Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC) Vol. 6 No. 1, June 2019
ISSN: p. 2354-354X e. 2354 – 3515

Open Access Journal, Available Online

Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC)

Vol. 6 No. 1, June 2019

A Publication of the Department of Mass Communication, College of Business and Social Scienes (CBSS), Covenant University.

URL: ***http://journals.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/index.php/cjoc***

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ISSN: p. 2354-354X e. 2354 – 3515

Published by Covenant University Journals,
Covenant University, Canaanland, Km 10, Idiroko Road,
P.M.B. 1023, Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria

Printed by Covenant University Press

Articles

Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC) Vol. 6 No. 1, June 2019
ISSN: p. 2354-354X e. 2354-3515 DOI: 10.20370/3qfx-h196

Open Access Journal, Available Online

An Assessment of Ghana's *Twi* Language Medical Advertisements

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Received: 01.09.2018 Accepted: 19.06.2019 Published: June, 2019

Abstract: Health-related advertisements are aired daily on the radio in Ghana, many of them in local languages. However, little is known if these advertisements fulfill the conditions stipulated by the country's authorities. This paper assesses the contents of six commercials in the *Twi* language on two radio stations - *Adehyee FM* and *Hello FM* - using the stipulations of Ghana Food and Drugs Authority (GFDA) as a guide. The English transcripts of the spot commercials were produced and analyzed within the relevant theoretical confines. The results show that none of them has fully aligned with the relevant rules and regulations as each recorded only a 50 percent compliance rate during the investigation. To counter this challenge, a new stakeholder assessment model, that makes everyone in the value chain of advertisement production relevant, is proposed.
Keywords: Advertisement, medication, health, gatekeeping, broadcasting, radio.

Introduction

Advertising can boost a company's sales if it is well executed (Mckensey & Company, 2012). It is regarded as a necessity and has been adopted as a component of the marketing system in promoting products and services of which the pharmaceuticals and herbal medicines are of note (Gellad et al., 2007). Rules exist that guide or regulate the creation, production, and publishing or airing of commercials. The essence is to protect members of the public from unscrupulous advertising practices and exploitation that could have devastating consequences. In Ghana, every advertisement created and published follows the guidelines of the Food and Drugs Authority. This body regulates medical advertisements through the Public Health Act of 2012 (Act 851) because medicines, by law, are not regarded as ordinary commodities (Barthes, 2014). Also, the Medicines Act Chapter 176 (Sections 52 and 74) stipulates that no person can issue or publish any medical advertisement without first obtaining a permit from the licensing authority. One could also not alter any medical advertisement for which a permit has been granted (Health Sciences Authority, 2016). In some countries, unlike Ghana, herbal commercials display on-screen the permit details (Medical Board of Australia, 2009).

Recently the body published more than 150 advertisements from six regions in Ghana which were non-compliant from October 2017 to January 2018 in its FDA's Hall Of Shame, 2018 (GFDA, 2018). Among them were medical products. While the body was applauded for identifying those advertisements that did not follow the rules (GFDA, 2018) it received knocks for failing to provide the public with the details of how the advertisers fell short. This work exposes the issues related to non-compliant advertisements in Ghana, to create a fresh research trajectory that adds to the largely invisible literature on the subject. We assess six selected radio advertisements to test their conformity to the rules and regulations of the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority set criteria. A new model for assessing medical advertisements is also proposed.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are the following:

1. To examine the advertising content strategy of medical radio advertisements.
2. To assess how compliant with the rules medical advertisements are, using the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority guidelines.
3. To propose a framework for gatekeeping or regulating medical advertisements in sync with the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority guidelines.

The rationale and significance of the study

The rationale for this study is to expose researchers, advertisers, advertising agencies and radio stations to the content strategies of medical advertisers through the lens of the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority. The study attempts to use the results from the assessment to elucidate the need to regulate medical advertisements, contrary to the desire of many advertisers who have personal interests to perpetuate over the public interest. This study is of importance to researchers who work in the area of medical advertisements' content strategies especially on the grounds of how advertisers and advertising agencies try to outwit the regulatory bodies. To advertising agencies and advertisers that are ignorant of the requirements, this study attempts to enlighten them on the words and phrases that violate the set standards by the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority and the Medical Council of Ghana through a discursive approach. Lastly, it proposes a stakeholder framework for regulating the content of medical advertisements based on the findings of this research.

Literature review

Advertising plays a major role in modern healthcare in promoting better health practices and the availability of non-prescription medicines for better healthcare (World Self-medication Industry, 2008). Scholars also affirm that pharmaceutical advertising has an important effect on the drug consuming behavior of patients. For instance, patients were eager to buy drugs after exposure to direct-to-consumer advertising (Ghia, Jha & Rambhad 2014). These authors add that medical advertising has become a significant key player in shaping the attitude and behavior of people with attendant more purchase of drugs and visible return on investment in pharmaceutical production.

Findings by the Prevention Magazine (2004) shows that 62.4 million patients talked to their doctors about advertised medicines and from these, 16.2 million requested for an advertised medicine. Advertising, therefore, affects information seeking, health care visits and medicines inquiries from the doctor. Advertising of medicines is recognized as a potent tool for promotion but it must adhere to set health standards (Barthes, 2014; Kim, 2015). The set standards refer to guidelines for consumer advertising of health products in the category of non-prescription drugs, natural health products and medical devices in all media outlets (Ad. Standards, 2018). The coverage of medical advertisements may span across other areas such as medical treatment services, homeopathic medicines (Barthes, 2014) and more health disciplines based on the leadership capability of the authorities concerned.

Advertisement in a medical context is any representation to promote directly or indirectly the sales of non-prescription drugs, natural health products and medical devices (Ad Standards, 2018; Spake & Joseph, 2007). The essence of guidelines is to help the creators of advertising communications to understand the principles that govern health products promotion to help them develop messages that comply with the set standards (Ad Standards, 2018). It also prevents from circulating inferior commodities that can threaten the lives of the consumers especially in the case of oral substances (Barthes, 2014).

Basically and universally, a medical advertisement should not be directed at children, avoid creating fear or apprehension and above all, be truthful and not misleading (World Self-medication Industry, 2008). The implication of all these is that medical advertisements cannot be treated as regular commercials even though the conventional commodity advertisements do follow ethical procedure. The consequences of wrongful medical advertisements are far weightier in terms of health risk implications. According to the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority (GFDA, 2013), before any medical advertisement is published, it is compulsory for the advertisers and media owners to ensure that the content adheres to its 41 guidelines. In addition to the stipulations of the GFDA, the content of an advertisement is subject to the rules that guide the medium used for publishing it, as well as the general advertising guidelines for creating messages as enounced by the advertising practice regulators. With a loaded ecosystem of regulations, an advertisement may not be able to convey all the relevant information a patient needs in making a choice (World Self-medication Industry, 2008).

It is surprising that several articles published on medical advertisements have neglected the focus of study in this work, especially in the developing countries of West Africa, including Ghana. Such articles are usually pharmaceutically inclined, focusing mainly on analyzing drug claims, specifications and their authenticity and how all of these influence doctors' prescriptions. (Randhawa et al., 2015). A few others focus on the impact pharmaceutical advertisements have on patient drug consumption behavior (Ghia et al., 2014) while some others analyze online videos, exploring whether or not the content of those videos drove away patients from good medical care (Muncy et al., 2014). This work attempts to provoke researchers' interest concerning the level of advertisers' compliance with regulations that guide the medical advertisements' creation, strategy, and tactics.

Theoretical Model

This study adopted the gatekeeping theory as a framework that served as a heuristic tool on which the assessment of the medical radio advertisement was carried out. Gatekeeping means exercising control over what information reaches the general public and how social reality is framed (Wallace, 2018). Shoemaker & Vos (2009) add that in gatekeeping, information is facilitated or constrained based on the gatekeeper's preference, which is dependent on internal or external guidelines. Traditionally gatekeeping was more related to journalism but currently, the path has changed, as non-journalists actors are all involved in gatekeeping in different fields recently (Kommunikation, 2012). Gatekeeping is, therefore, not only for analyzing how news stories are censored. It is also deployed in many areas including field research (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008, 2009; Berente, Ivanov, & Vandenbosch, 2010; Sturges, 2001).

This work aligns with the linear or unidirectional approach in gatekeeping (Wallace, 2018). Medical advertising is subject to several controls to ensure that it complies with the rules of various bodies as a form of safeguard against the practices of unscrupulous advertisers and their agents. However, it is important to note that the framework of the gatekeeping theory is subjective, based on the selection and rejection criteria of the authorization body in context (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008) in this case, the GFDA. The subjectivity makes permissible censoring based on organizational structures and procedures, institutional environment, social environment, external and internal constraints as well as informational characteristics (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008). In the context of this study, the institutional environment specification which is the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority guidelines were used as the gatekeeping framework for censoring the medical radio advertisement as captured in Table 1 below.

Research Method

The qualitative research method was adopted in consonance with the aim of the research which was to assess the content of selected medical radio advertisements against the Food and Drugs Authority's criteria, to check conformity as often demanded by scholars (Kaphingst, et al., 2004; Muncy et al., 2014 & Sözen,et al.,(2013). Here, we are looking specifically at how herbal medicine commercials have conformed to the rules and regulations of the Ghanaian authorities, represented by the GFDA. The sample size was six. It was this fewer because the essence was not to quantify but to look at the content structure qualitatively closely regarding how advertisements have been framed and how they follow the guidelines as set forth by the GFDA. Herbs are categorized as over-the-counter medicines (Johns Hopkins Medicine, 2019). Six Twi radio commercials were purposely selected from the 17 played on two radio stations *Adehyee FM* and *Hello FM* in Kumasi, Ghana. Their uncompliant tag made easier the purposive sampling. The commercials were first transcribed and then translated into English by a linguistic expert. The transcripts were analyzed using the Food and Drugs Authority criteria for medical advertisements. Permission was obtained from the radio stations to use the selected commercials. However, owing to the promise of confidentiality made by the researchers, the brands involved were anonymized and replaced with letters. Ten guidelines were selected from the GFDA's 41 for over-the-counter (OTC) medicines as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: FDA guidelines for medical advertisements for Over-the-counter (OTC) medicines

No	Guideline or Criteria
1	No advertisement shall be framed in such a manner as to exploit the superstitious belief and/or induce fear in the consumer to purchase the product.
2	No OTC drug advertisement shall over-dramatize any symptoms or signs.
3	No OTC drug advertisement shall attack unfairly any competitive products, goods, and services.
4	Advertisements for a product shall present information that is reasonably balanced between side effects and contra-indications and efficacy and safety.
5	[OTC] advertising shall reflect an overall attitude of caution concerning drug usage, with emphasis on the rational use of medicines. It shall provide sufficient and balanced information to permit assessment of risk against the benefits.
6	No advertisement for drugs shall contain any price, competition or similar scheme.
7	No drug advertisement shall contain offers of gifts or refund of money to dissatisfied consumers.
8	No OTC advertisement shall state or imply in absolute terms that OTC is 'safe', 'non-toxic' or 'has guaranteed efficacy'.
9	OTC medicines including allopathic, food supplements, herbal and homeopathic, shall not be advertised for any of these diseases: Alcoholism, Appendicitis, Amenorrhoea, Arterio-Sclerosis (Strokes),

	Asthma, Blindness, Bladder Stones, Cancer, Convulsion, Deafness, Diabetes, Diphtheria, Epilepsy, Diseases of the reproductive organ, Erysipelas, Fibroid, Gallstones, Goitre, Heart Disease, Hernia or Rupture, Hypertension, Infertility, Kidney Stones, Kidney Failure, Leprosy Leukemia, Systemic Lupus Erythematosis, Locomotortazy, Mental Disorders, Nephritis or Bright's disease, Obesity, Paralysis, Pleurisy Pneumonia, Poliomyelitis, Prostate Diseases, Scarlet Fever, Septicaemia, Smallpox, Sexual Impotence, Tetanus or Lock-jaw, Trachoma and Tuberculosis.
10	No OTC advertisement should imply superlative functions such as being the "drug of choice", 'the most frequently prescribed', 'the only drug for the purpose or that the drug has no side effects unless such claims can be adequately and scientifically substantiated.

Findings and Discussions

The transcripts for each commercial are presented before they are analyzed. Attentive listening to the commercials shows that the advertisers adopted both rational and emotional appeals. Each of them advances one reason or the other to attract patronage dramatically with male (MV) and female (FV) voice-overs. Below are the six medical advertisements, the associated content analysis, and discussions.

Advertisement No.1:

"MV: If a prophet had prophesied to me that a time would come for you to pamper me in this manner, I would not have believed it.

FV: Oh, when we used to fight, XXX Herbal Industries had not manufactured XXX capsules which you use now to show off.

MV: Now that XXX capsules have been produced for men, we can now be active and get the strength to perform all works.

FV: With the arrival of XXX capsules, you now sexually please me.

MV: Wow! XXX Herbal Industries have produced herbal medicines to cure serious and minor illnesses over thirty years now so if it has produced XXX capsules for men, we give a standing ovation. Only males above 18 years can take this medicine. It is available in all herbal, pharmacy and drug stores. .....

FV: So now which of the foods would you like to eat first?

MV: is it what I have standing right in front of me. XXX capsules…

FV: show me your manly power."

When the first advertisement was assessed using the GFDA guidelines, we found that it had no issues with the induction of fear, attack on other products and showed no supremacy. It is also necessary to mention that the advertisement had funny lines which made listening to it interesting. All the six commercials had this character. This Flipping the coin to the other side, four issues were identified: no caution was given in the usage of the product, and no side effects were mentioned. The ailment which it supposedly remedies was not mentioned! The last part of the advertisement which said: "*So now which of the foods would you like to eat first? Is it what I have standing right in front of me*" was over-acted and connotative with no straight meaning.

Rather than mention the ailment, the commercial disguised it, apparently due to the prohibited advertisement for the implied health challenge, which is sex organ-related. It was constructed based on the logic of implication to get around a possible infringement as specified by GFDA. This is contrary to the rule that all advertisements should be comprehensible since a proper understanding and knowledge of the advertisement is connected to the purchasing intent of the product. Solomon *et al*. (2016) add that from the perspective of ethics and health, marketing communications should reflect the reality regardless of any advertising strategy. In this regard, the content must not use language or any device that can eliminate or shield the content of the advertisement to put the audience at peril. Concealing side effects is seen also in the findings of similar research (Chiou & Tucker, 2010), which disclose that advertisers do that just to increase patronage of their products by broadening the target audience through the elimination of side effects.

Advertisement No.2:

"FV: My love, honestly speaking you have made me happy today.

MV: Oh my love, but this is just one. You'll be pleased today. This is my little secret; it's called XXX capsules. I recommend it for every man who wants to sexually please his wife, those suffering from waist pains and those with low sperm count. XXX capsules bring peace and happiness in marriages.

FV: A lady suffering from vaginal discharge and body odor can also be treated with YYY mixture.

MV: Men with shrink manhood due to the discharge of whitish fluids from their manhood, with the help of YYY mixture, there's peace at home. Persons under 18 years cannot take XXX capsules and pregnant women, lactating mothers or children under 12 years cannot take YYY mixture. ....

The second advertisement complied with all the GFDA criteria except two. It did not mention the side effects of the advertised product. Concerning the OTC drugs that cannot be advertised (concerning some diseases), the content of the advertisement rather focused on the symptoms of a disease believed to be related to the reproductive organ and prescribed the product as potent for taking away those symptoms. The World Self-medication Industry (2008) notes that, though a piece of detailed information on a product can affect the recall potency, some advertisers intentionally leave such information (especially side effects) out because it may not sound attractive or may deter their prospective buyers. According to some authors (Othman, et al., 2010; Solomon et al., 2016), advertisers must bear in mind that the medical profession upholds high ethical standards in most climes. Thus, any drug marketing communication meant to inform the general public should show proof of standards, making sure that messages are honest, void of inaccurate expectations and respect the dignity of the medical profession.

Advertisement No.3:

MV: Madam, please stir the soup, bring up the fishes underneath and add the fishes to the 'fufu' for me.

FV: Hi, gentleman, you are very interesting.

MV: I had malaria last three days which made me lose appetite. I nearly died. If I've been able to cure this malaria with XXX and XXX, I have to eat to my satisfaction.

FV: Aaah, so you bought and took XXX and XXX?

MV: That's what saved me!

FV: Then you're right. I didn't know. Medicines manufactured by XXX Herbal Industries are very good.

MV: Aaaahh, so you know.

FV: If not for XXX which cures malaria fever, vomiting, and headache, food vendors like me would not be able to do this job.

MV: Yes it is true that XXX cures body weakness and loss of appetite

FV: Aaah, have your food. I've added more to it.

MV: Well done.

FV: Hey XXX, come for the food and serve him.

MV: Ohh, thank you very much.

FV: Everyone should purchase some….

The third commercial complied with seven criteria. This is good news, taking into consideration the stringent nature of the criteria. The three not complied with were lack of information on side effects, no visible caution on the usage of the drug while facts related to the safety of the drugs were non-existent. It rather stressed that herbal medicine is very good which is seen in the comment: *"Then you're right. I didn't know. Medicines manufactured by XXX Herbal Industries are very good…Everyone should purchase some…."* This statement implies in absolute terms that the efficacy of the medicine is guaranteed. GFDA prohibits such lines because the medicine does not have (or does not provide) any scientific proof to justify the claim. This practice, if not curtailed or stopped, can affect the credibility of OTC drugs, with a concomitant effect on consumers' trust and ultimately on purchase.

Advertisement No.4:

MV: Please let me check your bag.

FV: Young man, why? Again?

MV: Hi! I told you to take just a bottle of XXX and you took three.

FV: Young man, XXX has helped my household and me so there's no way one will be enough.

MV: For this, you deserve to take them.

FV: If I'm to testify about XXX, it will take me to heaven. So, to cure malaria, use XXX.

MV: That's not all. XXX is also recommended for persons who have lost appetite. Pregnant women, lactating mothers, and children below 12 years cannot take in this medicine. …

FV: Remember that the XXX. XXX, malaria fever will never be a part of your life.

The fourth advertisement scored eight out of the ten criteria. No mention was made of the drug's side effects while the caution that asks the target audience to consult a doctor should the symptoms persist is missing. The advertisement was clear in terms of its purpose concerning the associated ailment as heard in the statements: "*So, to cure malaria, use XXX. XXX is also recommended for persons who have lost appetite."* However, some lines of the commercial are immaterial as they appealed to emotion abstrusely and could probably have had some esoteric motive with people of immoral behavior in advertisers' minds. For instance, the statement "*it will take me to heaven"* overacts the potency of the drug and exaggerates the benefits derivable from it.

Advertisement No.5:

FV: Landlord, why don't you knock before entering my room? What do you want at this time of the night, do you want to rape me?

MV: Don't say that because you are not in my size. My wife told me that XXX which you asked me to buy can cure bad odor.

FV: Yes, it is true. XXX is good for someone who urinates frequently, whose heart beats very fast and a person with elephantiasis. It also burns fat in the human body, cures drowsiness and constipation.

MV: XXX can be purchased XXX and at any drug store and herbal shop.

FV: Take note, pregnant women, lactating mothers and children below 12 years cannot take this medicine….

MV: Honestly, XXX is very good medicine.

FV: Say it again.

The fifth advertisement did not meet the criteria on the exposure to the side effects of the medicine. It also did not touch on what one should do in case the symptoms persist. What's more, the commercial did not make any categorical statements on the nature of the disease it wanted to cure. Even the lines on symptoms were shilly-shallied as they vacillated from one to another, which made it rather difficult for a target audience to comprehend owing to the wide array. This flouts the GFDA rules.

Advertisement No.6:

FV: Mr. XXX, is it true XXX medicine can make a child brilliant?

MV: It is true. Why do the whites hail him as XXX? The medicine produced by XXX can make a dull child very brilliant. Those who didn't believe it are now the ones broadcasting information about this medicine. The name of the medicine is XXX, also called "XXX". Just buy one for your child who does not perform well in school and try it. If the child takes XXX or "XXX" medicine, it will make his brain very sharp. Since the introduction of this medicine, it has never failed anyone. Meanwhile, it's not meant for children only. An adult can easily *forget what he or she said; he may be holding something and still be looking for that thing. For those whose brain's performance has reduced due to stroke can make their brain very sharp if they take in XXX or "XXX" medicine. You know everything about XXX or XXX is wonderful….*

The sixth advertisement had many compliant challenges. It complied with three criteria regarding the consumers' reception of the information. It could not meet seven other criteria which are so crucial. First, is that it overacted the targeted relief promised by the commercial contrary to the GFDA rule. "*The medicine produced by XXX can make a dull child very brilliant,"* The use of the word "*very"* is proof of this dramaturgic presentation. The advertisement did not highlight the side effects of the medicine. Neither did it caution the target audience on its indications and contra-indications. The statement "*It is true. That's why the whites hail him as XXX"* exploited the audience by making it believe that it is white to be right - that the medicine hailed by the white people is approved. The advertisement also contained some over-acting. The line "*For those whose brain's performance has reduced due to stroke can make their brain very sharp if they take in XXX medicine"* is a case in point. The line "*Since the introduction of this medicine, it has never failed anyone."* implies supremacy which is also prohibited by the GFDA, more so when it did not provide any scientific proof. Medics and corpsmen think such advertisements do ridicule their professions.

Summary of findings

1. All six commercials did not fully comply with the rules set by the GFDA and averagely the compliance rate hovers around 50 percent if it were quantitatively assessed.
2. The six commercials adopted both rational and emotional appeals (Terkan, 2014) to attract patronage. While they provide some reason, all the six also adopted anecdotal but funny lines that make listening to delightful, as noted by Stern (1996). The commercials were nice to listen to for those who understand and speak the Twi language.
3. It turned out that no visible information on drugs' side effects was the biggest criterion flouter.
4. Most of the commercials did not mention the name of the disease to outwit the GFDA. Rather, they concentrated on the symptoms and left the audience to deduce the target ailment and then patronize the drug

5. Cautions on the usage of the products were invisible in most of the six commercials assessed.
6. It appears this shortcoming is an indication that more gatekeeping measures are needed on medical advertisements to prevent abuse and safeguard consumers.

Conclusion

The about - 50 percent compliance notwithstanding, it is visible that advertisers and their agents are less circumspect in their advert placement on the radio. It is surprising that their commercials omitted side effects in the content published and were dangerously silent on whether or not the audience should consult a doctor in case the symptoms persisted after some specified days of using the medication. This silence is an infringement on the right of the audience to know. Some of these advertisements claimed supremacy while gimmicks were used to sway potential buyers to the counters. The consequences of this infringement on the buying public can be overwhelming, as noted by Ghia, Jha and Rambhad (2014), who affirm that pharmaceutical advertising has effects on the drug consumers' behavior. One of these is that patients may end up buying medical products that do not resolve their health issues, thereby compounding their problems. The implication, therefore, is that need exists for a better assessment system for commercials before they are aired. This non-compliance issue is probably not an indication that the GFDA is inefficient. In fact, according to records, the body halted the airing of six commercials. The products concerned were recalled from the market (www.ghanaweb.com, 2018). Buoying up the capacity of GFDA financially and recruiting more staff for its monitoring operations can increase its efficiency.

It is reasonable to suggest that GFDA needs some rejigging, but more importantly, it is the need for a framework that can avert the consequences that advertisements' non-compliance with the rules brings. The proposed framework makes all the stakeholders in the value chain of advertisement production responsible and liable. The advertiser, the advertising agency and the media house that publishes or airs the commercial are asked to use the guidelines of the GFDA as the gatekeeping mechanism in the value chain. It begins with a brief from the advertiser. Here, he instructs his agency to produce or craft the copy within the remit of what the authorities want. In the conception, production and publishing ecosystem, each of these biotic members – advertiser, advertising agency and media house – functions with due reference to the abiotic factors, which in this case are mainly the stipulations of the GFDA. The brief from the advertiser will reflect the rules, ditto the production of the commercials and their airing of the same. Succinctly:

- The advertiser dictates the brief based on the FDA guidelines
- The advertising agency produces the commercial from the brief in consonance with the FDA guidelines
- The radio station or the media house air or publishes the commercial also using the GFDA guidelines.

This means that the entire triangulated sequence starts and ends with obedience to the GFDA rules. This is different from the previous system where the application of GFDA rules starts and ends only with the media house. This sequence makes all the stakeholders not only responsible but also liable.

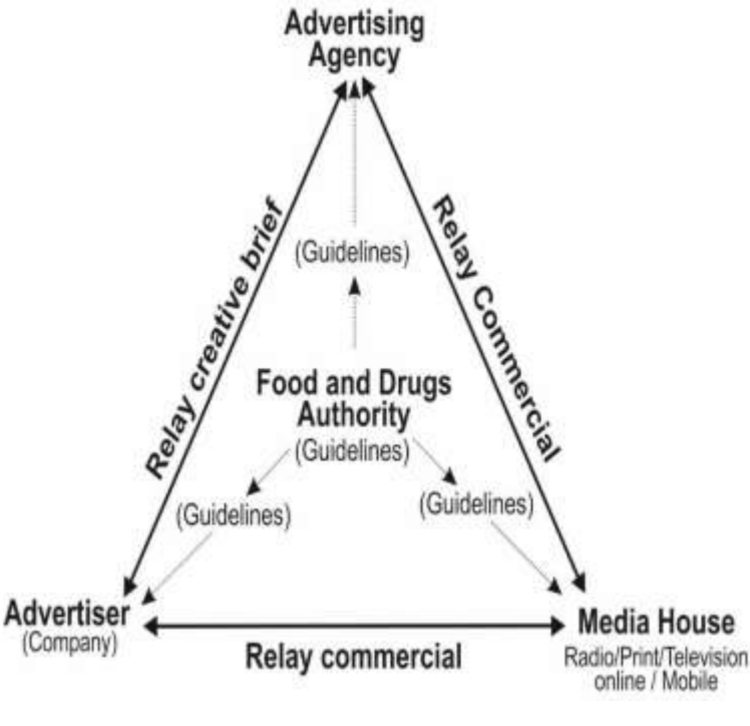

Figure 1: The advertiser-agency-media house gatekeeping sequence for broadcast commercial

Suggestions for Further Studies

1. This research covered only radio medical commercials and limited samples. For further research, a study can be conducted on a medical television commercial and print advertisements to check compliance with the Food and Drugs Authority guidelines.
2. More importantly, there is also a need to assess the knowledge of the Food and Drugs Authority guidelines among the advertisers, the advertising agency and media houses personnel to help understand the challenges they have in engaging those guidelines in their professional activities.
3. Advertising agencies and radio stations should also be educated on the Ghana Food and Drugs Authority guidelines especially on the need to adhere to the required standards at their end as part of their gatekeeping policies through workshops and conferences.

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Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC) Vol. 6 No. 1, June 2019
ISSN: p. 2354-354X e. 2354-3515 DOI: 10.20370/jq6h-m680

Open Access Journal, Available Online

Migingo Island Border Dispute in East Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Kenyan and Ugandan Newspaper Coverage

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Received: 14.07.2018 Accepted: 02.05.2019 Published: June, 2019

***Abstract*:** Drawing on agenda-setting, priming and framing theories, this study compares the coverage of Migingo Island ownership dispute in Kenya's *Nation* and *The Standard* and Uganda's *Monitor* and *New Vision* newspapers. Contents published in 92 issues, between March 1 and December 31, 2009, were studied. The analysis established that both Kenyan and Ugandan newspapers published the conflict mainly in their interior pages with both sides identifying an inexistent borderline as a cause. However, the Kenyan press published the issue more frequently and front-paged a few of its stories while blaming the Ugandan security forces as the main cause of the conflict. Skewed coverage pattern, arising from reporters' nationalistic behavior and desire to serve a domestic audience, was noticed. This has implications for conflict-sensitive reporting of interstate border conflicts in Africa.

***Keywords*:** Migingo Island, border dispute, newspaper coverage, framing, content analysis, Kenya, Uganda.

Introduction

The dispute between Kenya and Uganda over Migingo Island in Lake Victoria has received media coverage worldwide since 2004. Birungi (2009: 40) notes that "the conflict over Migingo Island was largely fanned by the growing media industry and improved information and communication technologies." Shaka (2013: 36) asserts that the coverage of the conflict "has sometimes been sensational, depicting Kenya and Uganda as being on the verge of war." Unimpressively, however, studies are either not visible or non-existent on *how* the media from these two countries have reported the conflict. This underpins the rationale for this study.

This research sought to compare the coverage of Migingo Island border dispute in the *Nation*, and *The Standard* from Kenya and Uganda's *Monitor* and *New Vision* newspapers between March 1, 2009, and December 31, 2009. The conflict escalated during this period, leading to more coverage of it by the media (Kisiangani, 2011; Muchege, 2017; Okumu, 2010; Shaka, 2013; Wekesa, 2010). A stoked conflict, especially the type that relates to international border disputes, is a natural attraction for newsmen (Omojola & Yartey, 2016; Morah & Omojola, 2011; Okorie et al. 2017).

In dispute situations, such as the one under investigation here, news media are expected to inform and educate the masses about the conflicts (Afaghani, 2011; Kiboi, 2016; Wafula, 2013). The news media should provide a balanced coverage that could make the warring sit at the negotiating table (Che, Tanjong, Wantchami, Tabuwe & Bisong, 2016; Mutere & Ugangu, 2004; Ochichi, 2009). Balanced coverage of interstate border conflicts puts "pressure to bear on the media to go beyond the scope of national interests" (Mutere & Ugangu, 2004, p. 87). Concerning Migingo Island dispute, however, it appears journalists have pursued their national interests (Nyabuga, 2011). Nevertheless, such coverage is commonplace in interstate conflicts as reporters tend to skew their narratives in favor of their countries and target audiences (Che et al., 2016; Puddephatt, 2006). Various scholars have indicated that media can cause or even escalate conflicts through propaganda and misinformation (Afaghani, 2011; Mutere & Ugangu, 2004; Puddephatt, 2006). This work provides the opportunity to put this assertion to the test.

Significance of the Study

The justification for this study is anchored on the need for Kenya and Uganda to peacefully resolve the Migingo Island dispute. Analyzing the contents of the dominant newspapers' reports can assist tremendously in facilitating that resolution. Knowing if the media have stoked or lessen the conflict in their reports is important to how both governments should act in the matter. Mumma-Martinon (2010:18) notes that "tensions like the one in Migingo have a serious economic bearing on the region." Migingo Island dispute has serious negative political and economic effects on not only Kenya and Uganda but entire East Africa's integration efforts and cooperation. The media can help in restoring and keeping the peace.

Migingo Island row remains unresolved despite all the diplomatic efforts put in place, including carrying out joint surveys since 2013 (Gettleman, 2009; Omondi, 2014; Shaka, 2013; Warui, 2013). Policy makers will need to know the direction of media reporting to guide their decision-making process and make informed decisions in terms of diplomacy. This work is also important to media practitioners and scholars within Africa especially those interested in conflict reporting. Newspaper editorial managers can use the study's findings to develop or revise their guidelines for reporting border disputes.

On the Migingo Island Dispute

This study focused on the conflict over the ownership of Migingo Island located on Lake Victoria, which measures about a half an acre in size (Warui, 2013) and how Kenyan and Ugandan media have reported it. The Island is situated 5.4 nautical miles (10 kilometers) off Kenya's Sori-Bay in Karungu division, Migori district (Birungi, 2009; Mnjama, 2012; Rossi, 2018). It has approximately 1,000 inhabitants (Kisiangani, 2011; Shaka, 2013; Sing'oei, 2009) with the majority of them being Kenyans of the Luo ethnic group.

Many border conflicts in Africa are traceable to irresponsible and inconsiderate demarcations by colonialists (Kornprobst, 2002; Mnjama, 2012; Rossi, 2018). Territorially, Migingo Island has been administered by Kenya since 1926 under the Kenya Colony and Protectorate (Boundaries) Order in Council (Muchege, 2017; Wekesa, 2010). Migingo Island conflict has been noticed since 2004 when Uganda deployed its forces on the Island and later in 2009 imposed a special tax on Kenyan fishermen (Gettleman, 2009; Kisiangani, 2011; Muchege, 2017; Okumu, 2010; Shaka, 2013; Sing'oei, 2009; Wekesa, 2010).

The waters around Migingo Island in Lake Victoria are rich in fish assets and resources while the Island serves as a landing site for fishermen from both Kenya and Uganda (Birungi, 2009; Mumma- Martinon, 2010; Warui, 2013). The conflict over Migingo Island has been fueled by the uncertainty over its ownership and unguarded statements by politicians from both countries (Omondi, 2014). Kisiangani (2011) notes that the Island's dispute was worsened by remarks by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni that Migingo Island was in Kenya but the waters around it were in Uganda, claiming, therefore, that Kenyan inhabitants on the Island would not be allowed to fish in a Ugandan territory.

Statement of the Problem

Substantial literature focuses on the historical, political and legal aspects of Migingo Island dispute. However, there seems to be a dearth of in-depth research concerning how the media have covered the conflict and this challenge resonates in many similar disputes around the world (Tobechukwu, 2007). This study compares the coverage of the dispute in the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers from Kenya and Uganda's *Monitor* and *New Vision* in the period covering March 1, 2009, and December 31, 2009.

Research Questions

1. What was the frequency of the coverage of Migingo Island dispute between March 2009 and December 2009?
2. What was the prominence of coverage given to Migingo Island?
3. What causes of the dispute were presented in the coverage?

Literature Review

Mnjama (2012) traces border disputes in East Africa to colonial boundaries that were created without regard to the needs of the local communities. This ended in the tribes being divided between the two states. The division has widened owing to the trans-border resources of high economic value (such as fisheries in the territorial Islands) that have added to the competing interests between the two sovereign states. Puddephatt (2006) holds the view that the media can, through partisanship, contribute to the violence in conflict situations or, by reporting objectively, can support the resolution of the conflict. Similarly, Afaghani (2011, p. 1) asserts that "news media play a central role in exposing conflict situations by bringing conflicting parties and disputed issues to light." However, the media can also cause or even escalate conflicts through propaganda and misinformation (Afaghani, 2011; Mutere & Ugangu, 2004; Puddephatt, 2006).

The primary role of the media in dispute situations is to inform and educate the masses about the conflicts (Kiboi, 2016; Wafula, 2013). In conflict situations, the media is expected to provide the public with complete, reliable and unbiased information that facilitates the resolution of the conflict (Ochichi, 2009). The way news media fulfill these functions through agenda setting, priming and framing can impact a conflict. Media coverage of conflicts shapes public opinions about them. MCK - The Media Council of Kenya (2016, p. 1) - posits that "various audiences and stakeholders in conflict situations depend on the media for information, especially during conflict situation where dialogue is non-existent."

According to Che et al. (2016), media coverage of conflicts should be balanced so that the audience can make informed decisions about the disputes. In agreement, MCK (2016) states that: "accurate, objective and reliable reporting of conflict by journalists is very important" (p. 3). In reporting conflicts, there should be diversity in the way story ideas are developed and reported and inclusiveness in choosing sources and giving voice to the voiceless (Mutere & Ugangu, 2004). Moreover, the need exists for journalists to have adequate knowledge of the conflict situation that they are reporting about (MCK, 2016). In summary, a journalist should adhere to journalistic principles of accuracy, objectivity, and fairness.

Migingo Island ownership dispute coverage falls within "the issue of conflict in international shared water resources, which is highly political in its nature" (Mumma- Martinon, 2010, p.2) and is currently the subject of considerable international debate. Some scholars acknowledge that media coverage of Migingo Island dispute has been sensational and riddled with bias as some media outlets have been pro-Kenya while others have been pro-Uganda (Nyabuga, 2011; Shaka, 2013; Wafula, 2013). Media coverage of the Migingo Island dispute shows that "journalists often resort to nationalistic, jingoistic and 'patriotic' rhetoric when it comes to territorial and sovereignty issues" (Nyabuga, 2011, p.142). This shows how journalists, as individuals and influenced by external factors, can produce and package news (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014).

Illustrating the negative language of the media coverage of Migingo Island conflict, Nyabuga (2011, p.141) notes that Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni was "regularly described in Kenya's media as an expansionist and even "blindly" ambitious". Bias in reporting conflicts is reflected through systematic under-reporting or over-reporting of certain events and issues. It also includes journalists giving their opinions about the conflict situation. For instance, in the Migingo Island dispute, media reports have been quick to analyze and give their opinions on which country owns the Island (Shaka, 2013). A study by Wafula (2013) has established that in Migingo Island dispute coverage, journalists were often reporting from one side only, thereby eliminating objectivity as an ethical principle.

Framework

This study is anchored on the agenda-setting, priming, and framing theories. Agenda setting theory is useful in explaining how the process of news story selection for publication impacts the media audiences (Alao, 2018). According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), the media set the agenda for public opinion by highlighting certain issues and thereby telling people not what to think, but what to think of. This is attained by the media selecting what content to publish, where to publish it (placement) and the type of language (framing) to use in the articles. In this study, the agenda-setting function of media coverage was determined based on the frequency and placement of stories in newspapers. The agenda-setting system postulates that "the press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it" (Alao, 2018, p.4). The theory also assumes that "media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues" (Alao, 2018, p.4). Ochichi (2009, p. 13) expatiates on this, noting that, "the mass media influence their audience by the type of stories they consider newsworthy and how much prominence and space they give those articles."

Beyond agenda setting is the media's power to *prime*. According to Iyengar and Kinder (1987), priming involves a situation in which news media attend to some issues and not others, thereby altering the standards by which people evaluate issues. On priming, McQuail (2010) argues as follows:

> Reference is sometimes made (especially in political communication research) to 'media priming' effects, as a more specific aspect of agenda-setting. The idea of priming originated in social learning theory and the study of effects in aggression. It also has a long history in election campaign research in the attempts by politicians to be associated with the issues on which they have the strongest reputation (p. 514).

Just as is the case with the agenda-setting function of the media, priming could have made the newspapers under investigation cover some issues and ignore others concerning the border dispute. This may have altered the way opinion leaders and citizens of the two countries evaluated the conflict.

Framing is concerned with how news stories are packaged in the media (Nyambuga, 2011; Shah, Watts, Domke & Fan, 2002). In conflict situations, Afaghani (2011, p.19) asserts that "the framing of events and issues emphasized by the media has an amplified effect on the people who are participating in the conflict". Through framing, the media organize "complex news stories around distinctive arguments and themes while concurrently downplaying others, journalists help to shape an issue's deeper meanings and implications for the public" (Shah et al. 2002, p.343).

The framing theory posits that "media content which is transmitted to media audiences is influenced by journalistic norms and the world view of individual journalists" (Nyambuga, 2011, p.109). This postulation may help explain why journalists from the Kenyan and Ugandan newspapers had different news frames for Migingo Island row. As Che et al. (2016) argue, journalists in a bid to protect their national interests create biased news media coverage of conflicts, a view supported by Puddephatt (2006).

MCK (2016, p. vii) notes that there is a need for journalists to "provide background information and context on conflicts in an accurate and credible frame." It is assumed that the editors of the newspapers studied may have chosen to highlight certain aspects of the dispute and de-emphasize others using deliberate frames. These frames were those favoring their national interests and domestic audiences' needs. As some authors have noted (Shoemaker and Reese, 2014; Omojola, 2008a; Omojola, 2008b) have acknowledged, the audience as a driver of advertising can influence news media content.

Methodology

This study analyzed articles on Migingo Island dispute published in the daily and weekend editions of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers from Kenya and *New Vision* and *Monitor* from Uganda from March 1, 2009, to December 31, 2009. The selection of the four English language newspapers was informed by their wider circulation and their position as a significant component of the dominant media in the two countries (Alina, 2013; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013).

The *Nation* and *Monitor* are privately-owned and published by the Nation Media Group, a leading media conglomerate in East Africa. *The Standard*, which is also privately-owned, is published by the Standard Group. *New Vision* is owned by the Government of Uganda (Alina, 2013). Citing the 2010 Media Barometer Report, Alina (2013) notes that though *New Vision* faces some challenges owing to the hyper-competition of the media industry, it nonetheless remains a respectable government mouthpiece.

The content analysis involves a population of 1,224 issues. Kerlinger, cited in Wimmer and

Dominick (2006, p. 127), defines content analysis as "a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner to measure variables." The randomized sample size for this research consists of 92 issues - 23 from each of the four newspapers. The unit of analysis is every article covering Migingo Island dispute and it wouldn't make any difference whether it is news, features, letters to the editor, editorials or opinion articles (Ochichi, 2009). Added to these genres in the study are cartoons, photographs, advertisements, and commentaries.

Data were collected by the researchers using a coding sheet. The data, with inter-coder reliability of 0.7 was analyzed to generate the descriptive statistics. As Wimmer and Dominick (2006) have noted, counting is crucial in content analysis, which is why frequency distributions contingency tables and bar charts are prominent in this work. The contents that captured the conflict are categorized as follows:

- *Frequency of newspaper coverage of the dispute*. This was determined by counting the total number of news reports on Migingo Island dispute in the newspapers analyzed.
- *Size of newspaper story*: This variable which represents prominence of news articles indicates the size of newspaper articles: very small (below 2 square inches), small (2- 4 square inches), medium (4-6 square inches), big (6-9 square inches) and very big (above 8 square inches). The bigger the size of a story, the more prominent the story was deemed to be.
- *Placement of newspaper story*: This variable which denotes the significance of news reports indicates where an item appeared in the newspaper, namely: front page, inside pages and back pages. Front page placement means very important stories, back page stories are next in prominence and stories in the interior pages are least in the order of importance.
- *Type of newspaper article*: This is operationalized as the genres namely news, features, editorials, letters to the editors, commentaries, cartoons, pictures, and advertisements.

Findings

Two hundred (200) newspaper stories were coded and analyzed in this study from the sample size of 92 issues obtained from the four selected newspapers in Kenya and Uganda published between March 1, 2009, and December 31, 2009.

Frequency of Coverage Given to Migingo Island Dispute

Out of 200 articles on Migingo Island dispute, 71.5 percent and 28.5 percent were from newspapers published in Kenya and Uganda respectively. Figure 1 shows that news stories were the main genre (77.5%) used to present the dispute in the four newspapers analyzed. The least used genres were editorials and letters to the editors as each was represented by 2 percent.

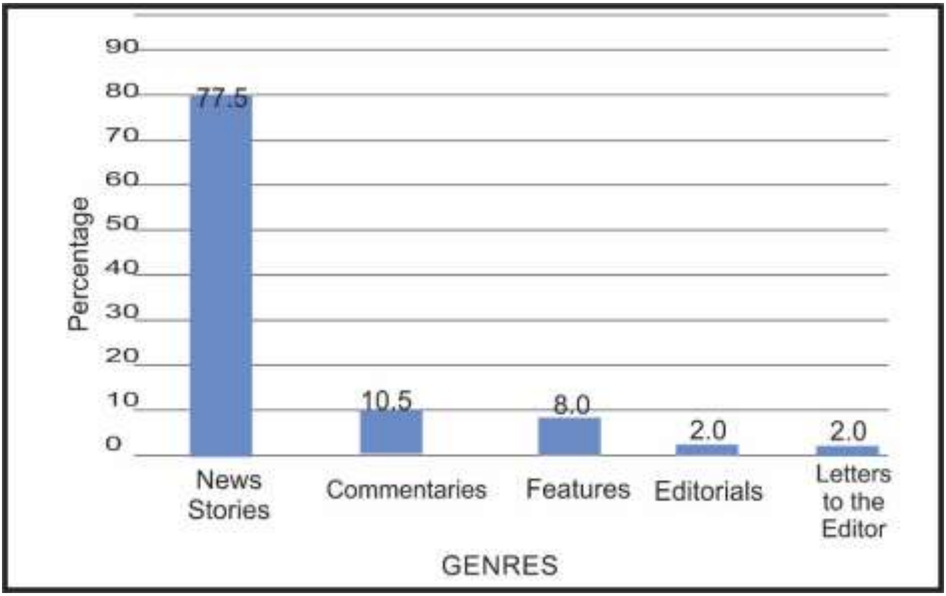

Figure 1: Distribution of newspaper stories on the conflict by genres

Table 1 shows that out of 155 news stories on Migingo Island dispute, 72.9 percent and 27.1 percent were from newspapers from Kenya and Uganda respectively. As observed in Table 1, 57.1 and 42.9 percent of commentaries were published in the Kenyan and Ugandan press correspondingly. Feature stories from the Kenyan press and the Ugandan press accounted for 81.3 percent and 18.7 percent of features on the conflict. All editorials on the conflict were published in the Kenyan print media. Three–quarters of all the letters to the editors were from the Ugandan press while the Kenyan newspapers were represented by a quarter of these letters.

Table 1: Distribution of newspaper stories by genres

		Newspapers from Kenya			Newspapers from Uganda			
Genres		*Nation*	*The Standard*	Sub-total	*Monitor*	*New Vision*	Sub-total	Total
News stories	n	75	38	113	16	26	42	155
	%	48.4	24.5	72.9	10.3	16.8	27.1	100.0
Commentaries	n	10	2	12	6	3	9	21
	%	47.6	9.5	57.1	28.6	14.3	42.9	100.0
Features	n	7	6	13	3	0	3	16
	%	43.8	37.5	81.3	18.7	0.0	18.7	100.0
Editorials	n	2	2	4	0	0	0	4
	%	50.0	50.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Letters to the editors	n	1	0	1	3	0	3	4
	%	25.0	0.0	25.0	75.0	0.0	75.0	100.0
Total	n	95	48	143	28	29	57	200
	%	47.5	24.0	71.5	14.0	14.5	28.5	100.0

Table 2 reveals that news stories accounted for 79 percent of all the articles about Migingo Island row in newspapers from Kenya as compared to 73.7 percent from Uganda. Commentaries comprised of 15.7 percent of articles published in newspapers from Uganda in comparison to 8.4 percent in the Kenyan press. Feature stories accounted for 9.1 press reports in Kenya in contrast to 5.3 percent in Ugandan print media. A total of 2.8 percent of articles in the Kenyan press were editorials compared to nil from Ugandan newspapers. Letters to the editors were 5.3 percent and 0.7 percent of articles in newspapers from Uganda and Kenya.

Table 2: Comparison of Kenyan and Ugandan newspaper articles by genres

	Kenyan newspapers		Ugandan newspapers	
Genres	F	%	F	%
News stories	113	79.0	42	73.7
Commentaries	12	8.4	9	15.7
Features	13	9.1	3	5.3
Editorials	4	2.8	0	0.0
Letters to the editors	1	0.7	3	5.3
Total	143	100.0	57	100.0

Prominence Given to Newspaper Coverage of Migingo Island Conflict

Figure 2 illustrates that newspaper stories published on Migingo Island dispute comprised of various sizes as follows: very small (6.0%), small (26.0%), medium-size (38.5%), big (20.0%), and very big (9.5%). The bigger the size of a newspaper article, the more prominent the story was deemed to be.

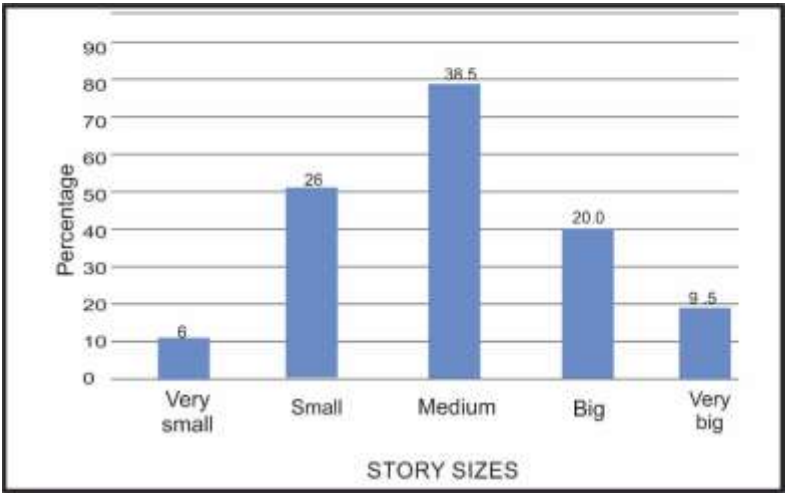

Figure 2: Distribution of newspaper stories on the dispute by size

From Table 3, it is visible that 58.3 percent of all articles classified as very small were from newspapers in Uganda in contrast to 41.7 percent from the Kenyan press. A total of 76.9 percent and 23.1 percent of small-sized stories were published in newspapers from Kenya and Uganda respectively. Medium-sized stories accounted for 74 percent and 26 percent of newspaper stories from Kenya and Uganda respectively. Some 65 of big-sized stories were from Kenya as compared to 35 percent from Uganda. Very big-sized stories from print media in Kenya accounted for 78.9 percent as compared to 21.1 percent for newspapers from Uganda.

Table 3: Sizes of newspaper stories

		Kenyan press			Ugandan press			
Story sizes		*Nation*	*The Standard*	Sub-total	*Monitor*	*New Vision*	Sub-total	Total
Very small	n	4	1	5	7	0	7	12
	%	33.3	8.3	41.7	58.3	0.0	58.3	100.0
Small	n	35	5	40	5	7	12	52
	%	67.3	9.6	76.9	9.6	13.5	23.1	100.0
Medium	n	41	16	57	9	11	20	77
	%	53.2	20.8	74.0	11.7	14.3	26.0	100.0
Big	n	9	17	26	4	10	14	40
	%	22.5	42.5	65.0	10.0	25.0	35.0	100.0
Very big	n	6	9	15	3	1	4	19
	%	31.6	47.4	78.9	15.8	5.3	21.1	100.0
Total	n	95	48	143	28	29	57	200
	%	47.5	24.0	71.5	14.0	14.5	28.5	100.0

Table 4 reveals that 12.3 percent of all stories published in Ugandan newspapers were categorized as very small as opposed to 3.5 percent from the Kenyan press. Some 28 percent in the Kenyan press were classified as small as compared to 21.1 percent from Ugandan media. Nearly 40 percent of all Kenyan press stories on Migingo Island dispute were medium-sized in comparison to nearly 35 percent in the Ugandan newspapers. Ugandan big-sized press reports on the conflict were 24.5 percent more than the 18.2 percent in the *Nation* and *The Standard* from Kenya. Very big sized stories accounted for 10.5 percent of all articles on the conflict published in the Kenyan press as opposed to 7 percent in the Ugandan press.

Table 4: Comparison of Kenyan and Ugandan newspaper articles by sizes

	Kenyan newspapers		Ugandan newspapers	
Story sizes	*f*	%	*f*	%
Very small	5	3.5	7	12.3
Small	40	28.0	12	21.1
Medium	57	39.8	20	35.1
Big	26	18.2	14	24.5
Very big	15	10.5	4	7.0
Total	143	100.0	57	100.0

As seen in Figure 3, Migingo Island controversy stories were placed in the newspapers as follows: inside pages (89.5%), front pages (9.0%), and back pages (1.5%).

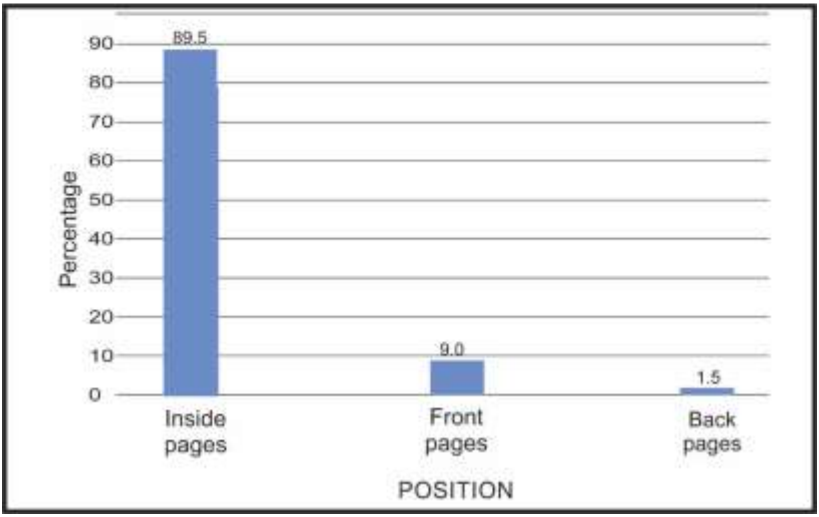

Figure 3: Distribution of Migingo Island dispute stories by positions of placement

Table 5 illustrates that front-page stories in the press from Kenya and Uganda were equal at 50.0 percent each. As seen in Table 5, all the stories placed on back pages were published in newspapers from

Kenya. A total of 73.2 percent of articles placed in inside pages were from newspapers from Kenya in contrast to 26.8 percent from Uganda.

Table 5: Placement of newspaper stories

		Kenyan print media			Ugandan print media			
Position		*Nation*	*The Standard*	Sub-total	*Monitor*	*New Vision*	Sub-total	Total
Front pages	n	5	4	9	0	9	9	18
	%	27.8	22.2	50.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
Back pages	n	2	1	3	0	0	0	3
	%	66.7	33.3	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Inside pages	n	88	43	131	28	20	48	179
	%	49.2	24.0	73.2	15.6	11.2	26.8	100.0
Total	n	95	48	143	28	29	57	200
	%	47.5	24.0	71.5	14.0	14.5	28.5	100.0

Table 6 reveals that 15.8 percent of all stories in Ugandan newspapers were published on front pages as opposed to 6.3 percent from the Kenyan press. Stories placed on the back pages were 2.1 percent of all the articles published in the Kenyan print media. Inside page stories constituted 91.6 percent and 84.2 percent published in the Kenyan and Uganda press respectively.

Table 6: Comparison of Kenyan and Ugandan articles by positions of placement in the newspapers

	Kenyan newspapers		Ugandan newspapers	
Position	*f*	%	*F*	%
Front pages	9	6.3	9	15.8
Back pages	3	2.1	0	0.0
Inside pages	131	91.6	48	84.2
Total	143	100.0	57	100.0

Newspaper Presentation of Causes of Migingo Island Dispute

Various reasons were advanced in the newspapers regarding the causes of Migingo Island conflict. From Figure 4, it can be seen that a total of 63.2 percent of the newspaper articles identified the un-demarcated Kenya-Uganda border in Lake Victoria as the cause of the conflict. The second cause of the dispute was noted as Uganda police/military brutality against Kenya citizens on Migingo Island (25.4%). Kenyan police brutality against Ugandans was the least identified cause of the dispute at 1.4 percent.

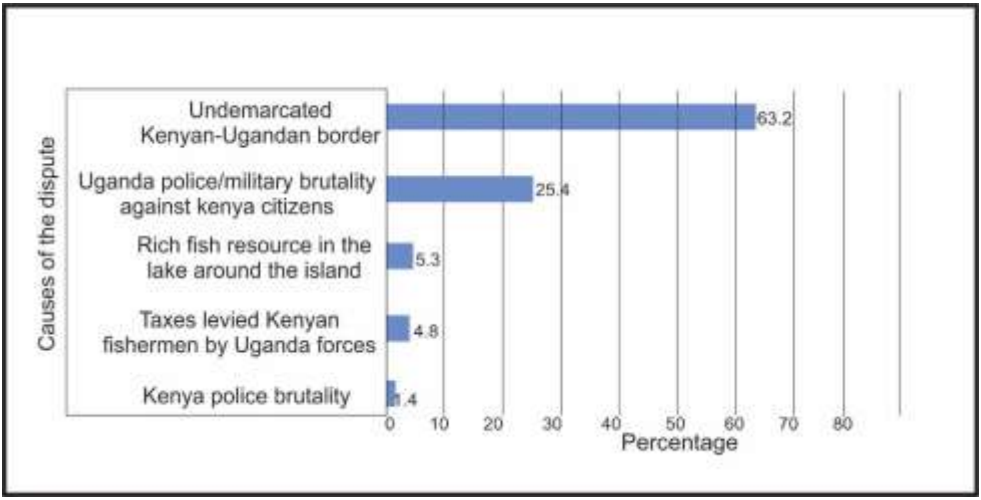

Figure 4: Causes of the conflict as covered in the newspapers

Table 7 shows further that the main cause of Migingo Island dispute was the undefined Kenya-Uganda border in Lake Victoria as published in newspaper articles from Kenya (60.6%) and Uganda (39.4%). Some 83 percent of newspaper articles from Kenya noted the cause of the conflict as Uganda police/military brutality against Kenyans on Migingo Island. This is in contrast to the 17 percent for the same cause published in the Ugandan press. Rich fish resource in Lake Victoria around Migingo Island was a cause of the conflict identified by 72.7 percent and 27.3 percent of the stories in Kenya and Ugandan newspapers respectively.

Table 7: Causes of Migingo island dispute as presented in the newspapers

		Kenyan newspapers			Ugandan newspapers			
Causes		*Nation*	*The Standard*	Sub-total	*Monitor*	*New Vision*	Sub-total	Total
Un-demarcated Kenya-Uganda border	n	49	31	80	25	27	52	132
	%	37.1	23.5	60.6	18.9	20.5	39.4	100.0
Uganda police/military brutality against Kenyans	n	35	9	44	9	0	9	53
	%	66.0	17.0	83.0	17.0	0.0	17.0	100.0
Rich fish resource in the lake around the Island	n	5	3	8	2	1	3	11
	%	45.5	27.3	72.7	18.2	9.1	27.3	100.0
Taxation of Kenyan fishermen by Uganda police/military	n	6	3	9	0	1	1	10
	%	60.0	30.0	90.0	0.0	10.0	10.0	100.0
Kenya police brutality against Ugandans	n	1	2	3	0	0	0	3
	%	33.3	66.7	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	n	96	48	144	36	29	65	209
	%	45.9	23.0	68.9	17.2	13.9	31.1	100.0

Note. The total number is 209 which is more than the 200 articles on the dispute due to more than one reason being advanced in some newspaper stories.

In Table 7, it is shown that 90 percent of newspaper stories from the press in Kenya identified the tax levied the Kenyan fishermen by the Uganda police/military as a cause of the conflict compared to the 10 percent of stories from Ugandan papers. All stories from the Kenyan newspaper reports identified Kenya police brutality against Ugandans as a possible cause of the conflict. None of the newspapers from Uganda blamed the Kenya police. Considering the 209 items, 66 (31.6%) accused the security forces (police and military) of the Migingo

Island dispute. Out of the 66 articles analyzed, 56 (84.8%) and 10 (15.2%) were from Kenyan and Ugandan press respectively.

Table 8 reveals that the undefined Kenya-Uganda border in Lake Victoria was identified as the cause of Migingo Island dispute in 80 percent and 55.5 percent of all stories in the Ugandan and Kenyan press. Nearly 31 percent of the Kenyan press reports attributed the dispute to Uganda police/military brutality against Kenyans. This contrasts with 13.9 percent of all stories in the Ugandan newspapers.

Table 8: Comparison of the causes of the dispute as presented in Kenyan and Ugandan press

	Kenyan newspapers		Ugandan newspapers	
Position	*f*	%	*f*	%
Un-demarcated Kenya-Uganda border in Lake Victoria	80	55.5	52	80.0
Uganda police/military brutality against Kenyans	44	30.5	9	13.9
Rich fish resource in the lake around the Island	8	5.6	3	4.6
Taxation of Kenyan fishermen by Uganda police/military	9	6.3	1	1.5
Kenya police brutality against Ugandans	3	2.1	0	0.0
Total	144	100.0	65	100.0

Note. The total number is 209 which is more than the 200 articles on the dispute due to more than one reason being advanced in some newspaper stories.

As observed in Table 8, 6.3 percent of all articles published in the Kenyan newspapers blamed the Uganda police/military for the tax imposed on Kenyan fishermen. This contrasts with the 1.5 percent analyzed in the newspapers from Uganda. All stories that identified the brutality of Kenya police against Ugandans were drawn from the Kenyan print media. In total, 39 percent of all stories in Kenyan print media blamed the security forces for the dispute compared to 15.3 percent from the Ugandan press.

Discussion of Findings

Frequency of Newspaper Coverage of Migingo Island Dispute

The majority of newspaper stories on Migingo Island row were covered in more genres in the Kenyan press than the Ugandan print media even though the most visible in both cases was news. While it is true that the press in both countries has performed their surveillance and information functions in reporting the conflict, the data gathered indicate that the Kenyan press sought to set the agenda on the dispute as an issue of importance in their country given that Kenya has occupied the Island since independence in 1963. This Kenyan posture portrays Uganda as the aggressor (Muchege, 2017; Shaka, 2013; Warui, 2013; Wekesa, 2010). The portrayal may have motivated the Kenyan press to report the conflict more than their Ugandan counterparts. On the flip side, the Ugandan press, upon considering the ownership of the island in dispute which skews more to the Kenyan side, may have found it necessary to downplay the salience of the dispute as their reports seem to suggest.

From the framing theory perspective, it appears that the Kenyan press covered the conflict to advance the country's national interests and bring it to the attention of their publics. Even though the Ugandan press reported less, their coverage could not have been at variance with Uganda's national interest. Several scholars have noted journalists' tendencies to protect their national interests in the Migingo Island dispute (Nyabuga, 2011; Shaka, 2013; Wafula, 2013). It, therefore, makes sense to accept the recommendation of Mutere and Ugangu's (2004) that journalists should also consider other nations' interests when reporting their countries' border issues.

The inadequacy of the coverage of Migingo Island row through feature stories, editorials and commentaries raises a fundamental concern on the depth of reporting of the dispute. This suggests that newspaper articles could not provide their audiences with a detailed discussion and assessment of the dispute to enable them to have informed opinions about the matter. This inadequacy is traceable partly to the knowledge deficiency of journalists and editors about the dispute at hand (MCK, 2016, Nyabuga, 2011). Furthermore, the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya could have distracted writers' attention from the conflict as coverage of politics and government took the center stage of reporting.

Prominence Given to Newspaper Coverage of Migingo Island Dispute

The size of newspaper stories indicates the emphasis placed on them by publishers. Almost two-thirds of all the articles on the dispute were categorized as medium to very big. This finding points to the newspapers' desire to cover Migingo Island row. This is a reflection of the importance the newspapers placed on the dispute within the agenda-setting theory perspective. With the majority of the newspapers publishing news stories, it was expected that their story sizes would be smaller compared to features and commentaries.

The emphasis placed on a newspaper report is indicated by its location in the publication. Stories on front pages are considered more important to the editor compared to those inside or at the back. Both the Kenyan and Ugandan press published their stories mainly in the interior pages. To a certain extent, this finding indicates that though the dispute was covered in the newspapers significantly, headlining it was not a priority of the editors. This may mean that the dispute was facing stiff competition from other news stories. Media commercialism which makes income generation preponderant may have also worked against the coverage of the dispute as a rational publisher would prefer to publish stories that are attractive to readers and advertisers. (Afaghani, 2011; McQuail, 2010; Nyabuga, 2011).

Causes of the Dispute as Presented in Newspapers

Several causes were noted in the Migingo newspaper stories. Top on the list was the undefined borders inherited from the colonialists (Kornprobst, 2002, Mnjama, 2012). Next was the alleged misbehavior of the countries' national security forces. The Kenyan press frequently blamed the Ugandan security forces for the conflict. This sharply contrasted with the Ugandan newspapers which had fewer stories that accused the security forces from Uganda. The uncertainties surrounding the rich fish resources in Lake Victoria waters (around Migingo Island) as well as the nationalistic tendencies and need to attract a domestic audience (Nyabuga, 2011) were also identified as causes.

Framing and priming behavior of the editors impact these newspapers' positions on the causes of the conflict. In priming, for instance, the mass media pay more attention to some issues than others which may be equally important, thereby altering the standards by which people evaluate those issues (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). The Kenyan press alleged in their reports that the conflict was escalated by Ugandan forces deployed to intimidate and tax Kenyans (Gettleman, 2009; Kisiangani, 2011; Muchege, 2017; Okumu, 2010; Shaka, 2013; Sing'oei, 2009) while neglecting those causes that indict Kenya. This is subjective coverage that recognizes national interests and neglecting the ethical principles of the profession (Afaghani, 2011; Nyabuga, 2011; Puddephatt, 2006; Shaka, 2013; Wafula, 2013).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The coverage of Migingo Island dispute in Kenyan and Ugandan newspapers revealed notable similarities and differences. Newspapers from both Kenya and Uganda presented Migingo Island conflict through news stories and small to big-sized articles. The undefined border between Kenya and Uganda in Lake Victoria was identified as the main cause of the conflict in both the Kenyan and Ugandan press. National security forces were also blamed in both the Kenyan and Ugandan dominant media. On the differences, the Kenyan press frequently covered Migingo Island dispute more frequently than the Ugandan newspapers. In particular, the Kenyan press blamed Ugandan security forces as the cause of the conflict. This was in contrast with Ugandan newspapers which had few stories accusing the security forces from Uganda. The coverage of the dispute was influenced by the agenda-setting, framing, and priming behaviors of the newspaper gatekeepers. Two upshots of these behaviors were the journalist's nationalistic tendencies and the crave to satisfy their domestic audiences. The following recommendations are made:

- Reporters covering interstate border conflicts should learn to conduct in-depth research on the issues and actors involved from all countries in the row. This would make them knowledgeable about the conflicts. Furthermore, media houses should invest more in the financial and human resources necessary to support in-depth research and reporting of conflicts.
- Continuous professional training of journalists on conflict-sensitive reporting or peace journalism should be prioritized.
- In reporting border conflicts, media professionals should not blindly advance national or local interests or respond sporadically to them. Adherence to the ethical principles of accuracy, objectivity, and fairness are key to conflict journalism practice.
- As gatekeepers, East African journalists need to integrate the notions of community-building and consensus-building into their practice to promote harmony.

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Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC) Vol. 6 No. 1, June 2019
ISSN: p. 2354-354X e. 2354-3515 DOI: 10.20370/8zt5-nh55

Open Access Journal, Available Online

Exploring Citizens' Constitution Readability Profile in Selected Anglophone African Countries

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Received: 21.06.2018 Accepted: 12.05.2019 Published: June, 2019

Abstract: A country's constitution describes the basic principles of the state, structures, and processes of government as well as fundamental rights of citizens. All of these make imperative the ability of the citizens to read and understand the document. This paper evaluates the readability profile of citizens of the English speaking African countries concerning their constitution. A descriptive research design was adopted while the stratified random sampling was implemented to select the chapters of the constitutions for analysis. The SMOG and FOG indexes were used to compute the readability scores. Measures of central tendencies, one-sample T-test, and one-way analysis of variance, with bootstrapping, were carried out with the results showing that the citizens found it difficult reading their constitutions when compared to the standard scores for public documents.

Keywords: Readability, Political Communication, Constitution, SMOG, FOG, English-speaking Africa.

Introduction

A constitution is a set of rules (or laws) that describes how other rules (or laws) are made, enforced, and applied to individuals (Shamgar, 2005). Most modern constitutions describe the basic principles of the state, structures, and processes of government as well as the fundamental rights of citizens. They define a nations' political institutions and the related processes which are instrumental in achieving a way of life. A constitution defines a government and how it should function.

The idea of a composed constitution characterizing the structure of government and identifying the privileges of the general population is profoundly established in Anglo-American history (Kauper, 1961). The oldest truly political constitution dates back to five centuries, referred to as the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut of 1639 (Kauper, 1961). Not all countries have a written constitution - the United Kingdom for example.

Various functions of a nation's constitution have been described (Bulmer, 2014). These include declaring and defining the boundaries of the political community, identifying the nature and authority of the political community, and projecting the identity and values of a national community (e.g. national flag, anthem). A constitution also establishes and regulates the political institutions of a community, and defines the rights and duties of the citizens of that community.

It is important for the citizenry and those who rule to fully understand the details of their nation's constitution. Failure to understand one's constitution could have serious implications. For example, one's inability to read and understand the constitution could lead to the breaking of the laws outlined in the constitution. Yet, ignorance of the law is not an excuse to guilt. Also, one's inability to understand the constitution could make citizens trample on each other's rights. Therefore, the readability of a constitution is of utmost importance in ensuring that one's rights are not abused and to ensure that citizens carry out their responsibilities as enshrined in that constitution.

Readability refers to the ease of understanding or comprehension of a text due to the style of writing (DuBay, 2004). Several factors affect the readability of a written text. These include the style of writing, the percentage of difficult words contained in the text, the length of the sentences. Besides, the intended audience informs the readability level a written material should target (Cutts, 2013). Since the constitution is written for the entire nation, it should be written such that those with even average schooling level could read and comprehend.

To assess readability, formulas have been devised. These are referred to as readability indexes. A readability formula or index brings out calculations on a text, based primarily on sentence and word length, and results in a numerical score. Different readability formulas give different scores on the same piece of text. This is because different indexes use different aspects of a text as its basis for the formula. Therefore, it is important to adopt the same formula if you are trying to compare the readability score or level of several different texts.

Several of such indexes have been developed over the years to meet special needs. They are the SMOG Readability formula, Flesch's Reading Ease, Gunning FOG's index, New Dale-Chall formula and Spache readability formula (Bailin & Grafstein, 2016), among others. The SMOG readability formula was propounded to deal with the lapses in other readability formulas like the Gunning FOG. This formula was developed specifically for checking health messages (Hedman, 2008) but has been applied to language learning texts. The Flesch's Reading Ease is primarily used to assess the difficulty of a reading passage written in English particularly in educational materials. The FOG's index works on similar principles as that of Flesch's but doesn't have the problem of 100 one-word sentences getting a minus score. The Dale-Chall is primarily designed to gauge the readability of more advanced texts- i.e., fourth grade and beyond while Spache was crafted to access the readability of primary texts through the end of third grade.

It has been shown that several national constitutions are hard to read and comprehend. One study which considered the readability of 189 countries in the world concluded that barely 20 percent of all had their constitutions written at ‘standard' level, using Flesch reading ease (Gramener, 2014). The easiest to read constitution (Luxemburg) was rated as ‘fairly easy' (FRE score of 71). None of these countries' constitutions was ‘easy' to read. All other countries' constitution was either ‘difficult' or ‘very difficult' to read. Several African countries had the readability of their constitution at a low FRE level. For example, Ghana recorded an FRE score of 37, which is classified as difficult. Similarly, Nigeria recorded and FRE score of 18 which is categorized as very difficult. However, not all African countries were captured in this study, although they have written constitutions. For example, Tanzania, South Africa, and Zambia were not studied. Also, the investigation did not indicate what accounted for the ‘difficult' nature of the constitutions in terms of its readability.

Research Questions

This paper fills in the gap by providing possible reasons why the various constitutions are ‘difficult' to read by considering three research questions:

1. How readable are constitutions of African countries when measured in terms of readability indexes?
2. What is the nature of sentence characteristics of constitutions of English speaking African countries?
3. Are there statistically significant differences in the readability of constitutions of the English speaking African countries?

Review of Related Literature

Several studies have been published on the readability of legal materials. For example, one study examined the readability of the Income Tax Act 1967 (ITA 1967) and its associated Schedules of Malaysia (Saad, Udin, & Derashid, 2013). Using FRES (Flesch Reading Ease Score) and F-KGL (Flesch – Kincaid Grade Level) analyses, these authors found that the ITA 1967 and its Schedules were complex to understand. Similarly, it has been indicated that the US constitution is ‘difficult' to read even for first-year college pre-service teachers (Meier, Keith, & Dwyer, 2014). Gallagher and Patrick-Riley, (1989) considered the readability of federal land management plans in the US using the Flesch Reading Ease Scale. The scores showed that the plans were written for people with three to six years of college education, far beyond the reading ability of the average person. Ozok (2013) evaluated the readability of policies of social networking sites. The evaluation points out that most social networking sites assume a reading grade level beyond a high school reading level. Over half of all sites (51% of the average scores) require college-level reading ability.

It has been suggested that legal documents should be written in plain language to improve readability. In line with this view, Daily, Dorsey and Kumar (2010) examined the readability of the Tax Court opinions in the US using the Flesch Reading Ease formula. The analysis showed that as the plain language movement progressed over the years, the readability of these opinions has decreased. Readability can increase the trust and confidence of consumers in the sense that it increases their expectations of the claim. Moreover, we have found partial evidence to suggest that reading ease also increases the consumer's willingness to engage in legal action in the case of subsequent claim denial (Boom & Desmet, 2016). In contrast, however, Charrow and Charrow (1979) found that there was no correlation between improvement in comprehension scores on their rewritten jury instructions and the readability scores of the instructions. Similarly, Duffy and Kabance (1982) tested the effects of rewriting reading passages to readability guidelines and concluded that rewriting to improve the readability score of a passage will not necessarily produce a more comprehensible text.

Despite the posture of Duffy and Kabance (1982), it is argued here that the effect of a more readable constitution (like any other legal document) as indicated by Boom & Desmet (2016), seems more realistic and highly probable. No matter the nature of technical legal documents (including the constitution) they can still be presented in ‘easy' to read format (Gallagher & Patrick-Riley, 1989). The ease of reading can enhance civic vitality and minimize political conflict (Okorie, Loto & Omojola, 2018, Folayan et al., 2018).

Theoretical background

Our theoretical perspective in studying the readability of constitutions is based on legal communication theory. Schuetz (2009) describes legal communication theory as context-driven; it is grounded in the context of legal processes and practices and its application outside of this context may be a strained one. Legal communication theory is pragmatic (Schuetz, 2009): it is primarily concerned with how individuals understand and participate in legal processes and outcomes. We hold that for individuals to be active participants in the legal processes and outcomes of their nations, they would require an understanding or comprehension of the written law, which is what a constitution essentially is - a legal text.

In discussing legal communication theory, Schuetz (2009) asserts that law and the language with which it is written are in an interdependent relationship. In fact, according to White (1984), the law in itself is language because it is a vehicle for expressing and enacting the statements in the legal discourse that specify what principles and conducts that people in a specified society are subject to. A constitution, as legal discourse, is a written account of laws and actions that describe what the law is and identify the necessary procedures for legal actions and practices (Schuetz, 2009). Law, and therefore a constitution, is thus a collection of complex and technical statements about conduct. Law, including a constitution, exerts power on the conduct of people by using specialized, technical language to create the impression of authority and impersonality (Schuetz, 2009).

Wells (2008) lists knowledge and understanding as part of the key skills required for individuals or groups to be engaged in the civic or political sphere. In the context of the constitution, we hold this to mean that knowledge and understanding of the provisions in that legal text would enable individuals and groups to be empowered for civic engagement and participation.

This assurance of unhindered civic engagement is a basic principle of a democratic state, and such assurance should be afforded by the state's constitution. According to Wells (2008), civic or political engagement is any activity by an individual or group that is intended to affect the community. Pinkleton (2008), in an introduction to a discourse on the theory of political involvement, relates civic/political involvement to public affairs participation. Further, Pinkleton points out that people with high civic participation are active information seekers. This means that such people would likely be interested in the constitution and how it provides the legal environment within which they may pursue their civic and political interests.

Meanwhile, Schuetz (2009) claims that legal discourses are primarily written for those with the facility to understand the technical language. This means that the specialized, technical and impersonal language of the constitution may not be accessible to most of the citizenry. If a constitution, being the foundational legal discourse of a nation, were written in such a manner, the information it contains would be beyond the access of those with reading abilities below the levels at which such discourse is written. The consequences can be a marginalization of the powerless, a muzzling of those people unfavorably affected by the law, and a consolidation of the powers of courts and legal professionals rather than a serving of the people's interests (Hasain, 1994; Herbeck, 1995).

Based on the preceding assertion, we posit that poor readability of the constitution would be a threat to knowledge and understanding of the legal provisions in that text thereby impeding civic engagement and participation, access to civil justice, and other interests of the people.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant to political communication. It provides empirical evidence to support the theoretical assertion that legal discourses are primarily written for those with the facility to understand advanced texts (Schuetz, 2009).

The study is also significant in that it highlights potential bottlenecks to political engagement and involvement in the sampled countries. Political engagement and participation are critical to democracy. The extent of freedom for civic/political participation and engagement are or should be, prescribed in the constitution of a state. Constitutions that were written above the literacy levels of most people in the sampled countries likely do not afford citizens the full knowledge and understanding of their rights and civic duties thereby limiting their engagement and participation in public affairs. Further, limited access to the information in the countries' constitutions presents a clear and present danger of further marginalization of the powerless; the silencing of people affected in a negative way by the law; and, an unbalanced power structure in favor of courts and the elite and potentially harmful to the ‘ordinary man'. The results of this study are therefore significant in that they provide the basis for governments, civil society, corporate bodies and civic-minded individuals to push for the publishing of constitutions written at readable levels that most people in the respective countries would be comfortable with.

Methodology

Population for the study

The target population consisted of all English Speaking African countries which have written constitutions. The choice was informed because the readability indexes used are designed for English texts.

Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

A proportionate stratified sampling technique was adopted to select the constitutions of the countries using simple geographic cardinal points divisions (North, South, East, and West) of the country as the strata. Proportionate stratified sampling is a probability sampling technique wherein the researcher divides the entire population into different subgroups or strata, then randomly selects the final subjects proportionally from the different strata. The stratified sampling technique was appropriate in highlighting all geographic subgroups within the population. However, North Africa was excluded from the sample strata because none of the countries used English as their main official language (Libya uses English only partly). Also, the stratified sampling helped to observe existing relationships between these geographic subdivisions (Conchran, 1977).

The sample size was six. That is the constitutions of six countries were used as the sample frame. In all, there were 10 countries of these three strata which used English as their main official language. Table 1 below shows the various geographic strata and their corresponding

English speaking nations used. It should be noted that stratification was based on geography not geopolitical or economic.

Table 1: Sample size used for data collection

Strata	No. of countries	English Speaking	Sample	Chapters used
West	16	4 (Gambia, Liberia, Nigeria)	2 (Ghana, Nigeria)	Ghana: 2,3,8,11,12,16,17,18,19,20,22,23,25 Nigeria: 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
East	9	2 (Tanzania, Ethiopia)	2 (All)	Tanzania: 1,2,4,6,7 Ethiopia: 1,2,3,8,9,10,11
South	14	3 (Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa)	2 (Zambia, S. Africa)	Zambia: 1,3,4,8,10 S. Africa: 1,4,7,8,12,13,14
North	7	1 (Libya; Partial usage)	None	None

Half of the number of countries, each per strata, were randomly selected for the analysis. This ensured that all the subgroups are captured.

After obtaining the selected countries, the number of chapters of each country's constitution was counted. For constitutions whose total number of chapters were even-numbered, half of the total number of chapters of each constitution was used as a representation of the entire constitution of that country. For constitutions whose total number of chapters were odd, a similar strategy employed for even numbers was used, and an extra single chapter added (see Table 1). At least half of the total number of chapters of each constitution was used to give a fair assessment. The simple random technique was adopted to select the chapters to be included in the analysis.

Data Collection

The total text of each selected chapter (of each constitution) was copied into an online readability calculator to calculate its readability (www.webpagefx.com). This online calculator was used because of its accuracy and popularity. The SMOG and FOG indexes were used because they are among the most popular and recommended indexes for grading the readability of written materials (Hunter College, 2016). The word processor Microsoft Word was not used to compute the indexes because of the limitation that prevents it from calculating grade level values above 12.

Data Analysis

Frequencies and other descriptive were used to describe readability, and the number of years attained to be able to read (Objectives 1, and 2). A one-sample T-test was used to determine whether or not there were differences in the reading ease and the school years required to read, compared to standard scores. A one-way analysis of variance, using the bootstrapping technique, was performed for samples of 1000 to ensure robust estimates of significance or p-value, standard errors and the confident intervals.

To ensure robust confidence intervals, bias-corrected and accelerated (BCa) intervals were used since doing this ensures adjusted intervals that are more accurate (IBM, 2013). Mersenne Twister Random Number Generator was set to replicate a sequence of random numbers. This helped to preserve the original state of the random number generator and restore that state after the analysis was completed (Arbuckle, 2010). The stratified method was used during the bootstrapping resampling with replacement from the original dataset, within the strata of the six constitutions. Games-Howell post hoc test was used to determine differences in the mean readability indexes across the six constitutions. This was because Levene's test was significant suggesting unequal variances. Under such circumstances, Games-Howell's post hoc test is the recommended analytical approach (Field, 2011)

Results and Discussion

Research Question 1: How readable are constitutions of African countries when measured in terms of readability indexes?

Table 2a: Descriptive Statistics of the Readability of Six Constitutions

		Min	Max	Mean	SD	Median	IR
Ghana	FOG	19.30	36.50	25.34	4.71	24.30	4.75
	SMOG	15.20	21.30	17.63	2.10	17.20	3.70
Nigeria	FOG	23.20	35.20	29.35	4.58	29.05	9.00
	SMOG	17.50	20.80	19.35	1.52	19.35	3.15
Ethiopia	FOG	10.60	14.00	11.77	1.21	11.45	1.67
	SMOG	9.00	20.80	11.82	4.45	10.25	3.85
Tanzania	FOG	17.50	50.50	25.33	10.55	21.60	5.80
	SMOG	16.20	31.20	19.34	5.02	17.25	3.80
South Africa	FOG	14.50	18.90	14.50	1.54	17.10	2.20
	SMOG	12.80	15.90	14.13	.92	14.10	.50
Zambia	FOG	20.70	27.20	24.30	2.84	23.20	5.25
	SMOG	16.90	20.50	19.26	1.47	19.20	2.45

Table 2a presents descriptive statistics (mean, median, etc.) of the readability of six constitutions measured using the SMOG. The measure of central tendency, including the Shapiro-Wilk test results, are presented below in Table 2b. The two tables are tagged a and b to show that b continues from a.

Table 2b: Shapiro-Wilk test results

Constitution	Readability index	Skewness	Kurtosis	Q1	*(Table 2a continued)*			
					Q3	Shapiro-Wilk Test of Normality		
						Statistic	df	Sig.
Ghana	FOG	1.26	1.63	22.45	27.20	.901	13	.136
	SMOG	.747	-.784	15.85	19.50	.891	13	.101
Nigeria	FOG	.034	-1.22	25.10	34.15	.956	6	.786
	SMOG	-.551	-2.163	17.50	20.65	.822	6	.091
Ethiopia	FOG	1.54	2.68	10.90	12.57	.872	6	.233
	SMOG	2.33	5.56	9.53	13.37	.641	6	.001
Tanzania	FOG	2.46	6.38	20.40	26.20	.660	8	.001
	SMOG	2.37	5.91	16.38	20.18	.670	8	.001
South Africa	FOG	-.779	.54	16.65	18.80	.918	7	.457
	SMOG	.946	3.00	13.85	14.20	.875	7	.205
Zambia	FOG	-.01	-1.98	21.95	27.20	.868	5	.257
	SMOG	-1.22	1.55	18.05	19.20	.847	5	.184

From Table 2, it is observed that the least minimum readability was scored by the constitution of Ethiopia (SMOG = 9.00), which means that a reader requires 9 years of formal education to read and understand. The FOG index measures about 11, which is equivalent to someone who has completed SHS 2. Also, the highest maximum SMOG value was scored within the Tanzanian constitution. The SMOG value recorded was over 50, implying that the text was practically unreadable by all. On the FOG scale, a value of about 31 was recorded, suggesting that the text is practically unreadable for all intents and purposes. It was observed that the FOG index produced a higher readability score compared to the SMOG index.

In terms of averages, the constitution with the least median readability score was Ethiopia (Md = 10.25; IQR: 9.53, 13.37). A person requires 9 years of formal education to read and understand about half of the Ethiopian constitution (see Table 2). Scores from the FOG index suggested that the Ethiopian constitution was written at an SHS leavers reading ability (X = 11.77, SD = 1.12). In contrast, the highest mean readability score was recorded in the Nigerian constitution (SMOG: X=19.35, SD = 1.52; FOG: X=29.35, SD = 4.58). That is nearly 20 years of formal education is required to be able to read the Nigerian constitution and understand. This would require the reading ability of a full professor. The FOG scale produced a much higher score, which indicated that the Nigerian constitution is technically unreadable.

The recommended reading level for general-purpose documents is an 8th grade (Cutts, 2013). To determine whether or not the various constitutions are written at this standard grade, a one-sample t-test was conducted both for the original sample, and a bootstrapped sample with 1000 replications. The results are presented in Table 3. It is observed that the reading level of all the constitutions was statistically higher ($p < 0.05$) than the standard of 8th grade when measured on the FOG readability scale.

Table 3: One-Sample Test T-test of Gunning FOG and SMOG indexes for six constitutions

Constitution	Test value = 60						
	Indices	T	df	Sig.	Mean Difference	95% confidence interval of the difference	
						Lower	Upper
Ghana	FOG	13.28	12.00	.00	17.34	14.49	20.18
	SMOG	16.52	12.00	.00	9.63	8.36	10.90
Nigeria	FOG	11.43	1.65	.00	21.35	16.55	26.15
	SMOG	18.24	5.00	.00	11.35	9.75	12.95
Ethiopia	FOG	7.64	5.00	.00	3.77	2.50	5.03
	SMOG	2.10	5.00	.09	3.82	-.85	8.49
Tanzania	FOG	15.51	4.00	.00	12.34	10.13	14.55
	SMOG	33.45	4.00	.00	8.76	8.03	9.49
South Africa	FOG	15.92	6.00	.00	9.24	7.82	10.66
	SMOG	17.60	6.00	.00	6.13	5.28	6.98
Zambia	FOG	4.33	4.00	.01	22.26	7.99	36.53
	SMOG	6.17	4.00	.00	14.12	7.77	20.47

Using the SMOG index however, the readability of the Ethiopian constitution was not statistically higher than the standard grade level of eight ($p>0.05$). The bootstrapped sample was used to confirm the findings from the original sample. From Table 4, the non-significant difference in the readability of the Ethiopian constitution compared to the standard reading level of 8 was confirmed ($p >0.05$) for the SMOG index.

The constitution of Zambia was shown not more statistically difficult to read than the recommended 8thgrade reading level for public documents, in the bootstrapped sample, although the original sample showed a significant difference (see Table 4). This was the case in both indexes (SMOG and FOG). Since both the SMOG and FOG indexes are based on the proportion of hard words or polysyllabic words in the text, it implies that five out of the six constitutions have been written such that they contain a large proportion of polysyllabic or ‘hard words'. Also, it is apparent that these constitutions have been written with a ‘legalese' style instead of plain language, as it is with several legal documents. A fundamental feature of writings in legalese style is the use of borrowed ‘Latinized' words which are highly unfamiliar to most people. It has been indicated elsewhere that people value attempts to simplify wording and structure of general legal documents and that they prefer simplicity to legalese (Boom & Desmet, 2016).

In summary, five out of the six constitutions were written at a statistically higher school grade than standard. Three of the constitutions (Ghana, Nigeria, and Tanzania) were ‘very difficult' to read while one each was ‘difficult' (S. Africa) and ‘fairly difficult' to read (Ethiopia).

Table 4: Bootstrap for one-sample t-test of Gunning FOG and SMOG Index for six constitutions

Constitution	Bootstrap[a]						
	Indices	Mean Difference	Bias	Std. Error	Sig. (2-tailed)	BCa95% confidence interval	
						Lower	Upper
Ghana	FOG	17.34	.04	1.26	.00	15.12	20.12
	SMOG	9.63	.02	.57	.00	8.60	10.83
Nigeria	FOG	21.35	.04	1.71	.00	18.02	24.73
	SMOG	11.35	.00	.57	.01	10.28	12.42
Ethiopia	FOG	3.77	.02	.45	.01	3.02	4.73
	SMOG	3.82	.02	1.69	.35	8.36	7.58
Tanzania	FOG	12.34	-.01	.72	.02	10.72	13.66
	SMOG	8.76	.00	.23	.00	8.34	9.18
South Africa	FOG	9.24	-.01	.55	.00	8.07	10.23
	SMOG	6.13	.00	.33	.00	5.51	6.86
Zambia	FOG	22.26	-.03	4.62	.33	16.00	32.38
	SMOG	14.12	-.01	2.06	.33	11.46	18.66

Research Question 2: What is the nature of sentence characteristics of constitutions of English speaking African countries?

Results of three aspects of sentence characteristics (average word per sentence, percentage multiple syllable words and average syllable per word) have been presented in Table 5. Concerning the average words per sentence (AWPS), it is observed from Table 5 that the Ghanaian constitution recorded the least minimum (15.96) while South Africa recorded the highest maximum. Further, the Ethiopian constitution recorded the least minimum percentage multiples syllable per word (19.19) while Tanzania recorded the highest maximum of 92.22. The least minimum average syllable per word was recorded in the Ghanaian constitution while the highest maximum was recorded in the Zambian constitution.

Table 5: Sentence Characteristics of Six Constitutions

Constitution	Sentence characteristics	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Sd
Ghana	Average word per sentence	13	15.96	25.68	19.50	2.84
	Percentage multiple syllable words	13	36.69	77.90	49.21	11.46
	Average syllable per word	13	1.54	1.84	1.65	.07998
Nigeria	Average word per sentence	6	16.51	20.82	18.36	1.53
	Percentage multiple syllable words	6	49.11	77.48	62.34	9.76
	Average syllable per word	6	1.57	1.69	1.63	.044
Ethiopia	Average word per sentence	6	21.95	28.19	24.97	2.02
	Percentage multiple syllable words	6	9.19	16.21	12.77	2.66
	Average syllable per word	6	1.71	1.94	1.81	.086
Tanzania	Average word per sentence	8	21.43	29.02	24.39	2.52
	Percentage multiple syllable words	8	32.55	92.22	47.82	22.61
	Average syllable per word	8	1.65	1.94	1.76	.093
South Africa	Average word per sentence	7	20.59	31.02	25.74	3.96
	Percentage multiple syllable words	7	20.13	28.96	23.59	2.87
	Average syllable per word	7	1.66	2.00	1.83	.131
Zambia	Average word per sentence	5	25.62	29.02	19.32	2.46
	Percentage multiple syllable words	5	43.96	90.22	22.84	5.97
	Average syllable per word	5	1.81	1.94	1.20	1.84

The constitution of Nigeria recorded the least AWPS (X=18.36, SD = 1.53) while the constitution of South Africa recorded the highest mean AWPS (X=25.74, SD=3.96). Generally, it is observed that half of the six countries (Ethiopia, Tanzania, and South. Africa) had their constitutions written consisting of more than a mean of 20 AWPS while the remaining half (Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia) were below. It is recommended that over the whole document, the average sentence length be pitched at 15–20 words (Cutts, 2013). Hence, it is apparent that the lengthy nature of the sentences within the constitutions contributed to their ‘difficult' nature.

Again, from Table 5, it is observed that Ethiopia's constitution recorded the least mean percentage multiple syllable words (X=12.77, SD = 2.66) while Nigeria's constitution recorded the highest mean percentage of polysyllabic words (X=62.34, SD = 9.76). It was suggested earlier that the ‘very difficult' to read nature of several of the constitutions was probably due to the high percentage of polysyllabic words. This was expected since the SMOG and FOG index algorithms are anchored on polysyllabic words. It is evident that Ethiopia which recorded the least mean percentage polysyllabic words had their constitution graded at ‘fairly difficult' to read. This category was the easiest to read among the six constitutions used for this study.

Besides, it is evident from the mean average syllable per word that Zambia's constitution recorded the lowest value (X=1.20, SD = 1.84) while S. Africa recorded the highest (X=1.83, SD = 0.131). Generally, all six constitutions were written such that the average syllable per word was about two. It has been shown that increasing the number of grapho-syllables increases the probability of encountering inconsistent vowels – especially in low-frequency words – thus delaying pronunciation (Chetail, 2014). Since the findings from these results suggest only disyllabic word-usage in the writing of the constitution on the average, it is hard to conclude that the amount of syllable per word contributed substantially to the difficult nature of the constitutions. Instead, Chetail (2014) has shown that words are recognized more slowly when they have the first syllable of high frequency than of low frequency, due to stronger lexical competition between syllabic neighbors. Hence, it is likely that the majority of the words used in the constitution fell to this effect. Although the constitutions were largely written using disyllabic words on the average, it proved difficult to read under this circumstance.

Research Question 3: Are there statistically significant differences in the readability of constitutions of the six English speaking African countries?

A one-way analysis of variance was employed to answer this question. The results are presented in Tables 6 and 7 below. Table 6 shows the result of the Levene's test of equality of variances in the two readability indexes across the six constitutions.

It is observed that in both indexes the variances differ statistically across the six constitutions. It implies that one of the assumptions of ANOVA has been violated. One way to rectify this problem is to report Welch's F instead of the ‘normal' F statistic (Pallant, 2013). Hence, Welch's F has been reported and used in interpreting the ANOVA results (see Table 7).

Table 6: Levene's test of equality of variance of FOG and SMOG indexes of six constitutions

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Gunning FOG	4.024	5	36	.005
SMOG Index	3.218	5	36	.017

Table 7: One-way ANOVA of FOG and SMOG indexes of six constitutions

		Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Gunning FOG	Welch	36.500	5	14.085	.000
SMOG Index	Welch	14.101	5	14.199	.000

The results from the Welch's test of equality of means showed that there was a statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level in both FOG and SMOG scores for the six constitutions [FOG: $F(5, 14.0) = 36.5$, $p = .000$; SMOG: $F(5, 14.2) = 14.1$, $p = .000$]. The differences were ‘large' across the six constitutions. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was 0.63 and 0.59 for FOG and SMOG respectively.

A statistically significant difference occurs when the signs (positive or negative) of the lower and upper limits of the confidence interval changed from one sign to the other. From Table 8, it is observed that there were statistically significant differences across all constitutions except between Ghana and Zambia on one hand, and Nigeria and Zambia on the other hand, using the FOG scores.

Table 8: Bootstrap for Multiple Comparisons of Gunning FOG and SMOG Index of Six Constitutions

Index	(I) Constitution	(J) Constitution	MD (I-J)	Bootstrap			
				Bias	Std. Error	BCa 95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower	Upper
FOG	Ghana	Nigeria	-4.01	-.14	2.17	-8.48	-.05
		Ethiopia	13.57	-.12	1.35	10.97	16.38
		Tanzania	5.00	-.08	1.45	2.31	7.93
		S. Africa	8.10	-.11	1.36	5.42	10.79
		Zambia	-4.92	-.17	5.19	-16.08	2.52
	Nigeria	Ethiopia	17.58	.02	1.88	14.06	21.41
		Tanzania	9.01	.06	1.98	5.55	13.01
		S. Africa	12.11	.03	1.90	8.60	15.88
		Zambia	-.91	-.04	5.26	-11.90	7.03
	Ethiopia	Tanzania	-8.57	.04	.94	-10.16	-6.63
		S. Africa	-5.48	.01	.74	-6.78	-3.88
		Zambia	-18.49	-.03	5.08	-29.86	-11.60
	Tanzania	S. Africa	3.10	-.03	.99	1.13	4.95
		Zambia	-9.92	-.10	5.08	-21.36	-3.11
	S. Africa	Zambia	-13.02	-.07	5.06	-24.20	-6.28
SMOG	Ghana	Nigeria	-1.72	-.09	.84	-3.31	-.13
		Ethiopia	5.81	-.02	1.79	1.55	8.55
		Tanzania	.87	-.06	.62	-.33	2.08
		S. Africa	3.50	-.06	.67	2.10	4.82
		Zambia	-4.49	-.08	2.29	-9.43	-1.24
	Nigeria	Ethiopia	7.53	.08	1.79	3.40	10.25
		Tanzania	2.59	.03	.65	1.31	3.83
		S. Africa	5.22	.03	.70	3.78	6.55
		Zambia	-2.77	.00	2.30	-7.65	.47

	Ethiopia	Tanzania	-4.94	-.04	1.73	-7.32	-.81
		S. Africa	-2.31	-.04	1.74	-4.74	1.87
		Zambia	-10.30	-.06	2.73	-16.01	-5.29
	Tanzania	S. Africa	2.63	-.01	.43	1.78	3.45
		Zambia	-5.36	-.03	2.24	-10.43	-2.50
	South Africa	Zambia	-7.99	-.03	2.26	-13.09	-5.07

Comparatively, there were statistically significant differences across all constitutions except between Ghana and Tanzania, Nigeria and Zambia, and Ethiopia and South Africa, using the SMOG scores. It is noted that although the Ghanaian constitution did not differ statistically in terms of readability comparative to the Tanzanian constitution when the FOG index was used, such difference was observed when the SMOG index was used. This could be attributed to the differences in the algorithm between the FOG and SMOG indexes respectively. A similar situation was observed between Ethiopia and South Africa. Other studies in which two different indexes were employed showed similar outcomes (Ozok, 2013). Considering the means of these indexes (see Table 2), it could be concluded that the Nigerian constitution was the most difficult to read among all six African constitutions, using the FOG index. Also, the Ethiopian constitution was the easiest to read, using the FOG index. A similar conclusion was reached using the SMOG index.

Summary of Findings

According to the FOG Index, all six constitutions are harder to read than general-purpose documents written at the recommended 8th Grade reading level. According to the SMOG Index, however, the Ethiopian constitution was not more difficult to read than documents written at the recommended 8th Grade reading level. Generally, the constitutions of Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and South Africa were found to be statistically more difficult to read than standard documents.

Ethiopian, Tanzanian and South African constitutions had average word-per-sentence counts of over 20. This is higher than the recommended average of 18-20.

Ethiopia's constitution recorded the least mean percentage of polysyllabic words.

Average syllables per word were not deemed to have contributed to the difficulty of any of the studied constitutions. However, it is suspected that most words used in all six documents have first syllables of high frequency. Such a situation would contribute to the reading difficulties of all six constitutions (Chetail, 2014).

In general, for both SMOG and FOG indexes, reading difficulties among the six constitutions differed significantly. For both indexes, the Nigerian constitution was found to be the hardest to read, while the Ethiopian constitution was found the easiest to read.

Conclusion

How readable a text is can have a direct link to the audience's desire to read. Easy readability can also enhance the interactivity with and understanding of the document (Morah & Omojola, 2014). A text that is difficult to read will require more effort, which audiences are averse to in most cases. The findings of this paper is that the constitutions of the six African countries are mostly ‘difficult' to read. Some are even ‘very difficult' to read. The easiest portion within any of the constitutions requires nine years of formal education to read and understand. Most portions were practically unreadable.

A chunk part of the constitutions was flooded with high proportions of multisyllabic words. For most of the constitutions used for this study, about 50% of the entire text were multisyllabic in nature, on the average. This contributed to the poor readability of the constitutions. Although the average syllable per word was small on average in most cases (approximately 2), the words probably had a first syllable of high frequency than of low frequency. This further contributed to the poor readability due to stronger lexical competition between syllabic neighbors.

Finally, the Nigerian constitution was found to be the most difficult among the six constitutions. The Ethiopian constitution was, however, the easiest to read among the six constitutions.

Recommendations

We recommend further study into the difficulties of the constitutions of the six nations considered in this work. We recommend that future studies use other readability indexes beyond the SMOG and FOG indexes used in this work. Such confirmatory studies could establish more firmly the reading difficulties of the constitutions as they stand now.

We recommend also that Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, South Africa, and Zambia consider revising their constitutions to make those documents more readable and comprehensible to the average citizen. However, since we recognize the need for legal documents to retain their authoritative nature using language (Schuetz, 2009), we recommend that these nations consider making, at least, more readable versions of their constitutions and making these widely available to the average citizenry.

Notes

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Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC) Vol. 6 No. 1, June 2019
ISSN: p. 2354-354X e. 2354-3515 DOI: 10.20370/shmg-vf61

Open Access Journal, Available Online

An Assessment of the *One Lecture-One Test* Learning Model by Journalism Teachers

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Received: 06.10.2018 Accepted: 04.04.201 Published: June, 2019

Abstract: This article analyzes transcripts from a knowledgeable group that discoursed at length the *one lecture - one test* (OLOT) learning model – a system that requires students to write a short test for 10 to 20 minutes after *every* lecture, for a score that counts toward the overall grade. This model contrasts with the traditional system in higher institutions that set two or three tests and give one or a few assignments in a semester. Investigation of OLOT started with a one-year survey and three-year longitudinal assessment. It proceeds with this work and shows via a color graphic analysis that, though OLOT appears capable of promoting students' *attendance*, *concentration*, *interest*, and *participation* during lectures, this may not necessarily translate to better *grades*. Data from the transcripts show, however, that, absence of better grades notwithstanding, the learning system should be given the benefit of the doubt given the significant showing of the four parameters.

Keywords: One lecture-one test, OLOT, teaching, learning, test-wiseness, focus group, color graphics.

Introduction

Teachers in institutions of higher learning are continually seeking ways to overturn the traditional pedagogical systems with new ones that can make their students stand out. One result of this move is the emergence of *One Lecture-One Test*

(OLOT) - the learning model that requires a student to write a short test of 10 to 20 minutes duration after *every* lecture, as a compulsory component of the continuous assessment and for a score that counts toward the overall grade. In OLOT, each test covers mainly the very core area of the module that the students have been taught during the lecture. Students are advised to write between one and three pages of paper and warned to imbibe the economy of language which enables them to write the test in a few but meaningful words. A script should take only between one and five minutes to mark.

OLOT is conjectured in some ways that may depend more on experienced and knowledgeable instructors than freshers, as newly qualified teachers (NQTs) will need mentoring to develop the necessary skills (Avalos, 2011; Aspfors & Fransson, 2015) needed to affirm those conjectures. One is that it could improve students' attendance as well as their concentration in class. OLOT brings every student to the reality of what he or she has just learned in class. A student is well aware that he or she must write a short test to test his or her understanding of the lecture. The tendency exists students will take interest in what is being taught if they know that test is coming after the lecture (Huff, 1961; Kelley & Zarembka, 1968; Erickson, 1972; Ferguson, 1974; Duchastel, 1981; Williams, et al. 1985; Wyatt, 1992; Schönwetter, Clifton & Perry, 2002). The interest can manifest in the higher number of questions they ask in the areas they do not understand as the lecture progresses than when there is no imminent test.

Another area OLOT may be appreciated in is test anxiety. The conventional test system encourages test nervousness in students and *most* instructors are familiar with this experience (Szafran, 1981, p.31) to such an extent that special care centers are set up to help students overcome the threat. With OLOT, anxiety is converted to expectation since test-writing becomes a tradition while expectation transposes to appreciation and ultimately to positive test performance, especially for the smart and disciplined student.

OLOT is also estimated to be a promoter of stimulated recall (Bloom, 1953; 1956) by minimizing retrieval or encoding failure since the test written focuses attention to only the core area of the lecture. This is in contrast with the traditional two or three-test system where students write a test that involves variegated topics. Answering questions of different shades means that the conventional test system can proactively or retroactively promote knowledge interference. Proactive and retroactive components are upshots of the interference theory, which opines basically that some memories do interfere with other memories. Proactive interference occurs when an old memory makes it difficult or even impossible to remember a new memory while retroactive interference is made manifest when new information interferes with one's ability to recall or remember a previously learned information. It might be a good idea if the traditional system is limited to the time of examination when students answer questions on various topics while OLOT takes care of continuous assessments.

Students’ note-taking is related to test performance (Nye, Crooks, Powley & Trip, 1984) and it wouldn’t make too much difference if the activity was acquired through some informal learning or deliberate efforts. The potential also exists for OLOT to make students improve their note-taking in terms of speed and stimulate the encoding processes within the learner (Carrier & Titus, 1981: 386). The system can eliminate the refusal to take notes owing to the certainty of an impending test, thereby minimizing the challenge of learners' inactivity during lectures. Some writers (Reid, 1948; Nolan, 1974; Dorn, 1987; Arias & Walker, 2004; McDougall & Granby, 1996; Saroyan & Snell, 1997) have implied or noted that when instructors ask questions during lectures the subject matter will normally involve only those students who volunteer to answer. This can make non-volunteers unaccountable. OLOT, on the other hand, is primed to get most or all students busy via note-taking and make them accountable concerning a test close by. Furthermore, OLOT offers an instantaneous dimension to class preparation as the students know that a test is inevitable in a lecture unlike the homework or assignments (Sprechera & Pocs, 1987:268) which prepares students for the next lecture.

OLOT and Test Wiseness

Test-wiseness refers to the skill that a student or test writer acquires from the biotic elements – teacher, fellow students, the student and other reasoned elements and the abiotic components – test structure, characteristics, clues, test situation, etc. of a test ecosystem and then create clues that enable him or her answer the question correctly (Millman, Bishop & Ebel, 1965; Sarnacki, 1979; Lange, 1981). For instance, a smart student could study the structure and characteristics of the test, test situation, teacher’s body language, or any other relevant environmental appurtenances, articulate all these into a technique that makes him or her answers the test questions correctly. OLOT is being conjectured to be a driver of test wiseness.

Millman, Bishop, and Ebel (1965) present a taxonomy of elements that are independent of the test constructor and those that depend on it. The independent elements include the examinee's time using, error avoiding, guessing and deductive reasoning strategies while dependent ones are intent consideration and cue-using strategies. Both of these the student can take advantage of to create the motivations that can make him or her answer the questions correctly. The motivation in the case of OLOT is that it operates an environment where students know that not writing the test at all or not writing it well portends failure and reduces their chances of lining up with other students at the time of graduation.

OLOT should not be misinterpreted for the familiar session conducted by a teacher who asks questions after a lecture to know if a student understands what he or she has just learned from that lecture. The OLOT model's mandatory test is deemed instrumental not only to a student's grade but also to graduation.

In spite of the growing adoption of the system by individual lecturers and teachers in several emerging economies including India, Nigeria, Indonesia and Kenya, OLOT is not conceptualized as a formalism yet in most tertiary institutions while instructors in universities in the more advanced countries of Europe and North America are rarely seen using it. Using a color graphic analysis technique, this work projects the views of a group of knowledgeable persons which give the features that aid the understanding as well as provide insight that might be needed for decision-making by prospective adopters of the system.

Preliminary Investigations and Problem of the Study

In 2012, OLOT was put to the test to determine how it shaped students' performance, using *grade* as the criterion variable and – *attendance*, *interest*, *participation*, *concentration* in class as predictors (Omojola, 2014; Komolafe et al. 2018; Odiboh et al. 2017). The study was conducted in Covenant University, Nigeria for one academic session in four courses in journalism and mass communication disciplines. The descriptive showed that the students performed better in the four areas with scores ranging from 15 to 30 percent, though with a marginal improvement in grades, over the traditional system which sets one or two tests and a few assignments in a semester.

The results of the survey were presented in 2014 at the 4th annual International Technology, Education and Development Conference (INTED) held in Valencia, Spain. After a short time of accolades for the reported improvements in students' performance, two major issues were raised as part of the critique to make the system more attractive. First, was that the single survey conducted would need to be corroborated by a longitudinal study. Repeated measures were necessary to understand the change dynamics and causal inferences as well as the teacher-student relationship that develops from a sustained teacher-student interfacing, as noted by Pennings, et al. (2014). Second, was that the opinions of lecturers should be sought to determine how universally workable the system could be.

A longitudinal study spanning three academic sessions - 2015/2016, 2016/2017 and 2017/2018 academic sessions – was conducted (Omojola, et al, 2018; Folayan, et al, 2018). The paired samples tests of the traditional test system with OLOT showed a preponderance of the latter in the mean distribution of the four predictor variables with varying dispersion values though. This improvement was replicated in grades, albeit marginally. The grading sequence in place at the university was A=5.00, B=4.00-4.99, C=3.00-3.99, D=2.00-2.99, and F=0.00, excluding the E grade which logically should have been 1.00-1.99 if it was included. It turned out that the distance between two grades obfuscated the improvement seen in the OLOT grades, thereby rendering it inappreciable. For instance, a mean score of 2.90 in OLOT - obviously better than 2.10 recorded in the traditional system, would not make a difference as both 2.90 and 2.10 are domiciled in the same grade of D which is 2.00-2.99!

Objective and Rationale for the Study

The objective of the study is to determine, from the discussion of a knowledgeable group, how students could perform under the OLOT system in terms of *attendance*, *interest*, *participation*, and *concentration* as predictors and how these predictors might affect the criterion variable *grade*. The input of lecturers, who form the core of the group that discussed in this study, cannot be overemphasized as their opinions constitute a crucial component for the work to be credible. The insight generated from their discussion supplied the information on the features of the system since literature is not visible on it yet. This insight could also provide a prospective adopter the basis on which to adopt or reject it.

The Focus Group Discussion at the 4th C-ICADI Conference

The 4th International Conference on African Development Issues

(C-ICADI) was held in Covenant University, Ota, Nigeria from October 22nd to 24th 2018 with the theme: "The Challenge of Leadership: Driving Africa's Future." The conference featured most participants from Africa and had as its keynote speaker the former President of Zambia, Joyce Banda. It discussed several issues including politics, education, economy and other areas of need in Africa. One of the issues raised at the conference on the importance of teaching and learning elicited the composition of a focus group that discussed for one hour and a half in a break-out session.

The group comprised six university staff, including five lecturers with experience in journalism teaching and one administrator. All of them have taught journalism and media communication Two were from Nigeria (Q1, Q2), one from South Africa (Q3), one from Ghana (Q4), one from Zambia (Q5) and one from Sierra Leone (Q6). Impressively, the discussants were equi-gendered and all except one female had PhDs, meaning they should be knowledgeable to an appreciable level about teaching and learning. They claimed authoritatively they were conversant with the definitions of the variables - *attendance*, *interest*, *participation*, and *concentration.* The moderator asked for their opinions on how they think the four parameters could pan out in OLOT. Though they were allowed to expatiate on their points, they followed an instruction that they should encapsulate each point in a simple sentence or even phrase for easy capture in the transcripts. They were to start their discussion of each parameter by saying if OLOT could promote it or not. The most visible keyword in each view expressed is identified to enable proper categorization of that opinion.

A Note on the Color Analysis Technique

The use of visual images instead of words and numbers for analysis is not visible enough yet in focus group research, unlike words. To this end, a graphic analysis technique (Omojola, 2016; Omojola, Odiboh & Amodu, 2018) has been developed featuring the use of symbols and colors to depict opinions and the strength of those opinions. In this work, I use colors, tints, and tones to depict the opinions of the discussants. This color technique can help analysts and their audience to determine visually what transpired in the discussion prima facie. The cognitive ability to decipher this depiction is considered automatic, or at least not difficult, to enable the viewer to figure it out. In this work, the opinion of a discussant that is similar or the same as another is marked the same color. Figure 1 below identifies the colors used for the analysis.

Figure 1: 33 Colors for analysis identified

Discussion of Item 1: Attendance

Q1 Submission

a. When I called for a test, attendance was usually between 95 and 100 percent, Therefore, OLOT should promote attendance. *Grape*
b. Genuine reasons such as death can undermine attendance in OLOT. *Turquoise*

c. Students do miss class owing to social reasons such as attending sibling's weddings, birthdays, etc. OLOT can minimize this. *Sea Green*

Q2 Submission

a. I believe OLOT can promote attendance. *Grape*
b. Some students don't respect lecturers OLOT or no OLOT, they still stay away. *Mint Green*
c. Some students are very lazy. With OLOT they will still miss their classes. *Army Green*
d. A bad company could make student miss lecturers OLOT notwithstanding. *Blue*
e. Some students are motivated by the desire to achieve. With OLOT they can do more. *Khaki*

Q3 Submission

a. OLOT sounds like a novel way of learning. It could boost students' attendance. *Grape*

Q4 Submission

a. No student wants to miss a test if it counts toward their graduation. *Grape*
b. From experience, I have understood that many students don't want to miss tests because they target higher grades. OLOT wouldn't make any difference to that. *Gold*
c. I concur that bad friends can abet a student's absence in class. *Blue*

Q5 Submission

a. I predict OLOT can increase attendance by 15 percent or more. *Grape*
b. We should note that a student who has discipline as their core value would not want to miss a lecture, OLOT or no OLOT. *Walnut*
c. Poor student/teacher relationship can undermine students' attendance in OLOT. *Neon Red*

Q6 Submission

a. OLOT can be used as a strategy to boost students' attendance where it is low. *Grape*
b. Truancy is some students' way of life simply because they are undisciplined. *Walnut*

c. OLOT can promote the desire to not repeat a class, thereby enhancing attendance. *Violet.*

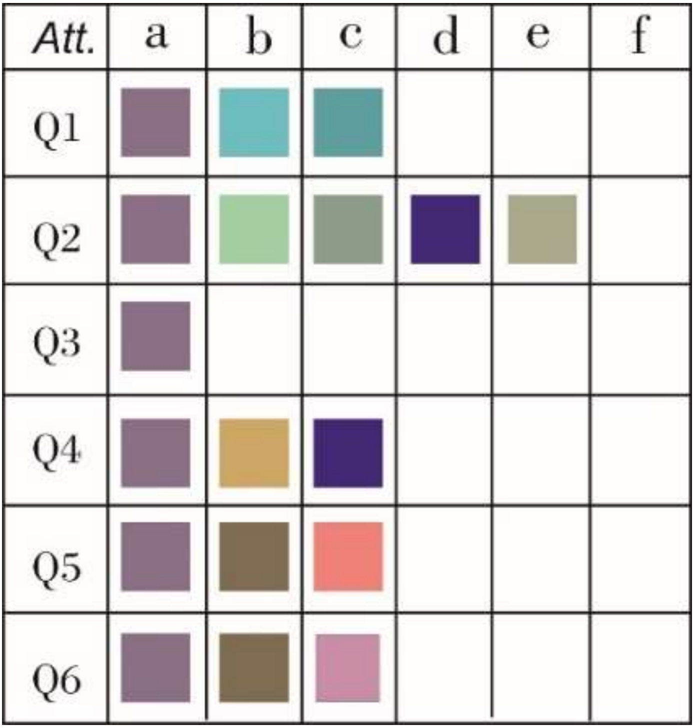

Figure 2: Opinions representation – Attendance

Figure 2 shows that the six discussants expressed 18 opinions on *attendance*. It shows six grapes, meaning all agree that OLOT can promote students' interest during lectures; two walnuts and two blues indicating respectively that discipline and a bad company can affect attendance. Other colors appear as singles with each indicating one variable. They are neon red - teacher-student relationship; gold - higher grades; turquoise – death; sea green – attending a social function; army green – laziness; khaki – a desire for achievement, violet – desire to not repeat a class and mint green – respect for lecturers.

Discussion of Item 2: Interest

Q1 Submission

a. OLOT can promote the interest of students during lectures. *Grape*
b. If a lecturer is not a good communicator, a student will lose interest and OLOT's purpose will be defeated. *Brown*

c. OLOT depends on several factors that have to do with a teacher's performance. *Yellow*
d. OLOT will encourage or compel students to take notes during lectures. *Crimson*
e. In spite of OLOT, students can lose interest during a lecture if the environment of learning is exacting and unconducive. We should not overrate OLOT in this respect. *Black*
f. If a student is disciplined, he or she can develop interest in class lectures. *Walnut*

Q2 Submission

a. I believe in the potential of OLOT to promote students' interest in learning during lectures but I can't overstretch this point because I have not practiced it with students. *Grape*
b. If audio-visual learning tools are adequate, OLOT can deliver well and generate interest. *Red*
c. A distinguished professor will attract more interest in students because he commands respect. *Mint Green*
d. The fear of failure is always a student's interest booster during lectures. *Green*

Q3 Submission

a. Just like I said in the case of attendance I submit that OLOT should increase students' interest during lectures. *Grape*
b. A lecturer's instructional approach matters to students' interest, OLOT or no OLOT. *Cyan*

Q4 Submission

a. OLOT can pull an edge over the conventional system in terms of student's interest. *Grape*
b. I know inadequate physical activity can reduce students' interest during lectures. *Magenta*

Q5 Submission

a. The interest of students during lectures should improve with OLOT. *Grape*
b. I support an earlier submission that note-taking by students will increase to aid revision before the test. *Crimson*
c. I support the point that interest may be higher with professors for respect. *Mint Green*
d. Teacher's ability to talk well will increase students' interest, OLOT notwithstanding. *Brown*
e. The way teachers gesticulate and emote to students can ginger up their interest. *Orange*

Q6 Submission

a. OLOT can enhance interest. *Grape*
b. But this is not automatic. Some things must be in place for the enhancement to happen. *Dark Brown*
c. Interest will depend mainly on how a teacher handles his class, especially concerning talking. *Brown*

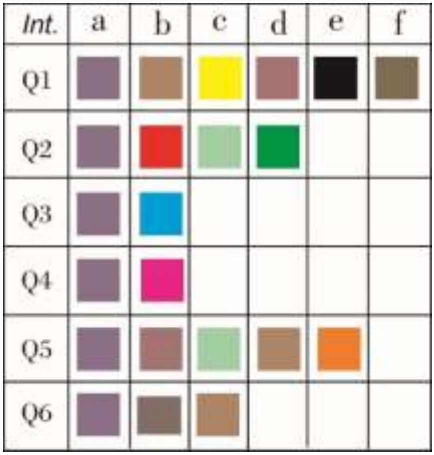

Figure 3: Opinions representation – Interest

In Figure 3, 21 opinions were expressed. The 6 grapes mean that all discussants think OLOT can promote interest. Three browns and two mint greens mean respectively that lecturers' communication and students' respect for their teachers matter to OLOT. Other colors with their corresponding variables appear as singles. They are: red – audio-visual learning tools; magenta – inadequate physical activity, orange – teacher's gesticulation and emotions, black – conducive learning environment, cyan – instructional approach, dark brown – putting things in place, crimson – note-taking, green – fear of failure, yellow – efficiency/teacher's performance, and walnut - discipline.

Discussion of Item 3: Participation

Q1 Submission

a. No harm in saying that OLOT can enhance the participation of students during a lecture. *Grape*
b. We should realize that there is a difference between participating to pass a compulsory test that is only one hour away and

participating to gain knowledge. *Ice Blue*

c. OLOT or conventional, the participation of students is limited by sickness. *Olive*

Q2 Submission

a. Students are more likely going to ask questions in OLOT than where there is no test. *Grape*
b. In spite of OLOT, student traits can limit students' participation. For example, a shy student may not want to ask a question in class. *Purple*
c. If a student is sick, he or she may not function in OLOT. *Olive*
d. "Well done, "thank you, etc." do encourage students to participate more. *Deep Rose*
e. Teacher's performance would enhance students' participation. *Yellow*

Q3 Submission

a. OLOT can enhance a student's participation. *Grape*
b. OLOT could elicit group discussion. For instance, a student might ask another student: "Do you understand what the lecturer has just explained? *Olive Drab*
c. Cracking nice jokes to start an OLOT class will make students participate. *White*
d. What happens where a student is mentally deranged. Can OLOT save that situation? *Olive*

Q4 Submission

a. I believe OLOT can enhance participation among slow and average learners. *Grape*
b. Praising students, showering them encomiums can increase OLOT participation. *Deep Rose*
c. OLOT can elicit group discussion. An impending test will make a student seek a friend's help. *Olive Drab*
d. Students facing disciplinary action will find it difficult to participate during lectures. *Sand*
e. Note-taking supports students' encoding process. OLOT encourages this. *Crimson*
f. Can promising students' gifts [not just encomiums] increase their participation? *Pink*

Q5 Submission

a. I agree with the previous speaker OLOT can provoke participation during lectures. *Grape*
b. In OLOT, teaching should make students participate cooperatively rather than compete. *Sky Blue*
c. Fear can affect students in OLOT, e.g. fear of been jeered at, of lack of making mistakes, of teacher correction and so forth. *Green*

d. Fluency and grammar problems can minimize participation in an OLOT class. *Brown*

Q6 Submission

a. I don't doubt that OLOT has the potential to enhance participation during lectures. *Grape*
b. Students will likely see the need to consult one another during lecturers especially where the teacher is less approachable. *Olive Drab*
c. Fear can hinder students' participation if he is less self-efficacious. *Green*
d. Some students participate to show off, OLOT or no OLOT. *Peach*
e. OLOT can realize its student's participation if a teacher starts the lecture with anecdotes. *White*
f. Can a student who is broke and thinking about how he will eat participate really in OLOT? *Chartreuse*

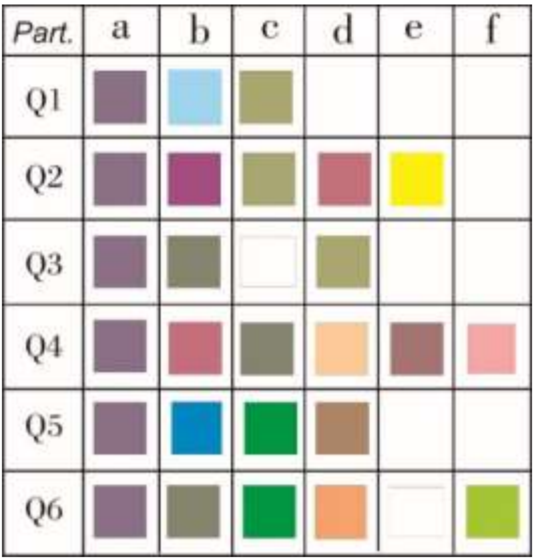

Figure 4: Opinions representation – Participation

Figure 4 shows that 28 opinions were expressed regarding participation. Six grapes are in favor of participation while olive and olive drab claim three times each that sickness and student's consultation with one another, respectively, are OLOT's factors. White, green and deep rose opines twice each respectively that starting a lecture anecdotally, the problem of fear and saying thank you to students are

OLOT variables. Other variables came up as singles: They are yellow – teacher's performance, peach – participation to show off, chartreuse – hungry/broke student, brown – teacher's communication, sky blue – student's cooperation rather competition, ice blue - options of passing test and gaining knowledge, crimson – note-taking, sand – students facing disciplinary action, pink – giving out gift and purple – shy student.

Solving the Problem of Color Scarcity

At this point, all the 33 colors listed in Figure 1 except one – Dusty plum, have been engaged to represent opinions while there are still many opinions left to be depicted. This challenge can be resolved by simply creating a new set of colors. Other colors exist that can be created. They are indigo, wheel blue, ultra-marine, ivory, mauve, azure, teal, and several others. But what if no colors exist again to be listed? The challenge can still be resolved by creating tint versions of the original colors to represent the remaining opinions. In the figure below, 60 and 20 percent tint versions of four of the 33 original colors in Figure 1 were created. In this case, the full hue of violet can be named Violet^3, the 60 percent tint version tagged Violet^2 while the 20 percent version can be marked Violet^1 as shown in Figure 5 below.

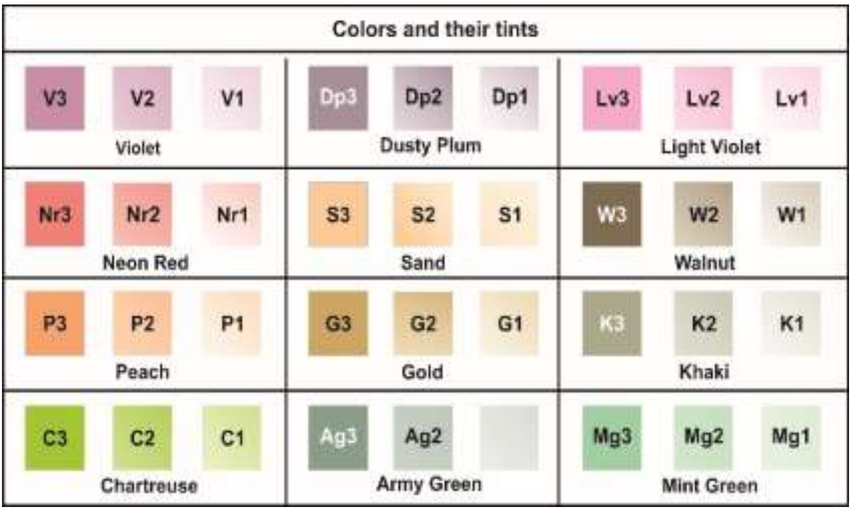

Figure 5: Colors and 60/20 per cent tint versions

Another challenge may yet arise: How do all these colors appear if this document is printed in black and white. This can be resolved by simply marking colors with one or two letters (preferably the first two letters) of the names of those colors. For instance, Grape can be marked "Gr". Therefore, Figure 5 and Figure 1 above become as shown in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6: Colors and 60/20 percent tint versions in black and white

Discussion of Item 4: Concentration

Q1 Submission

a. I don’t doubt that OLOT can promote concentration during a lecture. *Grape*

b. Inconvenient lecture arena will hamper concentration even in an OLOT system. *Black*

c. A student can develop the capacity for concentration overtime in OLOT and make it a habit. *Dusty Plum*

d. Seating positions do affect concentration OLOT or no OLOT. Students in the front seats concentrate more than those at the back. *Violet*[2]
e. Overloading students with non-academic matters can reduce concentration but OLOT can assuage that. *Neon Red*[2]
f. Stress trouble students these days. Stress can minimize concentration in OLOT. *Peach*[2]

Q2 Submission

a. OLOT can promote students' concentration in class. *Grape*
b. Poor ventilation and lighting will hinder concentration in class even if it is OLOT. *Black*
c. The teacher's presentation style, i.e. gesticulation, etc. can affect concentration in OLOT. *Orange*
d. I also agree excess workload will hamper a student's concentration in OLOT. *Neon Red*[2]

Q3 Submission

a. OLOT can promote concentration. Maybe not all students, but at least a few. *Grape*
b. Hunger and poor feeding won't make a student concentrate in spite of OLOT. *Chartreuse*
c. Concentration can be developed over time with OLOT. *Dusty Plum*
d. A sick student cannot concentrate even in OLOT. *Olive*

Q4 Submission

a. OLOT holds great promises in terms of making students concentrate in class. *Grape*
b. But the conducive environment is necessary to make it realize its potential. *Black*
c. Hormonal changes in the female will reduce concentration in OLOT. This is natural. *Chartreuse*[2]

Q5 Submission

a. OLOT is a possible promoter of a student's focus or concentration during lectures. *Grape*
b. OLOT is outstanding. It effectively shuts out the problem of procrastination. *Dusty Plum*[2]
c. OLOT notwithstanding, discomfort in a class environment won't allow concentration. *Black*

Q6 Submission

a. Don't call me a Doubting Thomas. If OLOT can improve concentration, that word "possibility" also means it may not be so. My submission is that it may not be so. *Sand^2*

b. OLOT or no OLOT, paying attention in class involves both the biotic and abiotic factors. [Biotic = human elements, abiotic = prevailing situations and circumstances] *Gold^2*

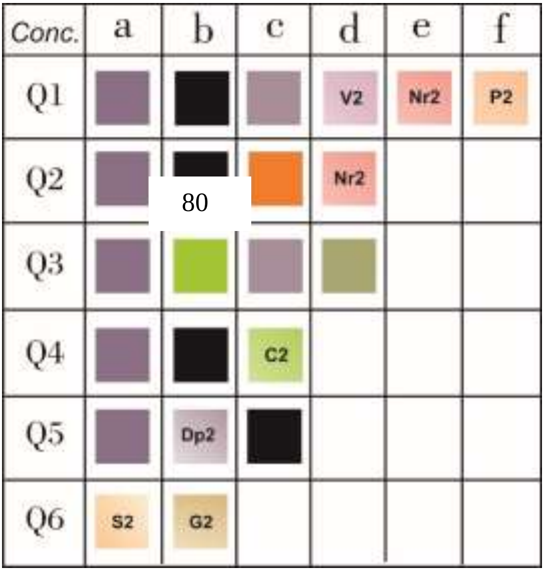

Figure 7: Opinions representation – Concentration

Figure 7 shows 22 opinions and breaks the initial all-grape sequence of the previous three parameters by showing five grapes and Sand^2, meaning that all discussants agreed that OLOT could promote students' concentration except one who doubted that. Four blacks are saying the harsh environment is an OLOT variable, while grape look-alike color, dusty plum, shows in two places, each claiming that psychological issues can influence OLOT. Neon Red^2 also shows in two places with each saying that overloading students with non-academic matters can influence OLOT. Eight other colors appear singly each with is OLOT variable. They are olive – sickness, chartreuse – hungry students, chartreuse^2 – hormonal changes, orange – teacher's gesticulation, violet^2 – seating position, peach^2 – stress, and gold^2 – biotic and abiotic and dusty plum^2 – procrastination.

Discussion of Item 5: Grade

Q1 Submission

a. The four parameters may happen and still not translate to better grades. *Army Green*[2]
b. But if OLOT helps in these four areas, then it is worth trying. *Light Violet*[2]

Q2 Submission

a. Other factors influence grades. The four OLOT parameters are not enough. *Army Green*[2]
b. Just like my colleague said, it is worth being put to the test. *Light Violet*[2]

Q3 Submission

a. OLOT parameters are not enough to produce better grades. *Army Green*[2]
b. The test wiseness abilities, which these four parameters do not relate with, go a long way in influencing scores or grades. *Walnut*[2]

Q4 Submission

a. These four OLOT parameters have the potential to make students have better grades if combined. *Khaki*[2]
b. If producing better grade is the reason for floating OLOT, then give it a shot. *Light Violet*[2]
c. If we agree that OLOT can make students improve in these four areas, I think it is illogical to claim they don't promote better scores. *Mint Green*[2]

Q5 Submission

a. The four parameters are not strong enough to influence grades substantially. *Army Green*[2]
b. Whatever positive influence they have in terms of grade can easily be wiped off by the way the teacher scores a test. *Violet1*
c. On the whole, I agree that OLOT is not a bad idea. *Light Violet*[2]

Q6 Submission

a. That OLOT can produce better grades via these four parameters is plausible rather than possible. *Army Green*[2]
b. Whatever the situation is, I encourage lecturers around the world to give it a try. *Light Violet*[2]

Grade	a	b	c	d	e	f
Q1	Ag2	Lv2				
Q2	Ag2	Lv2				
Q3	Ag2	W2				
Q4	K2	Lv2	Mg2			
Q5	Ag1	V1	Lv2			
Q6	Ag2	Lv2				

Figure 8: Opinions representation – Grades

Figure 8 displays the newly added 14 colors. Four opinions in army green[2] say the four parameters are not enough to boost grades while Khaki[2], showing up once, says otherwise. Discussant Q5, in army green[2], says that a consequent positive grade from the four parameters, though sounds nice, may not be feasible. Five discussants, each appearing as light violet[2], say, in any case, the OLOT system should be given a benefit of the doubt. Two of them give the reason for disagreeing. Q3, appearing as walnut[2], OLOT does not take into cognizance the issue of test wiseness while Q5 appearing as Violet[1] says the teacher's scoring style can easily wipe off whatever positive contribution the four parameters have to grade. Q4, showing up as mint green[2], differs. Mint green[2] says, however, that it is oxymoronic to claim that the for parameters are significant contributors to OLOT but not grade enhancer.

Discussion

The group discussed attendance, interest, participation, concentration and how they relate to grade in the OLOT system. The color analysis enables quick, prima facie determination of data generated from the discussion. A total of 69 colors (Figure 1 and Figure 5) were generated of which 46 were used. Figure 9 shows that a total of 90 opinions were expressed, indicating that some colors emerged more than once. When the 14 in Figure 8 (on grade) are added, they become 104. The participation variable was discussed most with 28 colors, followed by concentration and interest with 22 each and attendance with 18. This suggests that OLOT enjoyed a robust discussion, implying that it generated interest amongst the discussants.

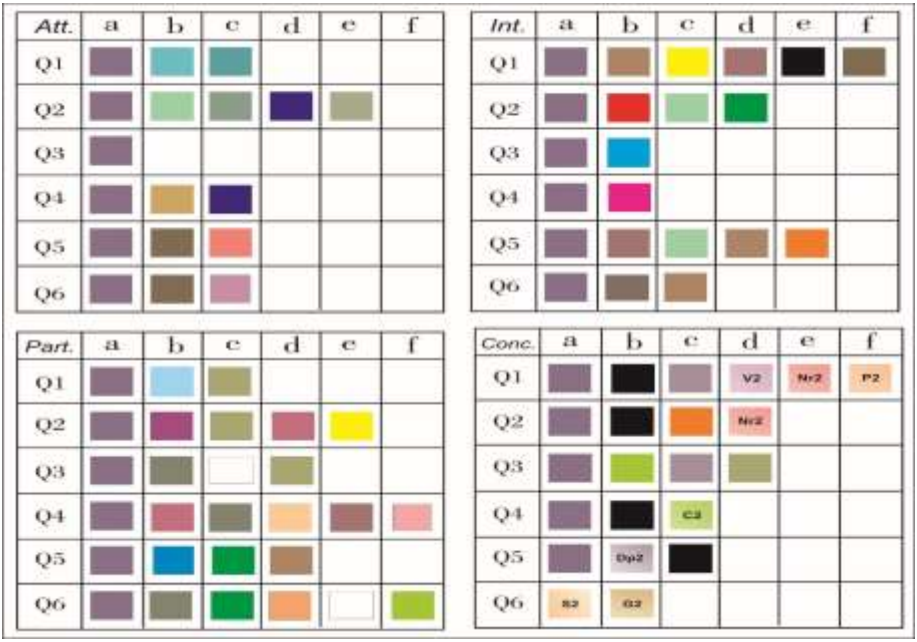

Figure 9: Opinion colors combined for attention, interest, participation and concentration variables

Of the 90, gray, the most popular color, carries 23 opinions that saw OLOT in a good light with the only discussant - sand[2] - expressing her reservation. Next is black, which carries five analogous views on how harsh environment influences OLOT while brown and olive follow, each with four comparable opinions. Their opinions are teacher's communication and students' sickness respectively. The next most prevalent are colors that carry 3 similar views each. The colors with their respective views are olive drab – student's consultation with one another in class, crimson – note-taking, walnut – student discipline, green - fear and mint green – respect for professors.

The next set of colors in the order of significance carries two opinions each. These include white – starting lecture with jokes and anecdotes, dusty plum – developing overtime, orange – teacher's posture and gesticulation, blue – bad company, yellow – teacher's performance, chartreuse – hungry students, deep rose – pouring encomiums on students, and neon red[2] – excess workload.

The remaining colors carry one opinion each. Each of these opinions was expressed to be a variable that could influence the OLOT system. These and their corresponding opinions are: army green – laziness issues, chartreuse[2] – hormonal changes, gold – targeting higher grades , gold[2] – biotic and biotic factors, peach – showing off, peach[2] – stress, violet[2] – sitting in the front, dusty plum[2] – procrastination, neon red – friendly teachers, sea green – attending social gatherings, sky blue – participating cooperatively, ice blue – difference between participating for the test or for knowledge, dark brown – some things being in place, pink – giving out gifts, magenta – inadequate physical activity, cyan – lecturer’s instructional approach, sand – disciplinary actions , red – learning tools, turquoise - death, khaki – desire to achieve and purple – students straits including shyness.

If the results from the four predictors’ 90 opinions are juxtaposed with the 14 on the criterion *grade* (Figure 8), a surprise emerges. Five of the six discussants agree that the OLOT system has the potential and the capacity to improve the performance of students during lectures but reject astoundingly that they lead to better grades. Q4 ends her contribution with a mild protest: "If we agree that OLOT can make students improve in these four areas, I think it is illogical to claim [that] they don't promote better scores." One fact is, however, universal among the discussants: OLOT may not or may not be able to produce better grades in students, but it is worth putting to the test because of its ability to influence students' attendance, interest, participation, and concentration in class in some way.

Conclusion

Results from a previous study conducted for one year showed OLOT to be a valuable learning system in terms of the four parameters though it showed a marginal improvement in grades. The longitudinal study of three years validated this outcome. The analysis of the focus group transcripts has also proved that OLOT is useful, though less significant concerning grade. The three results are not distant from one another – perhaps the reason why it should be given the benefit of the doubt by prospective adopters as suggested by the discussants.

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Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC) Vol. 6 No. 1, June 2019
ISSN: p. 2354-354X e. 2354-3515 DOI: 10.20370/d19v-r077

Open Access Journal, Available Online

How Nigerian Print Publishers Explore Web-based Income Streams for Survival

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Received: 22.11.2018 Accepted: 01.06.2019 Published: June, 2019

Abstract: As traditional mass media grapple with hyper-competition globally with the attendant challenges of web-based alternatives and loss of readership and revenue, they are migrating online for survival in line with the contemporary management models. In Nigeria, it is not certain how they are adjusting to these new realities. This study examines the income-generation profiles of online news media in the country within the context of the technological determinism and mediamorphosis theories. Contents from 183 publishers were analyzed while four respondents were interviewed. Findings show that the websites generate revenue from advertising, online sales, downloadable content, subscription, syndication, sponsoring of links and affiliate marketing. Banner advertising was the most widespread (available on over 47% of the websites) while the advertisement billing trend appears flexible and partly compensates for offline losses. These findings indicate that the search for alternative sources of revenue in the digital environment is yielding results. To sustain revenue generation and evolve more income streams, publishers should deploy more resources to website optimization as well as online syndication and collaboration.
Keywords: Book, Newspaper, Magazine Publishing, Advertising Revenue, Web Publishing.

Background to the Study

The advent of new media poses a big challenge to the traditional media, especially print. Circulation figures have plummeted as readers are switching in droves to the online platforms to get informed, educated, and entertained. Besides the ever-dwindling readership, advertising revenues are shrinking and switching to new websites whose popularity is growing steadily. About 75 percent of publishers' revenue was sourced from print advertising prior to 2008 while the rest came from subscribers and street vendors. The internet has turned things around, leading to a disruption that now makes online news more attractive to people than newspapers (Richards, 2008).

The new media have gained massive reputation and their capability to attract advertisements has increased tremendously in recent times, thereby presenting a challenge to the old media in the area of revenue generation, one survival strategy of the traditional media is to produce the digital versions and migrate online to earn a share of both the advertisement revenue and patronage. Publishers have also created models that make online monthly and yearly subscriptions a marketing priority (Yap, 2009). Among the online income streams they leverage are digital archives, news syndication, advertising, pay per use, download to own, subscription, sponsorship, affiliate programming, and marketing among others.

Globally, according to Schweinfurth (2013), the increasing adoption of digital content significantly affects the way individuals consume the news. This makes publishers rethink and discover new and unique approaches to get advertisers attracted. Advertisers, on the other hand, are constantly on the look-out to put their money where their mouth is, which makes online platforms that attract larger audiences their first port of call.

In Nigeria, many newspapers, magazine and book publishers have migrated online as proof of the preponderance of the internet but what is not understood yet is whether or not they are taking advantage of the various income streams concomitant with the ongoing digital revolution. Online visitors now have access to their sites but what is important to them at the moment is the degree to which web-based innovations now control the fate of advertising and publishing (Pew Research Center, 2012). This work attempts to cover this gap by exploring how publishers in Nigeria survive in the face of the digital disruption that makes advertising a critical issue of the media business.

Statement of the Problem

Assumption is transposing to proof that print advertisers in Nigeria now go online to advertise their goods and services, thereby causing a decline in print publishers' advertisement revenues. This situation has constrained these publishers to seek new channels through which their news sites can generate income and at the same time deliver quality news services to their customers (Crow, 2009; Tappeiner and Lyons, 2013). However, empirical evidence is not visible to support how the publishers conduct the business that links online publishing to advertisement generation. This work is an empirical study of the extent to which online advertisement and other revenue streams flow into digital publishing in a developing environment – Nigeria, with a view to broadening the knowledge about digital news innovations and Internet-driven revenue models among the traditional media that migrated online. Moreover, the work is expected to provide valuable information for marketing communications agencies who also grappling with the changing media and advertising environments.

Research Questions

The study treated the following research questions:

- What types of income-generating advertisements are available on the publishers' websites observed?
- What is the trend of online advertisement billing on publishing websites?
- Are there identifiable non-advertisement income streams on the websites?

Rationale for the Study

With valuable information on online revenue possibilities, newspaper, magazine and book publishers who are still unable to take the critical first step towards digitization, may be emboldened to make a move. The detailed classification of online advertising typologies and non-advertising revenue options is bound to be useful to both scholars and media placement professionals (Hoffecker; Hastings-Tolsma and Vincent; Zuniga, 2015).

Literature Review

New Media Characteristics and Benefits

The term, new media alludes to content accessible through the web, on any gadget. Examples of new media include news sites, online daily papers, social media platforms e.g *Facebook*), and telephone-driven private social media systems such as *WhatsApp*. It implies that new media communication is always computer-mediated. Akhagba (2014) includes video conferencing, email and chat rooms among others in the new media family. Some authors (Logan, 2010; Morah & Omojola, 2014a; 2014b) label new media as a term that describes those advanced media that are intelligent, two- or multiway communication, and include some type of computing.

One of the benefits of the web-based media is that they offer opportunities for professional online networking for marketers and publishers alike (Askoul, 2014). Esparza (2014) explains that more than 90 percent of marketers rely on new media for their marketing and it is clearly because their buyers are receptive to it. New media let clients research, share and design their media experiences (Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant & Kelly, 2009). Other benefits are new literary encounters, better approaches to speaking to the world (immersive virtual situations, screen-based intelligent sight and sound); new connections between subjects (clients and shoppers) and so on. Web-based media are generally characterized by computing, interactivity, hypertext, virtual engagement, multimedia, and networked operations. A study has also observed that media activities are frequently not expensive in the digital environment compared to the conventional system (Lohrey, 2016, Okorie, Loto & Omojola, 2018).

Income Streams from Traditional Media to Web-based Media

In Nigeria, most traditional media get their revenues mainly from advertising, printing and product sales, but Sholin (2008) has observed that traditional media also generate income from below-the-line items like branded T-shirts, consultancies such as companies hiring journalists to carry out researches at an agreed price and gathering information and selling same to interested persons. Some professional investors, politicians and corporations pay to give them breaking news and make the news go viral. These income sources are now available on the internet as websites now generate substantial income from online advertising. Some sites sell premium content after they have given away some content for free. Others organize private discussions that interested visitors can pay to join in Others simply ask for donations (Scocco, 2010).

New publishing models for Books, Magazines and Newspapers

Many websites depend on what has been described as micropayment for survival (Rojas, Yuste, Vazquez and Celaya, 2013). This is little-amount, usually from one to ten dollars paid through Paypal, Visa or some other payment platforms for such contents as articles, songs computer games and the like. The success of this model may have elicited the emergence of other models such as direct administrator charging or bearer charging, which permits shoppers to utilize their cellular telephones to make purchases which are then charged to their telephone account (Tecnocom, 2013; Hoffecker; Hastings-Tolsma and Vincent; Zuniga, 2015).

Pay-per-use or Pay-per-view is an installment framework that permits clients to pay just for the content they view. Charges are calculated based on the amount of time spent reading, viewing or watching content. In media businesses, pay-per-use is firmly associated with the membership system whereby clients pay for the membership and are then given access to certain content. Clients, in another case, can also pay to view a particular content without the requirement for prepayment or introductory startup expenses (Rojas, Yuste, Vazquez and Celaya, 2013). One of the benefits of the membership model is that it permits organizations to work with a settled customer base on a weekly, monthly or yearly plan, thereby ensuring a consistent stream of income since subscribers pay in advance. Similar to this is the enrolment system in which a client could be an individual from an author's fan club or a book club and gets enrolled to get access to the author's content.

The impact of revenue sources on the survival of the mass media cannot be overemphasized. Studies show that they bring down the cover costs of daily newspapers and magazines and deliver content more conveniently at cheaper costs. With lowered cover costs, the print media extend their readership, control operational costs, sustain overheads and possibly make a profit (Nwabueze et al. 2012). This impact is more appreciable online as publishers gain the financial capacity to render quality services. The following is a tabulation of online revenue sources and their descriptions.

Table 1a: Advertising Sources of Web-based Revenue

SN	Advertising Types	Description
1	Web and email banner advertising	This is an advertising in the form of a graphic image that appears on a web page. It is often animated and clicking on it and time spent viewing it are proof that it has reached the intended audience of the website.
2	Video advertising	This is when advertisements are incorporated into a streamed video.
3	Pre-roll video advertising	This is a 10-15 second advert that plays before the content the user selected is played. This is common on *YouTube*.
4	Expanding advertising	When you click the advertisement it gets bigger continuously until it finishes playing back.
5	Pop-ups	These are advertisements that suddenly come up on the window.

6	Pop-under	These ones are hidden behind the main browser window
7	Floating advertisement:	These are adverts that appear in a layer over the content and are not in a separate window, and may be closed by the user.
8	Reddit advertisement	These are adverts featuring a headline title, a destination URL and an optional photo.

(Boundless, 2016; Nicholas, D., 2018)

Table 1b: Non-Advertising Sources of Web-based Revenue

	Non-Advertising Types	Description
1	Online ordering and sale of print or non-content merchandise	These are items neither digitized nor uploaded on the site, but could be ordered from the site or paid for from the site.
2	Download to own	These are services that are downloaded. They could be a file or an image.
3	Pay-per-use	Payment has to be done before, and each time, the service is accessed and consumed
4	Subscription	This refers to a purchase made by signed order for a specified period of time
5	Syndication	This refers to linking or making a portion of a website available to other sites or individual subscribers.
6	Affiliate programs or marketing	An individual or firm gets referral benefits from traders when an item he or she is connected to brings about a deal as a consequence of the link.
7	Sponsored downloads	Some sites like Mequoada offer free downloadable products in exchange for a user's email address. They make download forms typically longer, requesting lots of information from the user, as the user data is then provided back to the sponsor.
8	Packaging or bundling	This refers to an arrangement in which content can be a mix of items, which clients accept to be less expensive than if purchased independently. One case would be Microsoft Office, which offers Excel, Word, PowerPoint, and other programmes in one bundle.
9	Sponsored webinars	Due to the popularity of webinars, sponsorships can be offered. Some companies avoid charging customers to view the webinars and instead operate a sponsorship model. Sponsors could be sought for paid webinars but it is important to not over-promote if one is charging viewers for the webinar.
10	Resource directories	Publishers sponsor directories on their sites to attract traffic and advertising. For instance, *Ceramic Arts Network* has a directory of ceramics equipment, materials, and service providers on its site.
11	Job boards	Publishers create job platforms for employers and unemployed people and get paid by employers for

		listed vacancies. An example is Laurel Touby's MediaBistro started in 1997and its largest source of revenue is media job listings, access to which is free to registered visitors
12	Sponsored channels	This refers to paid adverts that appear to "own" a channel, or section of a website. They may be banners, articles, snippets and links that are assimilated into the design and flow with the platform functionality, so viewers feel they are related to the content.
13	Custom newsletters	Some publishers now include custom sponsored newsletters as part of their advertising packages. When a visitor subscribes to their magazine or any free content, he might get a special newsletter from one of their sponsors; usually with a disclaimer explaining that the promotions help pay for free content accessed by subscribers.

(Boundless, 2016; Nicholas, D., 2018)

Digital Challenges and Media Revenue Strategies

Several studies indicate that online newspaper, magazine and book publishers are striving to adjust to the hyper-competition made inevitable by the digital revolution. A content analysis of two Nigerian newspapers found that *The Punch* newspaper had a section (i-Punch) that was dedicated to new media in its daily publication (Monday to Friday) and recommended that other newspapers should emulate it in integrating new media in their print editions (Adegbilero-Iwari and Ikenwe, 2014). Another study on the influence of new media on conventional media in Nigeria found that the newspaper industry is facing two simultaneous crises stemming from the decline in newspaper circulation figures and advertising revenues as well as the rise of widely available, free online news content (Agboola, 2014). Barland (2013) carried out a study on journalism, media economics, revenue streams and digitalization and found that new revenue streams were mainly built upon digital traffic generated with journalistic content and that the media companies used journalism as a traffic engine and a means to build customer relations to develop other digital businesses.

A study on the impact of social media on traditional marketing found that the advent of social media has provided an amazing communication tool for marketers. It also found that businesses make use of social media to communicate with their customers and achieve improved results. It concluded that social media marketing had become one of the main components of the promotional mix for most businesses (Nekatibebe, 2012).

Due to the disruptions associated with the Internet, journalists are developing new ways of packaging and disseminating news to the public, a situation which brings financial pressure on publishers as a result of hyper-competition (Ogeri, 2014). One outgrowth from this development, according to Nwabueze et al. (2012), is that news media were blurring the line between advertising and objective news reporting to enhance revenue. In the same vein, some publishers have introduced interactive tools and customized encounters with their online visitors to increase traffic in the short run to increase revenue in the long run (Patel, 2010).

Concerning the newspaper that still comes as hard copies, some scholars observe that publishers can sustain their businesses not by rejecting print in favor of digital but by finding a way to complement print with digital offerings (Popoola, 2011). In this regard, using improved targeting of advertisements to enrich consumer benefits would increase revenue eventually (Ratliff and Rubinfeld, 2011).

Salman, et al (2011) carried out a study on the impact of new media on traditional mainstream mass media in Malaysia and found that traditional newspapers deserve credit as they do a better job in covering local events which are often neglected by online publications; and that individuals still purchase and read easily affordable newspapers. In the same vein, another study indicates that some daily newspapers, in response to digital challenges, review their strategies for engaging with advertisers to consolidate their holds on revenue from those advertisers (Schweinfurth, 2013).

Theoretical Perspectives

This study is anchored on the technological determinism and the mediamorphosis theories. The technological determinism theory asserts that new media technologies elicit new perceptual habits while innovations unequivocally shape how people think, feel and act as well as how social orders arrange themselves and work. It also claims that innovation is basic to society and drives the advancement of its social structure and values. The advent of the internet and its rapid adoption in nearly all aspects of human life, including publishing, means that digital technology now largely determines how information content is created, distributed and consumed (Akhagba, 2014). Digital innovations are shaping how people publish, distribute content and profit from it. As a consequence of the advancement of new media technologies, book, magazine and newspaper contents are instantly available globally through devices that have truly become extensions of their users' lives. To a large extent, what determines publishers' migration online and the quest for web-based income streams is new media technology, and this is what informed the adoption of technological determinism as the framework for this study (Asemah et al, 2012; Omojola, 2008; 2009).

Mediamorphosis Theory claims that as new media forms evolve, and develop, they influence overtime and to varying degrees, the development of other existing media, and rather than the emergent media displacing the existing ones, the existing ones converge with them to enhance their operations (Palekar and Sedera, 2012). Concerning this study, it is observable that new media emerged gradually from the metamorphosis of old media and that both have continued to evolve, adapt and grow together. This study examines the extent to which that marriage of convenience has taken place in all its variations, especially concerning revenue generation (Asemah et al, 2012, Akhagba, 2014).

Methodology

Data on web-based services were collected from 183 book publishing, newspaper and magazine publishing websites, using the content analysis method whereas in-depth interviews were conducted offline with four firms that were purposively selected (Alawode and Adesanya, 2016). A breakdown shows that 62 book publishing websites, 25 newspaper websites and 96 online magazine websites were observed and data were coded using a 15-item coding guide. Editors from Literamed Publications, *Daily Independent* newspaper, Learn Africa and *Ovation* Magazine were interviewed using a nine-item interview guide.

Unit of Analysis and Content Categories

Each advertisement or revenue generating item on a website was made a unit of analysis. The content categories are operationally defined as follows:

Advertisement: This is an item constructed to build brand image and create awareness about a good, service, idea or person which is usually paid for by an identified sponsor. The following specific contents were indicators of advertisement: Banner advertisement, pre-roll video advertisements, sponsored news, video advertisements, expanding advertisements, pop up, pop-under, floating advertisements and reddit advertisements.

Sales item refers to an item on the website to be exchanged for a fee. This could be an online sale of non-content merchandise, download to own item, online ordering device or sign for print publication or evidence of pay-per-use content.

Subscription refers to in-site evidence of a purchase made by a signed order, for a specified period.

Syndication refers to the evidence of making a portion of a website available to other sites or individual subscribers. Affiliate programs or affiliate marketing are indicated on a site when there is textual or graphic evidence that a collaborator gets referral benefits from publishers when an item one is connected to brings about a deal as a consequence of your link.

Reliability Tests

An inter-coder Reliability coefficient for the instrument was computed with Holsti's (1969) formula:

$$R = \frac{2M}{N1a + N1b}$$

2M= Total items agreed upon

N1a= Coding scores for the first coding

N1b= Coding scores for the second coding

Reliability coefficients of the scores were computed for each item category. Details are presented in Table 2:

Table 2: Inter-coder reliability coefficient of content categories

SN	Content Category	Reliability Coefficient
1	Advertisement	0.99
2	Sales/ordering of print items	0.97
3	Syndication	0.97
4	Subscription	0.95
5	Affiliate Marketing	0.81

Data collected were analyzed using frequency tables, charts and percentages computed. The Interview transcripts were evaluated using the constant comparative analysis method.

Data Presentation and Analysis

What are the advertisement-based income streams available on the publishers' websites?

Eight types of website advertisements (banner, pre-roll, video ads, pop up, pop-under, reddit, expandable and floating advertisements) were investigated. Over 47 percent had banner advertisements, 20.2 percent had sponsored news, 14.2 percent had video advertisements, 6.5 percent had pre-roll adverts, 3. 2 percent had pop up while 1 percent had reddit advertisements. The following Figure 1 chat captures the percentages.

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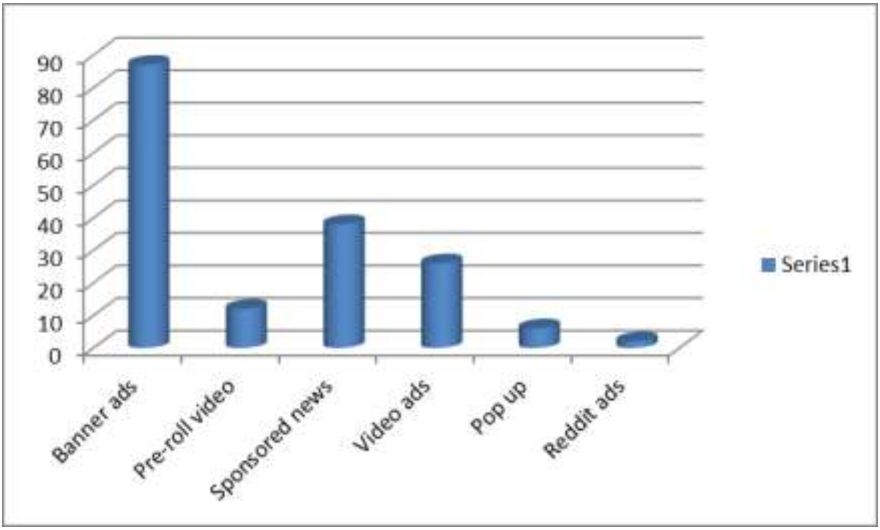

Figure 1: Advertisement-based income streams available on the websites

Figure 1 shows that book publishing firms generate about 7.5 percent of their income from online advertising on average. Newspapers capture about 15 percent also on the average though some individual cases, e.g. *Daily Independent* get up to 50 percent. One respondent from this news outfit explained: "fewer and fewer people read the printed version whereas the online paper is daily reaching a wider audience". Thus, the news site generates more income as advertisers, more than ever before, now prefer to advertise their goods online. The trend is that government and public institutions prefer to advertise in the print editions while individuals and private companies prefer to advertise online. On average, magazine sites make about 5 percent of its income online. *Ovation*, a well-known soft sell magazine, makes up to 40 percent. Sponsored news got up to 40 percent in newspapers and 7.6 percent in magazine sites. Findings from both the interviews and content analysis indicate that banner advertisement is the most popular on websites. All the editors interviewed admitted that online advertisers prefer banner advertisements than others.

RQ 2: What is the trend of online advertisement billing on publishing websites?

Newspaper sites

Banner advertisements dominate the newspaper sites. Different rates apply for home and interior pages, ranging from $2,000 to $3,800. Details are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Average rates for online newspaper advert billing

SN	Banner Size/Location	One Month	Three Months	Six Months
1	Top Banner –(Home Page) (468×60)	$2,800.00	$8,400.00	$15,120.00
2	Bottom Banner – Home Page (468×60)	$2,400.00	$7,200.00	$12,960.00
3	Top Banner – Index Pages (468×60)	$2,200.00	$6,600.00	$11,800.00
4	Bottom Banner – Index Pages (468×60)	$2,000.00	$6,000.00	$10,800.00
5	Top Banner – All Pages (468×60)	$3,400.00	$10,200.00	$18,360.00
6	Bottom Banner – (468×60) (AllPages)	$3,000.00	$9,000.00	$16,200.00

Advertisement billing on the magazine sites tends towards banner advertising as in the newspapers. There are different rates for home pages (top and bottom) index pages (top and bottom) and all other pages; and the billing generally ranges from $1800 to $2000 for monthly placements, S4000 to S5000 for quarterly advertisements and $8,000 to $11,000 for advertisements running for six months. Details are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: average rates for online magazine advertisement billing

SN	Banner Size/Location	One Month	Three Months	Six Months
1	Top Banner – (Home Page) (468×60)	$2,500.00	$5,400.00	$10,120.00
2	Bottom Banner – Home Page (468×60)	$2,000.00	$5,000.00	$8,960.00
3	Top Banner – Index Pages (468×60)	$2,000.00	$4,600.00	$9,800.00
4	Bottom Banner – Index Pages (468×60)	$1,800.00	$4,000.00	$8,800.00
5	Top Banner – All Pages (468×60)	$3,000.00	$8,200.00	$13,360.00
6	Bottom Banner – (468×60) (AllPages)	$24,000.00	$7,000.00	$12,200.00

Most book publishing sites did not display their rates on their sites, which made it difficult to compute the average rates. However, data collected online and augmented with data from respondents indicate that there are different rates for home pages (top and bottom) and all other pages. The advert rates are much lower compared to those of newspaper and magazine sites. Details are presented in Table 5

Table 5: Average rates for advertisements on book publishing sites

SN	Banner Size/Location	One Month	Three Months	Six Months
1	Top Banner –(Home Page) (468×60)	$2,000.00	$4,400.00	$8,000.00
2	Bottom Banner – Home Page (468×60)	$2,000.00	$3,200.00	$6,900.00
3	Top Banner – Index Pages (468×60)	$1,500.00	$3,600.00	$6,700.00
4	Bottom Banner – Index Pages (468×60)	$1,500.00	$3,200.00	$5,800.00
5	Top Banner – All Pages (468×60)	$2,600.00	$6,200.00	$9,360.00
6	Bottom Banner – (468×60) (All Pages)	$2,1000.00	$5,000.00	$8,200.00

Normally, advertisements must be delivered in electronic formats either on compact disc or by e-mail in specified pixel dimension or file size. If delivered on paper, a conversion charge would be added to the cost, implying that publishers also make some marginal income from such charges. Although rates are subject to change, advertisements running are exempt from rate increase until placement expires. Payments are made in cash, cheques or money transfer. Other kinds of advertising trending on publishing websites are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Other kinds of advertising trending on publishing websites

SN	Advert/Size	Location
1	Half Banner (Top or Bottom) – (234 x60)	Home Page, Index and All pages
2	Square Button – (125×125; 120×90; 120×60)	Home Page and All pages
3	VerticalBanner – (120×240)	Home Page
4	Skyscrapper – (125×600)	Home Page
5	Small scrapper – (90×150)	Home Page
6	Micro Button – (88×31)	Home Page

RQ 3 What non-advertising income streams are adopted by publishers online?

Six non-advertising income streams were observed on the websites. Some 46 per cent had evidence of subscription as an income stream, 37 per cent had online orders and sales of different products, 25 per cent were involved in syndication, 24 per cent offered download-to-own contents, 20 per cent were engaged in affiliate marketing while three per cent offered contents on pay per use basis. A chart that captures the figures is presented in Figure 2 below.

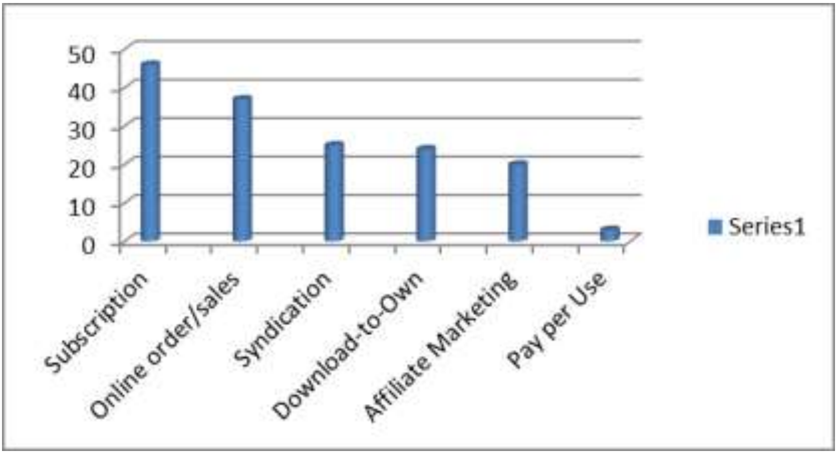

Figure 2: Non-advertising Online Income Streams Adopted by Publishers

Summary of Findings

The study set out to answer the following questions: What types of income-generating advertisements are available on the publishers' websites? What is the trend of online advertisement billing on the publishing websites? Are there identifiable non-advertisement income streams on the websites? It succeeded in answering these questions as follows:

1. It is established that publishing websites generate revenue from advertising, online sales, downloadable contents, subscription, syndication, sponsoring of links and affiliate marketing.
2. Banner advertisement is the most widespread (available on over 47 per cent of the websites)
3. The trend of online advertisement billing on the publishing websites indicates that penetration pricing is commonplace, rates are sometimes negotiable and this trend seems to partly compensate for offline losses. News sites attract higher rates than book publishing sites.
4. The non-advertising revenue sources identified online include subscription, online sales,

syndication, affiliate marketing and pay per use.

Discussion of Findings

The newspapers on the average receive about 13 per cent of their circulation sales income from subscription whereas the magazines receive less than four per cent from this income stream. Newspaper subscribers get content daily and they can download it through different applications including e-newspaper. As expected, the book publishers do not engage in subscription since they hardly publish reference materials that thrive on subscription. But it is noteworthy that a popular magazine like *Ovation* is already evolving a model whereby a large traffic generated online leads mainly to the purchase of the print edition. In the same vein, some book publishers like Literamed publications get about 30 per cent of their income online from advertising and about 70 per cent from buyers who order for pthe rint versions online.

Both the news sites and the book publishing sites provide plain text links and product links directly from their home pages to clients' websites on monthly and quarterly basis, and biannually. The options include home page top and home page bottom with words not exceeding ten or twenty. The prices for links range from $300 to $2000 while special sizes and choice of placements are negotiable.

Most of the syndications are done by the news publications while the book publishers rely on online order and sale of print products. Affiliate marketing is gradually becoming an important income stream to book publishers and magazine publishers. For instance, Learn Africa engages in affiliate marketing with Konga and CK-Digital, *Ovation* magazine engages in sponsoring links and affiliate marketing with MTN Africa, Eko Hotel and Suites, UBA Africa, Globacom, Stallion group and others.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study sought to investigate and describe how Nigerian publishers are striving to sustain their businesses by developing web-based income streams. The findings indicate that they are heavily relying on both advertising and non-advertising income-generating services. Whereas the news sites record higher successes in sourcing advertising revenue, the book publishers use their sites more as showrooms and sales shops for print products without ignoring the possibilities of making money from digital contents online. It could also be said, in line with the assumptions of mediamorphosis theory, that the income news publishers receive online is gradually counterbalancing what they lose in print sales, thereby allaying the fear that the coming of digital media signals the death of print. For book publishing sites, an online-offline synergy is evolving and will increase as online ordering and delivery of print becomes easier and more reliable.

Notwithstanding that the findings indicate that the search for alternative sources of revenue in the digital environment is yielding results, it is recommended that:

1. Publishers should deploy more resources to website optimization to sustain the evolving income streams.
2. More efforts should be devoted to syndications and online collaborations through the introduction of extensive linking technologies and interactivity-driving web 2.0 technologies on websites.
3. The need exists for an enabling policy on digital publishing to encourage non-adopters of web revenue alternatives to embrace them for growth and sustainability.

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