefore, the sample size for this study is 100.

### **3.5 Description of Research Instrument.**

The researcher used the questionnaire instrument. The questionnaire for this study is in two parts. Part one answered research questions 1-5 on the demography of the respondents such as sex, age, gender, educational level and occupational status. Part two was made up of 12 items (6-17). The part two of the questionnaire was designed in such a way that items 6,7,8,9, and 10 were tailored towards answering research question 1, items 11 and 12 answered research question 2, items 13 and 14 answered research question 3

While items 15, 16 and 17 answered research question 4.

### **3.6 Method of Data Collection**



Data is collected here using questionnaire which the researcher herself distributed to the respondents herself. Out of the 100 copies of questionnaire distributed, 94 copies were returned representing a return rate of 94 percent.

### **3.7 Validity and Reliability of Data**

The instrument used for data collection is well structured and approved by the project supervisor as being valid for eliciting information.

The instrument used is valid because it constantly measured what it is meant to measure. Also the instrument has been used in several studies and repeatedly it yielded the same result, the instrument cannot fail. Therefore, the instrument is reliable.

### **3.8 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this study is to determine the impact of Newspaper on political mobilization of the people of Akure South L.G.A. in Ondo State. This chapter deals with the presentation of analysis of data collected through the use of questionnaire, which was handed over to 100 respondents. The presentation of data is directed towards answering the following research questions.

1. To what extent do the people read Hope Newspaper in Ondo State?
2. Are the people of Akure South likely to access political information from Hope Newspaper?
3. To what extent does the Hope Newspaper mobilize the people of Ondo State politically?
4. Are the people of Akure South able to get political mobilization information through any other source apart from the Hope Newspaper?

### **3.9 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**



The data presented in this study is generated from the returned 94 copies of the questionnaire out of the 100 copies distributed, representing a 94 percent return rate

### 3.10 DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Table 1: Respondents' Classification According to Gender Characteristics

	No of Respondents	Percentage
Male	61	64.9%
Female	33	35.1%
Total	94	100

Table one above showed that out of the respondents that filled the questionnaire, 61 respondents (64.9%) were male and 33 respondents (35.1%) were female. This means that majority of the respondents were Male with 64.9% and Females with 35.1%.

Table 2: Respondents' Classification According to Age Characteristics

	No of Respondents	Percentage
18-25	22	23.4%
26-40	48	51.15%
40 above	24	25.5%
Total	94	100

The data in table 2 above showed that 22 respondents (23.4%) were within the ages of 18-25, 48 respondents (51.1%) were within the ages of 26-40, while 24 respondent (25.5%) were within the



ages of 40 and above.

Table 3: Respondents' Classification According to Marital StatusCharacteristic

	No of Respondents	Percentage
Single	38	40.4
Married	56	59.6
Total	94	100

The data in table 3 above depicted that 38 respondents (40.4%) were single and 56 respondents (59.6%) were married.

Table 4: Respondents' Classification According to Educational Status

Qualification	No of Respondents	Percentage
Secondary	39	24.5%
Tertiary	50	53.1%
Any other	5	5.3%
Total	94	100

The data in table 4 above showed that the majority of the respondents (50 respondents, 53%) passed through tertiary institutions, followed by those who had secondary education, 39 respondents, (24.5%) and 16 respondents (17%) while 5 respondents (5.3%) were those who have other qualifications.



Table 5: Respondents' Classification According to Occupational Status

Occupation	No of Respondents	Percentage
Trader	22	23.4%
Farmer	11	11.7%
Civil servant	36	38.3%
Student	15	15.10%
Any other	10	10.6%
Total	94	100

The data in table 5 depicted that 22 respondents (23.4%) are trader, 11 respondents (11.7%) are farmers, 36 respondents (38.3%) are civil servants, 15 respondents (15.10%) are students and 10 respondents (10.6%) are people with other occupations.

DATA THAT ANSWERED THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

TABLE 6: Read Newspaper

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	88	93.6%
No	6	6.4%
Total	94	100

The data presented in table 6 above showed that 88 responses (93.6%) were positive and 6 responses (6.4%) were negative. This shows that most of the respondents read Newspaper.



Table 7: Often Read Newspaper

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Regularly	71	75.5%
Occasionally	14	14.9%
Not at all	9	9.6%
Total	94	100

The table 7 above showed that (75.5%) reads Newspaper regularly. 14 respondents (14.9%) reads Newspaper occasionally and 9 (9.6%) do not read Newspaper at all. This showed that majority of the respondents reads Newspaper regularly.

Table 8: Awareness of Hope Newspaper in Ondo State

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	94	100%
No	-	-
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 8 above showed 94 respondents (100%) were aware of Hope Newspaper in Ondo State.

Table 9: The Reach of Hope Newspaper in Ondo State

Response	Frequency	Percentage
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The whole state	76	80.9%
Some parts	11	11.7%
None at all	7	7.4%
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 9 above illustrated that 76 respondents (80.9%) are of the view that Hope Newspaper covers the whole Ondo State, 11 respondents (11.7%) said that the Hope Newspaper covers only some parts of the state and 7 respondents (7.4%) are of the opinion that it does not cover the state at all.

**Table 10: Whether Akure North is one of the Areas Covered by the Hope Newspaper**

Response	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	87	92.6%
No	7	7.4%
Total	94	100

The data presented above in table 10 depicted that 87 respondents (92.6%) felt that Akure North is one of the areas covered by the Hope Newspaper while 7 respondents (7.4%) felt that Hope Newspaper does not cover Akure North. This implied that a majority of the respondents are of the view that Akure North is one of the areas covered by the Hope Newspaper in the State.

**Table 11: Access of Political Information from the Hope Newspaper**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
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Yes	76	80.9%
No	18	19.1%
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 11 above illustrated that 76 respondents (80.9%) accessed political information from Hope Newspaper while 18 respondents (19.1%) did not.

**Table 12: Often Read Political Program**

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Regularly	32	34%
Rarely	42	44.7%
Not at all	20	21.3%
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 12 above depicted that 32 respondents (34%) reads political programs regularly, 42 respondents (44.7%) read political programs rarely and 20 respondents (21.3%) do not read political programs at all. This implied that majority of the respondent's rarely reads political programs.



**Table 13: Extent of Political Mobilization among Akure People**

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Very high	17	18.1%
High	38	40.4%
Low	23	24.5%
Not at all	16	17%
Total	94	100

The data presented in table 13 above showed that 17 respondents (18.1%) felt that the extent of political mobilization in Ondo State is very high, 38 respondents (40.5%) felt it was high, 23 respondents (24.5%) felt it was low while 16 respondents (17%) felt that there is no political mobilization in Ondo State at all.

**Table 14: Enjoyment of the Program**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	20	21.3%
No	74	78.7%
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 14 above illustrated that 20 respondents (21.3%) were of the view that they get political information from other sources apart from the Hope Newspaper while 74 respondents (78.7%) are of the view that they do not get political information from any other source apart from that state Newspaper.

**Table 15: Getting Political Information from other Sources**



Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	20	21.3%
No	74	78.7%
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 15 above illustrated that 20 respondents (21.3%) were of the view that they get political information from other sources apart from the Hope Newspaper while 74 respondents (78.7%) are of the view that they do not get political information from any other source apart from the State Newspaper.

**Table 16: Other Source of Political Information**

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Political Aspirants	18	19.1%
Hope Newspaper	76	80.9%
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 16 above depicted that 18 respondents (19.1%) received political information from aspirants, while 76 respondents (80.9%) received political information from the Hope Newspaper. This implied that majority of the respondents received political information from Hope Newspaper.



**Table 17: Influence of the Program on Political Participation among Akure South Residents**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
No	18	19.1%
Total	94	100

Data presented in table 17 above illustrates that 76 respondents (80.9%) were influenced by the program on making choice of political participation while 18 respondents (19.1%) are not. This clearly depicts that majority of the respondents were influenced by the program on their choice of political participation.

### **3. Discussion of Findings**

This section of the study discusses the findings in relation to the research questions.

#### **Research Question 1:**

To what extent does the Hope Newspaper cover Ondo state?

The answer to this question is provided in tables 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11. The data in table 7 shows that majority of the respondents read Newspaper, 93.6%. Data in table 8 shows that 75.5% of the respondents read Newspaper regularly. This finding supports the fact that Newspaper can be effectively used to mobilize the masses for political participations since people regularly read Newspaper.

The data in table 9 shows that 100% of the respondents are aware that Hope Newspaper covers the whole state and 92.6% of the respondents are of the view that Akure South L.G.A. is one of the areas covered. This indicates that majority of the respondents felt that Hope Newspaper covers all nooks and crannies of Ondo State including Akure South L.G.A.



These findings identified that there is high rate of coverage in the state by the Hope Newspaper.

**Research Question 2:**

How far are people of Akure South likely to access political information from Hope Newspaper? The answer to this question is provided in tables 12 and 13, the data in table 12 shows that majority of the respondents' accessed political information from the Hope Newspaper 80.9% and 44.7% of the respondents rarely read the program.

These findings show that there is high level of access of political information from the Hope Newspaper and that majority of the people read to the programme.

**Research Question 3:**

To what extent does Hope Newspaper mobilize the people of Ondo State politically?

The answer to this question is provided in tables 14 and 15. Findings presented in table 14 show that majority of the respondents felt that the extent of political mobilization among Ondo people is high with 40.4%. However, 24.5% felt that the extent of political mobilization is low, 18.1% felt the extent of political mobilization is very high while the least percentage, 17% felt there is no political mobilization at all. Findings in table 15 depict that 59 (62.8%) of the respondents felt that they enjoyed the program while 35 (37.2%) of the respondents did not.

**Research Question 4:**

Are the people of Akure South likely to get political mobilization information through any other source apart from the Hope Newspaper?

Findings in tables 16, 17 and 18 proffered answer to this question. Findings presented in table 16 showed that majority of the respondents felt that they did not get political information from other sources with 74 (78.7%) wh



ile 20 (21.3%) of the respondents felt that they got political information from other sources.

Findings in table 17 showed that 76 (80.9%) of the respondents felt that they got political information from the Hope Newspaper only while 18 (19.1%) of the respondent felt that they got political information from political aspirants.

Findings in table 18 showed that 76 (80.9%) of the respondents felt that the political mobilization program has influenced their choice of political participation while 18 (19.1%) felt that the programs did not influence their choice of political participation

These findings point out that majority of the respondents received political information from the Hope Newspaper and that the program has influenced the people's choice of political participation.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main objective of this study is to determine media as a tool for political mobilization. The survey research design is used for data collection with questionnaire. Following the analysis of data



and discussion of findings, this chapter presents the summary of findings, the conclusion and recommendation.

#### 4.1 Summary of Findings

The findings among others showed that:

That the programme "political mobilization" has positively influenced most Akure residents on their choice of political participation.

That there is high level of political mobilization information on Hope Newspaper That the programme "political mobilization" is effective in mobilizing the masses for political participation and peaceful election.

That there is high rate of coverage in the state by the hope Newspaper. These findings received the central thesis of the agenda - setting theory which states that the media have the power to determine what is important in the public discourse.

In the preceding chapter it was discussed that the performance of the paper analyses in consonance with the hypodermic (bullet) theory of mass communication. The view and responses obtained from the respondents is however negatively effective or under performance. According to the hypodermic theory people minds are hit with information from the media as the bullet hit target and this create effect where unavoidably they submit and respond to it. However, if their response is favourable or not to the response desired.

Again not understanding the political information aired is yet another problem militating against sizeable impact of the media as gathered in question 9 most of the respondents said their problems hinge on the language used in reaching them through the media. Most says the English language is prevalent. Therefore they strongly solicit for the use of local dialect and decentralizing stations to



the local government level where large groups share the same dialect that readily comprehensible by the people

#### 4.2 **Conclusion**

The mass media as a tool for political mobilization has led the researcher to draw conclusions on the interplay between the people and the media relationship in political situation.

In the first place we see that there are sufficient readers of newspaper users among the people and this strengthen political information read because those who get it find it easier to read, and would like reading them regularly those who do not read newspaper have political interest get distorted information from those who receive it first hand from the source. This strengthens the effectiveness of the media information.

Secondly in the proper mobilize although the greater number of people has interest in politics the inefficiency of the mass media is greatly due to the loss of confidence that it tells the truth to the people.

Finally government monopolizing the ownership and the control of the mass media media is a log in the wheel of national progress in politics. Most of the respondents are aware that the HOPE NEWSPAPAR is a government owned media and because of press censorship the argue that edited news and information is meaningless and unworthy hence they are propaganda tool to maintain their status quo. Since he who pays the pipe dictates the tune.

#### 4.3 **Recommendation**

The research shows that the mass have enormous responsibility to the electorate in a transition era hence the researcher based on the research finding makes the following recommendations:



1. The media (Radio, television and print) have literacy rate in Nigeria is still low and should make the language of communication simpler. Dialect is the best medium or channel to disseminate any political information desired to reach and mobilize the people.

2. This views would go hand – in hand with the establishment of media in the amongst people of a particular group.

Conventional ethnic language like the Igbo is not easily comprehensible to people in the interior (rural) area whose dialects may differ.

3. Seeing that literacy and ignorance still plague our world of society and being of consequential effect on the people understanding of political information government has to curtail the exorbitant school fees, incessant industrial action lecturer government conflicts equipping of school libraries high cost of book and more employment and mobilization of people.

4. There is equally the need for the government to invite private person into broadcasting business as to a way to weaken monopoly and strengthen competition. This will create room for alternative favourite's station and people will assess between many choices and then find where to repose their confidence.

5. Furthermore in Nigeria and Ondo state in particulars there are property ignorance and squalor. The greater percentage of Nigerians is living below poverty level hence in political times their conscience is easily bought by the candidate who is the highest bidder.

6. Government should increase allocation of funds to the communication information ministries so as to enable newspaper company carry out more effective programmes on political mobilization.

7. The media should pick up the task to produce newspaper mobilization programmes that will help to enhance political participation.



8. Non- governmental organisations (NGO) should also pick up the task to produce newspaper mobilization information that will help promote political participation and peaceful election.

9. These mobilization programmes should be repackaged with the involvement of local languages so as to reach the rural areas.

In other to ensure that the mass media achieve their aim in the mobilization of the people there must be a sound economic environment because it is only when the basic need of the people are satisfied that can think of politics and mass messages.

Finally politics without the people's full participation is a game of the minority rather than that of the majority. In ensuring participatory democracy government should not always tell the people what they (government) want them to do. Rather they should allow the people to tell it what they want from them to do in this way the much desired democratic policy in Nigeria will be a thing of the past.



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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of theatre and media arts

TMA, Ekiti

SEPTEMBER , 2015.

Dear Respondents,

I am a final year student of the department of theatre arts of the Federal University Oye Ekiti, Ekiti State.

I am currently conducting a survey research on “the mass media as an instrument of political mobilization” A case study of the Hope Newspaper.

The success of this work depends upon your answers to the questions provided for this study where necessary you may be required to make comments.

It may interest you to know that this study is purely for academic purpose and your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Yours sincerely,

Oluwasola Titilope.G.

Tma/11/0108



Please kindly tick ( ) in support or (x) against in the appropriate column to indicate your answers.

- i. Sex (a) Male [ ] (b) Female [ ]
- ii. AGE (a) 18-28years [ ] (b) 29- 35 years [ ] (c) 40-50years [ ] (b) 51 – above [ ]
- iii. Occupation (a) farming [ ] (b) Trading [ ] (c) Driving [ ] (b) Teaching [ ] (e) student [ ] (f) Health [ ] (g) Others [ ]
- iv. Marital status: (a) Single [ ] (b) Married [ ]
- v. Educational Qualification (a) NIL [ ] (b) WASC/GCE [ ] (C) OND/NCE [ ]

#### SECTION B

1. Do you read Newspaper?  
(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
2. How often do you read Newspapers? (a) Very often [ ] (b) often [ ] (c) Rarely [ ] (d) Not at all [ ]
3. During political campaign, did you receive enough information from (hope newspaper) regarding political campaign (a) yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
4. Do you think that the overall attitude of the people towards political issues would have been better if many reads hope newspaper (a) yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
5. Are you interested in political activities such as voting and being voted for?  
(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
6. If your answer in question 5 is yes how do you rate your level of interestedness? (a) High [ ] (b) Low [ ]



7. During political situation how do you assess the performance of the (hope newspaper) in letting you know what to do and the candidates of various parties to be voted for? (a) Very efficient [ ] (b) Efficient [ ] (c) Inefficient [ ] (d) Very inefficient [ ]

8. What do you suggest that should be done to improve the performance of the (hope newspaper) to make excel in the fourth coming election (give one or two suggestion)?

.....

.....

9. How do you assess the level of awareness in Nigeria politics (a) High [ ] (b) Low [ ]

10. How much are you able to understand the political information read over the newspaper without any other person's assistance? (a) Very much [ ] (b) Not much [ ]

11. Do you know that the (hope newspaper) is a state owned media?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

12. How do you rate your confidence level that what you are read through the (hope newspaper) was truth especially during political campaign periods

(a) High [ ] (b) low [ ] (c) can't say [ ]

13. what do you read in hope newspaper?

(a) To obtain information [ ]

(b) Just for entertainment [ ]

(c) To be educated and enlightened [ ]

(d) All of the above [ ]s



14. Would you suggest a change in the programme pattern of the ESBS?

(a) yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Undecided [ ]

15. Are you satisfied with the amount devoted to transmission of political cultural activities by the ESBS Enugu? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

16. Do you think ESBS gives more time to airing political produced programmes? (a) yes [ ]

(b) No [ ]