Covenant Journal of Communication (CJOC)

Vol. 6 No. 2, Dec. 2019

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

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Articles

Open Access Journal, Available Online

Civil Society Actors and Broadcast Media Muzzling in Ghana's Northern Region

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*Abstract***:** This work widens the trajectory of research in media ethics and performance in West Africa by examining the role violence plays in the way civil society actors relate with journalists in Ghana's Northern Region. Findings from in-depth interviews with broadcast stations' staff in the region show that they adhere to the principle of self-censorship to avoid attacks, not from the expected sources of overzealous government agents or overbearing media owners, but some civil society actors. The experiences of broadcasters in the Tamale metropolis indicate that the intimidation of journalists on duty is still a common occurrence, their compliance with some ethical principles notwithstanding. One ramification of this is that government agencies and media stakeholders, professional associations, in particular, must wake up to the responsibility of protecting the interests of journalists in all areas, press freedom inclusive.

Introduction

Like previous works (e.g. Tettey, 2001; Diedong, 2016; Nyarko and Akpojivi, 2017), this study assumes that freedom of the press is essential to the proper functioning of Ghana's growing democracy, especially in the context of the Habermasian public sphere. It also assumes that the press informs citizen participation in the nation's democracy, and acts as a watchdog on the State and powerful interests.

Therefore, the Ghana's 2018 *Reporters Without Borders'* ranking as number one in Africa and 23 in the world in terms of press freedom and celebrated as a remarkable achievement (Reporters Without Borders, 2018) may be epistemologically fragile. The generalized perspectives on the freedom enjoyed by the media do obfuscate the contrasting realities in some parts of the country.

We assert in this study that media freedom is currently attenuated in the Northern Region of Ghana in a manner that is peculiar and deserves scholarly attention. Precisely, this study speaks to the phenomenon whereby civil society elements forcibly weaken broadcast media freedom in the Northern Region and consequently, the effects of same on the ability of broadcast media to function effectively as a Habermasian public sphere. As conceptualized by Habermas (1989), the public sphere is a space outside the control of the State and corporate interests wherein citizens can freely engage in discourse about matters of public interest. The voice in the public sphere is, therefore, a critical rather than deferential voice. Habermas idealized the space of an active, participative 18th-century bourgeois public sphere in contrast to the elite-dominated contemporary commodified and corporatized public spheres. This idealized public sphere is, therefore, the standard against which an active, critical mass media is measured.

As Avle notes of the radio medium, "It plays a preeminent role in Ghana's broadcast mediascape, compared to television and the print media" (2011, p.4). Owing to factors such as literacy rates, internet penetration, portability and unreliable power supply (Walsh, 2017), radio is the dominant mass medium in Ghana (Mu-azu and Shivram, 2017) with almost 63 percent of the audience share

(MFWA, 2017). The Northern Regional capital of Tamale and its environs are awash with local FM stations, ranging from State-owned public service-oriented stations to commercial, community, and campus radio stations (Mu-azu and Shivram, 2017). The city of Tamale is a fast-growing cosmopolitan center of northern Ghana (Phyfferoen, 2012). It has historically been a political capital, from the pre-independence Northern Territories days to the post-colonial period and the evolution of the current configuration of the Northern Region. Following the liberalization of the airwaves in the nineties, which made private ownership of broadcasting undertakings possible (Boateng, 2009; Walsh, 2017), radio has contributed to Tamale's cosmopolitanism and of the 48 officially licensed radio stations in the region, 27 operate from Tamale or adjacent districts with the Tamale urban space as the targeted market. There has never been any sustained publication of print media from Tamale as all the newspapers tend to originate in southern Ghana with limited circulation in the north.

Field research conducted in the northern regions (Savannah, Northern, North East, Upper East, and Upper West Regions) showed that the radio continues to be the primary source of information for most rural folks in the Northern Region. About 89.56 percent of males and 87 percent of females indicated they were using the radio as their primary source of information (Alhassan et.al, 2016, p.33). The majority of the radio broadcasts are transmitted from the studios in either Tamale or nearby Savelugu, Sagnarigu, Tolon, and Kumbungu Districts. Drawing on public sphere literature (e.g. Habermas, 1989; Boateng, 2009; Nyarko, 2016), it can be said that radio is part of the nation's *media ecology* and thus constitutes a critical space for public discourse in Ghana.

The Problem Statement
In the recent times, there have been some reported attacks on radio stations in and around Tamale, with consequences such as media workers sustaining injuries, interruption of live broadcasts, and destruction of broadcast equipment or vehicles of on-air panel discussants. The origins of the practice of studio attacks may be difficult to establish, but the most dramatic and most visible was a March 11, 2014 incident at Radio Justice in Tamale (Gadugah, 2014), which has been dubbed the microcosm of these attacks. Radio Justice was again attacked on December 2, 2017 (MFWA, 2017).

This occurrence is significant because the attacks are traceable not to the usual culprits – government agents – but non-State actors.

These problematic occurrences have impacted program schedules, choice of talk show topics, the willingness of radio guests to engage in panel discussions on sensitive subjects and the readiness of station managers to enforce a form of self-censorship for their stations. There is also a growing perception in and around Tamale that radio is not just a site for the contestation of ideas leading to the formation of public opinion in a typical Habermasian sense of the public sphere (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994; Garnham, 2007) but that it is also fertile ground for growing the seeds of violent conflict. This perception was reinforced by a National Peace Council Conflict Map synopsis of 2008 which noted that:

> In the Tamale metropolis, political conflicts occurred in Gumbihini, Choggu, and Changli as a result of political rivalries between the two main parties. The conflict was pre-election violence between supporters of the NDC (National Democratic Congress) and the NPP (New Patriotic Party in which 26 houses were burnt in the Choggu Hill Top and Choggu Manayili areas. The conflict emanated from a radio station discussion between the activists of the two main political parties. It resulted in an argument between butchers in the Tamale Central Market. This led to a conflict among the butchers which resulted in the death of a colleague butcher who was an NDC sympathizer. The NDC organized, attacked and burnt the home of one of the panelists on the radio discussion who was seen as an NPP person. (National Peace Council, 2018).

From this National Peace Council synopsis, one gathers that exercising speech rights during a radio panel discussion makes discussants vulnerable to physical attacks. This means that any audience member who feels aggrieved by radio discussions could resort to violence instead of using legal means of redress such as rejoinders, rebuttals or litigation.

Literature Review: The State, Capital, and Civil Society Vortex and the Media

One remarkable feature of Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution is the extensive provisions it makes for the protection of media freedoms. Chapter 12 of the Constitution is entirely devoted to "Freedom and Independence of the Media" and has six provisions

guaranteeing the independence of the media, proscribing censorship, and establishing that no law shall be made to require publishers to be licensed. It guarantees the right to rejoinder as a means of compensating for media excesses. The chapter also states that "editors and publishers of newspapers and other institutions of the mass media shall not be subject to control or interference by government, nor shall they be penalized or harassed for their editorial opinions and views, or the content of their publications" (Constitution of Ghana, 1992, Article 4). Article 5 adds that "All agencies of the mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold the principles, provisions, and objectives of this Constitution, and shall uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people of Ghana" (Constitution of Ghana, 1992, Article 5).

The 1992 Constitution was produced against the backdrop of a consistent record of governmental interference, and control of media in Ghana. The country had recently experienced a decade of military dictatorship and what is described as a consequent "culture of silence" (Ankomah, 1987; Serlomey, 2012: p.2; Odartey-Wellington et al, 2017, p.304). Thus, the constitutional provisions referenced are crafted to protect the citizens'

media rights from State abuse. It would appear therefore that the private sector entrepreneur who invests in media industries and civil society actors, amongst others, was never envisioned by this constitution as a potential abuser of media freedoms. Thus, the protection of media freedoms, to the extent that the citizen's abilities to transmit and receive mass media content are safeguarded, is concerned with threats from the State - with the government and its coercive apparatus as potential threat sources. Hence, it appears justifiable to focus on the State and its agents as the potential abusers of press freedom. The Media Foundation for West Africa's (MFWA) periodic *West Africa Free Expression Monitor* has since 2014 corroborated this in its reports (See http://www.mfwa.org/publication-type/reports/). Abusers of media freedom in this context have the intention of attenuating media agency and re-structuring journalistic practice by forcibly limiting the scope of media discourse or shaping public discourse in the media.

Using the MFWA published data on violations of media freedom in West Africa for the years 2014, 2015 and 2016 (MFWA 2014; MFWA 2015; MFWA 2016), the following chart is constructed to graphically present threats from

dimensions of a democratic society, namely the State, Capital and Civil Society. The MFWA data isolates 8 actors for tabulating sources of threats to media freedoms. These are 1. Police/Security forces, 2. State officials, 3. Regulatory bodies, 4. Political party affiliates, 5. Media owners, 6. Organized groups, 7, Courts and 8. Other individuals. We found out that these categories can be re-grouped into the three blocs of *State, Capital* and *Civil Society*. Thus, in our re-configuration, we grouped police/security forces, state officials, courts and regulatory bodies, into *State and State apparatus agents*. The category of media owners was retained as a category for *Capital*. Political party affiliates, organized groups, and other individuals constituted the category of Civil Society. Thus in this reconfigured typology, the following is the outcome of the re-tabulation of the MFWA data into the State, Capital (media owners), and Civil Society for West Africa.
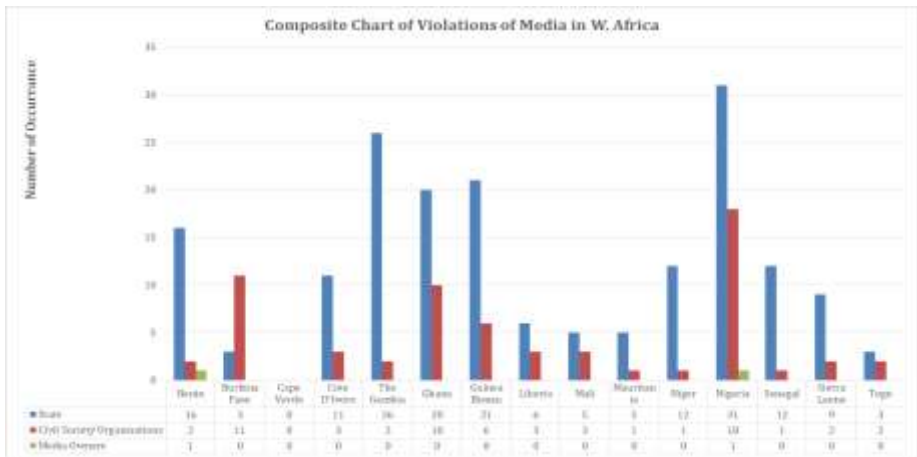
Figure 1: Composite Chart of Violations of Media in West Africa

In Figure 1, the State remains the dominant abuser of media freedom in all countries of West Africa, except Burkina Faso. The situation in Ghana is consistent with the West African pattern. However, the record of civil society actors is quite revealing in terms of the emerging threats to media freedoms and this is what this work focuses on. The experience of the Northern Region, being used as a case study in this paper thus allows highlighting civil society as an unexpected emerging threat to media freedoms.

Johan Galtung's (1999) model of media and society offers a normative framework whereby the media is located in a hegemonic triangular vortex constituted by State, Capital and Civil Society. We draw on this framework to understand the condition of the media in Ghana's democracy. In Galtung's formulation, the three units of society compete to exert influence on the media, as it is the channel of public communication (1999, p.9). Where a strong State exists, the media is likely to gravitate toward State interests. This can be in the form of exclusive State ownership of the media or fear of the coercive power of the State, both of which were observable in Ghana before media liberalization (Hasty, 2005). Referencing Habermas (1989), an inference can be made from those circumstances, for example, that "the State-owned media played a 'representational' rather than a critical function vis-à-vis State power" (Odartey-Wellington et al, 2017, p.304). In an environment of a strong Market/Capital dominance over State and Civil Society, the media would be seen as being subservient to the wishes of corporate interests through the power of advertising funds or the ownership structures (McChesney, 2015).

In Galtung's taxonomy, Civil Society appears to be the weakest of these three institutional elements (1999, p.12). One of the reasons why Galtung considers the category of Civil Society to be weak is that both the State and Market equally have representation in Civil Society in the form of Civil Society organizations (CSOs) and adjuncts. We diagrammatically represent Galtung's model as follows to demonstrate the triangular vortex.
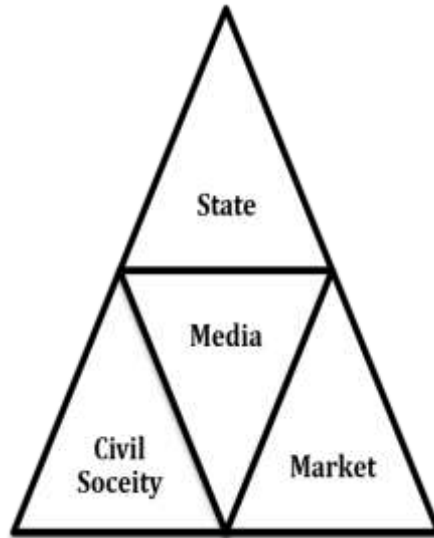
Figure 2: Diagram of Media in a State, Market and Civil Society vortex

Literature abounds on how the State and Capital leverage power to dominate or influence the media (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; McChesney, 2015; Mentan, 2015; Ogola, 2017; Mwakideu, 2017; Kruger, 2017). But there is little focus on how Civil Society elements shape media content or practice. This study adopts the position that the impact of Civil Society actors on media freedoms also deserves attention. This is pertinent concerning the recent dynamics observable in the Northern Region of Ghana.

For about a decade, while State actors in the region have largely respected media freedoms, Civil Society actors have emerged as a new source of systemic and structural media repression. Lately, almost all radio stations located in the vicinity of the regional capital Tamale have adopted self-censorship strategies to avoid provoking diverse vigilante groups including political militias, activists, sports or religious fanatics, and partisans in chieftaincy conflicts. This study, therefore, focuses on the activities of civil society elements that are prone to use of violence in their dealings with the media and the ramification of this violent behavior in Ghana's Northern Region.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are the following:

1. To examine the media-violence nexus, the impact of this nexus, including how it shapes the practice of journalism and media work in the Northern Region of Ghana.
2. To verify the anecdotal evidence that the specter of violence from either known or unknown Civil Society groups has led to deliberate acts of media self-censorship.

Research questions

The questions framing this research are:

1. What is the extent and impact of civil society actor-initiated violence on the media in the Northern Region?
2. How are media gatekeepers responding to the phenomenon of civil society-led violence on the media?
3. Have certain topics become taboo for news coverage or commentary due to the specter of violent attacks from Civil Society elements?

Rationale and Significance of the Study

The focus on the Northern Region is important not just because of the region's significance to the overall health of the nation but also because of its geographical distance from what is concerned the political and economic center of the nations. There is a legitimate concern that the issues identified in the paper may not be adequately accounted for by policy-makers. As well, historically, northern Ghana has suffered from economic and developmental disparities vis-à-vis the southern regions and the absence of a vibrant media environment potentially exacerbates these disparities. One of the consequences of these disparities is that the region is also home to civil society-based 'vigilante' groups, often mobilized for violent action (Oteng-Ababio, 2016), including threats to the media. This study contributes to discussions on how Civil Society actors are increasingly becoming sources of the challenges that media face in the course of their duties.

Method

In-depth interviews were conducted with the management members of nine local radio stations, as well as 15 reporters in the Tamale vicinity between January and March 2018. The study also included interviews with law enforcement officers on factors that militate against the successful investigation of violent crimes against the media in the area. Table 1 below is the list of media houses whose staff were interviewed.

T*able 1: List of Radio Stations whose journalists were interviewed*

	Name of station	*Category and ownership*
1.	*Zaa Radio*	Private/ commercial
2.	*Radio Savannah*	State/Public service
3.	*Radio Justice*	Private/Commercial
4.	*Diamond FM*	Private /Commercial
5.	*Might FM*	Private /Commercial
6.	*North Star*	Private/Commercial
7.	*Fila FM*	Private/Commercial
8.	*Bishara Radio*	Private/Commercial
9.	*Tawasul Radio*	Community

The focus of the study crystallized out of an attempt to understand why local FM stations increasingly avoided comprehensive coverage of certain issues.

In 2017, the frequency of abuse of media escalated. The following is a list of some of the discursive moments which were used as reference points for the interviews:

- April 4, 2017, a radio DJ was lured to a location and assaulted for making what was considered derogatory comments about local video/film actors.
- August 24, 2017, *Tawasul Community FM* was attacked, staff assaulted and equipment vandalized leading to the unscheduled termination of a live sports program.
- September 4, 2017, an NDC communicator was assaulted at *Bishara Radio* for comments

he made during a live program.

- December 2, 2017, *Radio Justice* was attacked, equipment vandalized and a panelist assaulted during a live discussion on Dagbon chieftaincy issues. The transmission was terminated. For *Radio Justice*, this was a repeat of the March 11, 2014 attack during which vehicles and property were torched in an apparent protest against a live panel discussion broadcast.

All these cases were reported to law enforcement but investigations stalled as no prosecutions were carried out. Several other threats of violence have led to the termination of broadcasts but were not been reported to law enforcement. In all of these cases, we saw that neither agents of the State nor Capital were involved. However, in all cases, we

identified Civil Society agents as perpetrators.

Findings and Discussion

A common thread in the responses analyzed in this study suggests that the phenomenon of organized violence against the media from Civil Society groups is real. The staff and management of the nine radio stations acknowledged that this jeopardizes the independence of the media in and around Tamale. A journalist at *Radio Justice* said: "When you come across a story on certain topics in the region, you have to ask yourself if your editor or manager will allow you to work on it." In response to a complementary question asking why he said: "It is for the security of the station and myself." The specter of insecurity here is in reference not to the State or Capital, but Civil Society actors.

Radio Justice has been attacked three times since 2004. On all three occasions, the management of the station has claimed that the attackers were unknown. One interviewee said: "No. As for that one, we don't know them; we address them as unknown persons that came. In all the three, the first one it was a media war, the second one they were many so we couldn't identify them - like a community coming to attack" (*Radio Justice* Interview). The failure or inability to identify perpetrators does not appear to be an accurate answer from the interviewee. Earlier in the interview, he had admitted that Tamale is a place where "everybody knows everyone." In an environment of impunity and intricate social relations, identifying the perpetrators is itself is a security hazard (Odartey-Wellington et al, 2017).

Thus, the inability of a media executive to publicly identify perpetrators of media violence is a function of the dominance of Civil Society elements in muzzling the media, which is not guaranteed protection by law enforcement. The responses of some of the journalists interviewed corroborated the perception that the perpetrators are known. It is the fear of being identified as a whistle-blower or 'snitch' that keeps them from putting on record with the identities of perpetrators. And in some instances, the perpetrators keep their records of notoriety as a badge of honor and would remind peers or opponents of such records. Indeed, in the arson attacks on *Radio Justice* depicted in the following images, the identities of the arsonists were common knowledge, but neither law enforcement nor the victims were willing to pursue the matter through a judicial process.

Figure 3: Images of violence and arson visited on a media house in Tamale (Source: Management of Radio Justice)

All the 15 journalists interviewed agreed about the existence of an unofficial list of taboo topics. The commonly identified topic was Dagbon chieftaincy issues. Specifically, debates about chieftaincy issues, particularly those that bordered on *Abudu* and *Andani* were seen as clear taboos. The subject of traditional politics is also articulated to national partisan politics and lines are often blurred when attacks occur. What is clear, however, is that these attacks occur and are driven by audience grievances over the content. The Manager of *North Star FM* in the interview reported that the station has experienced two attacks in recent years even though checks with the police disclosed three attacks on the record. According to the manager:

> I'm a management member and only came to manage this place from June this year but the previous

managers or directors were attacked. The station started at the road leading to the School of Hygiene thus the Zogyiri area. People besieged the place throwing stones. I can't remember when, though that was the first time. The second attack was about two years ago. I've always been a director of the company but because of certain crises here I was brought in to streamline things. One attack was in the day time but we fought them back. One of them [the attackers] was late to start his motorcycle … and they took to their heels. Certain discussions were going on here concerning chieftaincy and other things and I think they didn't like it.

Alhaji Aliu Mahama, Vice President of Ghana from 2000-2008, established *North Star FM* as a private venture while he was in office. It was during his tenure that Ya Na Yakubu Andani II, the traditional king of Dagbon and several people were killed in what was seen as a chieftaincy clash (see endnote 3). It was seen by many as an *Abudu* attack on the *Andani* faction of the Dagbon traditional governance. This was because the *Abudus* were regarded as being pro-NPP and the *Andanis*, pro-NDC. The popular perception also was that the NPP, and by extension,

Mahama, was sympathetic to the *Abudu* cause (Albert, 2008, p.52). The *North Star FM* station was therefore seen as an *Abudu* platform. As the station's manager put it: "You see, this station is branded as *Abudu* and an NPP sympathizer so there were supporters of NDC who did that [the attack on the station] ... Because if people are discussing things and they are not insulting anybody, just a general discussion like the *Radio Justice* one, and you don't like what is being discussed do you have to attack? You don't do that."

National politics and traditional politics are not the only precursors of radio station attacks in Tamale. On August 24, 2017, an official of Tamale local football club attacked the host of a live program at *Tawasul Community FM* for discussing match-fixing allegations against the club. The official was invited to phone-in or come to the studio to respond to the match-fixing allegations. He, however, attended at the station with two well-built minders (hired thugs colloquially referred to in Ghana as "macho men") to violently attack the host for daring to mention his name on air. This was reported to the police while the host was evacuated to the hospital.

The next day, the errant official brought in some community leaders to apologize for his actions and agreed to pay compensation for the trauma suffered by the vhost and equipment damage. According to the management, the arbitration process was facilitated by the police, a claim that the police did not corroborate when we interviewed them. The police, however, confirmed that parties in these cases were often reluctant to opt for a criminal prosecution, rather favoring amicable settlements that are not precluded under the Ghanaian criminal law if the offenses fall in the realm of misdemeanors. In more serious cases, the police admit being unable to apprehend culprits due to the lack of community cooperation. Interestingly, the promise of compensation in the *Tawasul* case did not materialize and it appears that the police have discontinued with the case. To the extent that debt-collection is not a remit of law enforcement, the police argued that their options are limited when parties default on amicable settlements in this context.

Management staff interviewed acknowledged that they take precautionary measures to ensure that they do not offend certain identified community elements for fear of incurring their wrath. Of the 15 journalists we talked to, only two claimed that their work is unaffected by the fear of these community elements. The two agree that when their copy is not included in bulletins by their local stations due to concerns about potential Civil Society taboo topics, they send these stories for use by media organizations outside the region. Acknowledging this implies the existence within their local stations of regulatory practices (that could be categorized as self-censorship) as a result of the *de facto* 'regulatory' regime imposed on them by Civil Society elements. One manager of an FM station, after requesting anonymity before the interview, said "We do not do local programming. We give the news and do sports and then national politics and music. No local issues." Asked why he said: "The local people are not predictable. If you imagine what has happened to other stations in the past for very simple issues, you wonder what *koraa* (at all) is wrong with them."

From the responses of both journalists and the management, the list of subjects considered taboo includes chieftaincy issues, controversies over sports, and issues that engage linkages between traditional and national political cleavages. Interestingly, while the NPP is branded *Abudu* and the NDC is seen as being *Andani-*

biased, these perceived alliances are social constructions and do not mean that all members of each of the parties identify with the corresponding chieftaincy faction. Consequently, strictly speaking, partisan political discussions are not considered sensitive enough to cause media to engage in self-censorship. The partisan political discussion becomes problematic and toxic only when they are connected to local chieftaincy politics. Yet, while these matters appear to be provocative, they are also very important topics of discussion. A failure to discuss them openly does not wish them away. On the contrary, these issues have often materialized as social implosions that have negatively impacted socio-economic development in the North (IRIN 2003).

While this study confirms the existence of Civil Society censorship of media as a phenomenon in the Northern Region, it also suggests a failure of the State to guarantee the safety of broadcasters in the Tamale metropolis, and confirms the suggestion by study respondents of the existence of a state of impunity. As the manager of Radio Justice noted, "if you [the State] don't arrest, how then do you start a judicial process?" Further, he suggested a reticence by media

owners to expose media holdings to economic loss resulting either from loss of advertising revenue when broadcasts are suspended, when equipment and infrastructure are damaged, or when budget lines have to be created for target hardening as a security measure. Another manager starkly also noted, "we can't afford security for 24 hour-service [-programming]." As the manager of *Tawasul Radio* added:

> In the Northern Region, Tamale *per se*, we the media houses are in trouble. I think though I'm yet to meet other media personnel to set up a union should something like this happen they can fight for the affected people. The absence of the union is making people attack media houses because no one is there to fight for us, Tamale is becoming unbecoming that people take the law into their hands and do whatever they want. And the media plays a greater responsibility in this particular region but I don't know why they don't regard us. So either the problem is coming from us or just within the region itself, the higher authority has emboldened them. For instance, just three days ago, the same thing happened to *Justice FM* and when the issue came up it is like one

particular gate… came and did that which is alarming and something must be done. There should be a collective responsibility like a union. There should be a rule to protect the interest of media houses.

While this approach could be helpful, it is curious that broadcast media workers are oblivious to the function of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) in protecting members in all regions. In all of these occurrences in the Northern Region, the GJA appeared to be a distant factor in the equation, signaling a need for the body to refocus its efforts in ensuring the protection of broadcast media workers in that part of Ghana. The current practice of self-censorship is inconsistent with media norms as a fourth estate and public sphere. Indeed, it is inconsistent with the Habermas' conceptualization of the public sphere as an unfettered space for public discourse anchored in civil society.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has engaged with the phenomenon whereby civil society elements forcibly attenuate press freedom in the Northern Region, consequently, curtailing the ability of broadcast media to function effectively as a *Habermasian* public sphere. We have shown that

broadcasters in Tamale were compelled to engage in self-censorship to avoid attracting violent attacks from the civil society characters, thereby expanding the trajectory of media censorship research beyond the paradigm of state or capital dominance over the media.

This study confirms Nyarko and Akpojivi's (2017) observation that provocation often lies at the root of the media intimidation and attacks in Ghana to the extent that, in the context of this study, some audiences object to reportage or discussions of certain topics on the radio in Tamale. What is intriguing is that this study is against the backdrop of Ghana's celebration as an African success story concerning media freedom. While we did not set out to examine the methodology of the Reporters Without Borders' ranking, a cursory view of its 87-question instrument of evaluation is heavily skewed at identifying abuses perpetrated by the State. As noted in the review of Ghana's Constitution, the focus on the state as a likely abuser of press freedoms can obfuscate non-state actors who are emerging sources of media freedom abuses. It is against this backdrop that we recommend that:

1. The law enforcement agencies should always act in cases of attacks on media in the

Northern Region and media should publicize these attacks as well as the status of resultant law enforcement action (or lack of action).

2. The GJA should play an active role in acting against impunity and ensuring law enforcement accountability. They should be seen as the protectors of the interest of their members.

3. As captured in the interviews, the sense of impunity is the strongest factor creating the state of insecurity that Tamale broadcasters are experiencing. That, therefore, should be the focus of the government's intervention if local broadcasters are to function effectively.

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Open Access Journal, Available Online

Awareness and Adoption of Renewable Energy in Nigeria: The Case of Lagos and Ogun Residents

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*Abstract***:** Renewable energy literacy, use, and adoption are critical issues of discourse among scholars, corporate bodies and multilateral establishments in Nigeria. This work contributes to the debate by examining how the context relates to the residents of Lagos and Ogun states, two of the country's most viable political subdivisions, located in the south-western region. Using the multi-stage sampling method, residents respond to the items on the variables of awareness and adoption in five local government areas of each of the states. Results show that the knowledge and awareness of renewable energy and its characteristics are high. Unimpressively, however, these do not translate to a correspondingly high level of adoption or use among the residents – though with noticeable differentials among the two states. This situation puts on the media the responsibility of partnering with the government and private investors in developing aggressive campaign strategies to help transpose people's knowledge of renewable energy to that of use.

*Keywords***:** Renewable energy, awareness, adoption, Ogun, Lagos, Nigeria.

Introduction

At her independence in 1960, two of the things that made Nigeria stand out were her abundant energy and human resources. Paradoxically, since independence, the country has suffered energy crisis, exacerbated by poor leadership and management. As of 2018, an estimated 60 percent (about 95 million people) of the Nigerian population did not have access to electricity (Nnaji 2017; Asu, 2018). With an estimated population of between 180 and 200 million, Nigeria still has between 4,000 and 7,000mw of electricity, whereas South Africa, with 50 million people, produces about 50,000mw (Kane, 2017; Adenirokun, 2018). This is even though Nigeria has an electricity generation potential of 93, 950mw (UN Economic Commission for Africa, 2017; Sambo, 2010).

The energy crisis has affected the productivity and economy of the country with homes, banks and manufacturing firms relying endlessly on electricity generators. Between 2010 and 2014, Nigeria imported 75 - 750 KVA generating sets worth $145,550,088 to power its factories, telecom towers, offices, and homes (Akinnosun, 2017). In 2014, a dominant Nigerian daily newspaper, *Vanguard,* reported over 14,000 Nigerian deaths through generator fumes. In May 2017, a widow and her three children died in their sleep from generator fumes. Many such occurrences had prompted the Nigerian government in 2017 to halt the importation of a notorious power generator brand (Akinnosun, 2017).

The increase in generator use has added to the country's carbon emission, prompting the government's interest in other energy sources such as renewable energy. Agbongiarhuoyi (2015, para 1) explains renewable energy as:

> The energy that comes from resources which are naturally replenished on a human timescale such as sunlight, wind, rain, tides, waves, and geothermal heat. Renewable energy replaces conventional fuels in four distinct areas: electricity generation, air and water heating/cooling, motor fuels, and rural (off-grid) energy services.

With the increasing de-emphasis of fossil fuel and rising concerns about climate change, global attention is shifting to renewable energy sources, and Nigeria is touted to be a potential global renewable energy superpower. According to Owelle (2015, para 7):

> Nigeria is endowed with abundant free solar energy. Using the country's deserts and farmland and taking advantage of 320 to 350 sunny days a year, Nigeria could easily generate 5,000 trillion

KWh of solar energy. In other words, Nigeria could easily install around 1,000 GW of solar generation — equivalent to 40 times the current peak power demand (about 25 GW) — using just 0.5 percent of its land. Also, Nigeria can produce over 100 GW from wind power.

Apart from Nigeria's great potential to produce alternative energy resources, renewable energy has been tied to climate change issues so far in the country (Zannawaziri, Konto & Abdulsalam, 2012; Ukonu, 2012). Tying renewable energy to climate change eclipses many more issues, other than a concern for climate change, which ought to be addressed. For instance, there are issues about cost and reliability which are the factors that stakeholders fear the most. There are issues about renewable energy potentials and marketability in Nigeria; how much can be generated, the best equipment to use, the social structure to coordinate renewable energy generation and ultimately renewable energy adoption, communication, and awareness (Asu, 2018; Owelle, 2015). Awareness problems are embedded within the above concerns.

This leads to the major question which prompted the study: What do ordinary individuals know about these critical issues in renewable energy? How does this awareness affect the use of renewable energy by an ordinary person? Surveys on renewable energy around the world have established problems of unawareness, illiteracy, and lack of understanding of renewable energy and key issues therein (Mercom Capital Group, 2011; Bamisile, Abbasoglu, Dagbasi, & Garba, 2016; Nadabo, 2010). Asu (2018, p.8) lists the challenges facing renewable energy in Nigeria to include the negative perception surrounding off-grid solutions and the limited awareness of the benefits of renewable energy. This study is premised on the awareness and adoption of renewable energy among the residents of Lagos and Ogun states, Nigeria.

Lagos and Ogun States as Nigeria's Industry Hubs
Lagos and Ogun States host 61.5 percent of industries in Nigeria. The Nigeria Industrial Directory of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, 2014, gives the number of companies in Nigeria to be 1,826 as at the end of December 2013. The directory is updated every four years and was due to be revised by 2018. Out of the total number of industries, 875 companies are in Lagos, while 248 are in Ogun State. Moreover, many companies in other industrial hubs such as Oyo,

Abia, Anambra, Abuja, Kano, Kaduna, and Delta have offices or headquarters in Lagos and/or Ogun States.

Figure 1: Map showing Lagos and Ogun States among other states of the southwest, Nigeria.

The demand for energy owing to the heavy presence of industries is the motivation for selecting Lagos and Ogun States for the study. This makes the power and energy situation in Nigeria a familiar topic among scholars, industry captains, residents and in the media in the two states. Both states are located in the south-western region of the country. Lagos is Nigeria's commercial hub. Ogun has many striking similarities in terms of industry and internal revenue generation activities (Ajayi 2018).

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were to:

1. Ascertain the awareness status of the Nigerian residents of Lagos and Ogun States about renewable energy.
2. Ascertain the extent to which these residents adopt renewable energy.
3. Ascertain the factors affecting renewable energy awareness and use among the residents of Lagos and Ogun States.

Hypothesis

The study hypothesizes that the respondents will differ significantly on the factors affecting awareness of renewable energy.

Significance of the Study

The study should be of interest to governments, institutions of learning, investors, the media, researchers, and individuals. For government, institutions of learning

and researchers, the study calls attention to different aspects of renewable energy (e.g. cost, sustainability) which have been overlooked in previous studies. The media and investors would have better insight into the background issues that enhance investigative reporting and aid business decisions (Odiboh et al., 2017a; 2017b; Ike, Omojola & Aririguzoh, 2018). The study could help to strengthen the process towards renewable energy citizenship that enables people to fully understand the key issues involved in renewable energy adoption and use beyond the issue of power cuts. The data provided and findings could also enhance the efforts of Non-government organizations (NGOs) in galvanizing public support and action necessary to pressure the government for a run on the energy track.

Literature Review

Scholarship is visible concerning renewable energy and awareness of it. Some scholars put their focus on conceptual definitions (Barrow and Morrisey, 1987, 1989; Hanson, 1993; DeWaters & Powers, 2010). This study adds the dimension of energy literacy among people of different demographics (including students), in their homes and workplaces, implying it has a practical dimension to it. Some studies have focussed on energy literacy among people in their homes (Farhar, 1996; Bamisile, Abbasoglu, Dagbasi, and Garba, 2016; Akorede, Ibrahim, Amuda, & Olufeagba, 2017; Ikejemba, & Schurr, 2016; Nadabo, 2010; Zannawaziri, Konto, & Abdulsalam, 2012), but they concentrate mainly on the African continent. This study is widening the trajectory by expatiating on the dimensions of students, advocacy groups and so forth.

Bamisile, Abbasoglu, Dagbasi, and Garba (2016), in a study on energy literacy among Nigerian senior secondary students, found that majority of the students (64%) did not know the highest source of power in Nigeria, which they incorrectly said was hydropower instead of thermal power plants. The majority (75.1%), however, correctly pointed out that crude oil was the most abundant fossil fuel in Nigeria, with the remaining 24.9% giving a variety of responses such as coal, natural gas, tar sand, and wood distribution.

The knowledge of fossil fuel as the most abundant energy source in Nigeria did not extend to the knowledge of fossil fuel types. Tar sands were not identified as a fossil fuel by 46.2 percent while 11.6 and 2.7 percent thought that natural gas and coal respectively were not a fossil fuel. Similarly, though the

majority (66.7%) could tell the actual definition of renewable energy, only 24 percent identified the types of renewable energy sources. Findings indicated even lower knowledge levels in the areas of the cost and benefits of renewable energy as well as technologies used in the generation of energy from renewable sources.

Studies have found that knowledge of renewable energy in some advanced and developing countries was still very low. DeWaters and Powers (2010) reported in a study that, in the US, researchers found a critically low energy-related knowledge (Barrow and Morrisey, 1989; Farhar, 1996; Gambro and Switzky, 1999; NEETF, 2002). For instance, the National Environmental Education and Training Foundation (NEETF) found in a 2001 telephone survey among 1500 adults that while many Americans tended to overestimate their energy knowledge, only 12 percent could pass a basic energy quiz (NEETF, 2002, cited in DeWaters and Powers, 2010).

Mercom Capital Group (2011) in a study on India Renewable Energy Awareness Survey found a general lack of education and understanding about renewable energy in India, though the people surveyed were very enthusiastic about renewable energy concepts.

The study also found that respondents were more aware of solar than other renewable energy technologies, due primarily to awareness of solar water heaters. Awareness of wind energy and energy efficiency were surprisingly low.

DeWaters and Powers (2010) report, however, that later findings (for example Shelton, 2008) did establish increasing levels of knowledge on renewable energy resources, although knowledge remained low in the areas of how electricity is generated in the US and the major areas of energy consumption within their homes and communities. A study done a year later showed the rising concern of respondents on the need for renewable energy to be developed to relieve US dependence on foreign oil. Other findings in the study did not show high cognitive levels in renewable energy knowledge and awareness.

According to Bitters (2010, cited in DeWaters & Powers, 2010), although the majority of respondents expressed a concern over energy prices and dependence on foreign oil, and most agreed that future solutions should involve development of renewable energy technologies, the study revealed persistently low energy-related knowledge: 40 percent could not

name a fossil fuel, and even more could not name a renewable energy source; 66 percent overestimated US dependence on Middle Eastern oil, and 56 percent incorrectly believed that nuclear energy contributes to global warming. The researchers noted that this lack of knowledge may be the greatest challenge the nation faces on energy, greater than the economic or technical problems.

The major effect of poor energy literacy then is that poor knowledge is affecting adoption, and by implication also affecting the development of renewable energy technology. If people do not patronize or support the production of such technologies, the manufacturers will not be encouraged to invest in research. Therefore, poor information about renewable energy leads to poor public support and affects renewable energy development more than technical factors (Sovacool, 2009a & 2009b, cited in DeWaters & Powers, 2010).

DeWaters & Powers, (2010) have called for more effective renewable energy education to alleviate the problems occasioned by lack of public support for rapid renewable energy resource technology development in the areas of wind and solar. They believe that renewable energy awareness from

childhood will help to inculcate and uphold awareness and the right values.

Theoretical Framework
Diffusion of Innovations
The Diffusion of Innovations theory attempts to explain how new ideas and new technology diffuse or spread among people who try to use the new idea. The theory is attributed to Everett Rogers (1962). Rogers explains the role of communication in the process of diffusion of a new idea among people in a social system. The process, according to Rogers, involves the merits of innovation in itself, the channels of communication used in spreading the ideas, time and the social system in which a new idea is introduced.

Rogers lists the five stages that precede adoption to include awareness (knowledge), interest (persuasion), evaluation (decision), trial (implementation), and adoption (confirmation). Within the steps, one can still reject a new idea before or after adoption. The words in bracket were used in later versions of Rogers' seminal work (Rogers, 1983; 2003). However, their explanations remained essentially the same as the initial words before the brackets.

Rogers explains that human capital is needed to drive the four

processes of innovation diffusion and that the survival or self-sustenance of a new idea depends largely on how widely it is adopted. Every new idea has its rate of adoption, which climaxes at the point of critical mass. The categories of individuals in the adoption process are (1) innovators, who have resources, high social status and are willing to take risks (2) early adopters, which are like innovators, except in the level of shrewdness brought in the process of decision making on adoption of innovation, (3) early majority, which include individuals who have average social status, and take up an innovation after time long enough from the time taken by innovators and early adopters, (4) late majority, which are below-average individuals that adopt an innovation late, after the early majority. They consider risks too much in the process of adoption, and finally (5) laggards, who are averse to change, with very little tendency to opinion leaders.

How these categories of adopters buy into a new idea will be dependent on the type of adopters and the decisions made by the adopters in the process of adoption of an innovation. The innovativeness of an idea will also determine its rate of adoption, which is the degree to which people in a social system adopt a new idea.

The social system includes physical and psychological components of society that can affect the decision to adopt an innovation. This usually includes various communication media and channels that help to spread information about a new idea.

In the process of adoption over time, potential adopters weigh an innovation in terms of perceived efficiencies, amenability with the current system, ease of learning, assurance of functionality, versatility of the idea in terms of usefulness in other areas and the effects of using the new idea. These ideas are examined as a whole by potential adopters, who might still adopt an idea based on different reasons and relative strengths of considerations made.

Innovations that promise less risk and disruptive innovations can record lower adoption rates, even if there are many advantages. Fear of instability or skill and literacy-related issues may discourage adoption. Innovations that increase efficiency and reduce boredom are more likely to be adopted. Rate of adoption may be impeded by the complexity in using innovation in addition to the knowledge and ability required to use it unless there is ready help from earlier adopters (Meyer, 2004; Radford, 2011). However, ability and

motivation have been seen as the most important attributes of adopters. Perceived usefulness and ease of use are motivation boosters (Mascia, Michael & Morena, 2018).

The attributes of the theory explain the literacy and awareness issues in renewable energy. The study considers how certain critical issues in renewable energy act as factors that affect awareness and adoption of renewable energy as a piece of a new idea in the realm of energy generation.

Research Design
The study adopted the survey research method. Members of the public were reached in their homes and tested primarily on their awareness, knowledge, experiences, and behavior towards key issues in renewable energy. The population of the study was derived from the residents of Lagos and Ogun States. The combined population of the five selected local government areas according to the National Population Commission of Nigeria and the National Bureau of Statistics were given as 6, 698, 949 (see the breakdown in Table 1). The sample size from a combined population of Lagos and Ogun States was 412. This size was considered suitable for the realization of the objectives.

1. Stratum sample sizes

Ogun State			Lagos State		
Local Government	2018 Population Estimate (3.36%/yr)	Stratum sample size	Local Government	2018 Population Estimate (+5.61%/yr)	Stratum sample size
Abeokuta North	394, 305	24	Lagos Mainland	639, 630	39
Abeokuta South	365, 505	22	Alimosho	1, 599, 624	98
Ado-Odo/Otta	749, 400	46	Surulere	825, 885	50
Ewekoro	86, 600	6	Ojo	919, 981	57
Ijebu East	163, 100	11	Mushin	954, 919	59
Total	1, 758, 910	109	Total	4, 940, 039	303

The study adopted the multi-stage sampling technique. At the first stage, Lagos and Ogun states were stratified into local governments, and the simple random sampling technique was used to select the

local governments studied. At the second stage, the local governments were in turn stratified into residential areas, and the areas studied were selected through simple random sampling technique. At stage three, the streets in the areas were selected using the systematic random sampling technique. In each house, all the adult members met were given the questionnaire. Table 1 also displays the selected five local government areas in each state.

The questionnaire contained items on demographic characteristics of the respondents in Section A. Section B contained items testing renewable energy awareness and literacy. Structured questions were used to test the dependent variable – renewable energy awareness. Some of the questionnaire items were guided by an Indian Renewable Energy Awareness Survey done by Mercom Capital Group (2011), a clean energy communication and consulting firm with offices in the US and India. The study adopted descriptive statistics of data distribution (frequency count, percentages and weighted mean). Inferential statistics in the form of chi-square were used to test the hypotheses.

The results of the analysis of the data collected from the respondents were presented using tables and charts in line with the objectives and hypothesis. The findings of the study were consequently summarized and discussed. The study involved the distribution of 412 copies of the questionnaire out of which 357 were returned. A total of six copies of the questionnaire were removed during collation and screening due to irregularities and inconsistencies observed in the completion of the questionnaires. The 357 returned copies of the questionnaire showed a return rate of 86.6 percent which was considered reasonable in achieving the objectives.

Descriptive Analysis
Data from the demographic variables indicated that three (representing 0.8%) of the respondents did not indicate their age range; 134 (representing 37.9 %) of the respondents are within the age range of 25 – 30 years and they form the majority of the respondents. A total of 55 (representing 15.5 %) of the respondents are within the age range of 31 – 35 years; 41 (representing 11.6 %) are within the age range of 36 – 40 years; 2 (representing 0.6 %) of the respondents are within 41 – 45 years; 69 (representing 19.5 %) of the respondents are within the age of 46 – 50 years while 53 (representing 15.0 %) of the

respondents are within the age range of more than 50 years.

The number of respondents who attained tertiary education level was 213 which represents 63.0 percent of the 338 respondents who indicated their educational level in the completed questionnaires. Only 27 (representing (8.0 %) of the respondents had primary education as their highest educational qualification; 46 (representing 13.6 %) of the respondents have secondary education while 52 (representing 15.4 % of the respondents had other qualifications. However, 19 of the respondents which represent 5.3 percent of the 357 respondents did not indicate their level of education and were not included in the computation of the valid percent for the factor.

On gender, 214 of the respondents were male, which represents 62.9 percent of the 340 who indicated their gender since 17 (representing 4.8 %) of the respondents did not indicate their gender. The remaining 126 (representing 37.1 %) of the respondents are female.

The occupational distribution of the respondents reveals that 24 (representing 6.7 %) of the respondents did not indicate their occupation in their questionnaire and therefore were excluded from further analysis in the valid percent column. Of the 333 respondents who indicated their occupation, 138 (representing 41.4 %) are in business. 47 (representing 14.1 %) are civil servants while 148 (representing 44.4 %) are into other occupations different from business and civil service.

Objective One: The awareness status of members of the public in Lagos and Ogun States about renewable energy.

The majority (322; 90.2 %) of the respondents had heard about renewable energy. More male than female respondents reported their awareness, while the older respondents (mainly 41 to 45 years) were more likely to have more awareness than the younger generation (25 to 30 years) who were more in number than the older group (37.5% and 19.3% respectively).

Table 2: Knowledge of alternative terms for renewable energy

		f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
	Clean energy	84	23.5	24.2	24.2
	Solar energy	215	60.2	62.0	86.2
	Electricity	48	13.4	13.8	100.0
	Total	347	97.2	100.0	
Missing	System	10	2.8		
Total		357	100.0		

The depth of familiarity of the respondents about renewable energy was measured by ascertaining their knowledge of the alternative terms often used in conjunction with renewable energy. A shown on Table 2, 215 (representing 62.0 %) respondents identified solar energy as another term often used in conjunction with renewable energy while 84 (representing 24.2 %) chose clean energy, and only 48 (representing 13.8 %) of the respondents identified renewable energy as simply electricity.

Those who did not respond to the item in Table 2 were 10 in number, representing 2.8 percent of the respondents, and were excluded from the analysis in Table 3 below. The respondents were asked to rank renewable energy alternatives by their level of knowledge of each one. The results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Respondents' ranking of knowledge of types renewable energy options

Energy		f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Solar energy	246	68.9	74.1	74.1
	Wind energy	16	4.5	4.8	78.9
	Biomass energy	12	3.4	3.6	82.5
	Waste-to-energy	18	5.0	5.4	88.0
	Hydroelectricity	40	11.2	12.0	100.0
	Total	332	93.0	100.0	
Missing	System	25	7.0		
Total		357	100.0		

Solar energy was ranked the highest with 68.9 percent of the respondents indicating they have good knowledge of solar energy as renewable energy. Other types of renewable energy which include wind energy, biomass energy, waste-to-energy, and hydro-electricity were ranked very low, each of them receiving less than 12 percent rating from the respondents. Biomass energy was

the least rated with only 3.6 percent of the respondents indicating knowledge of the alternative source of energy. It could also be observed that 25 of the respondents, representing 7.0 percent, did not rank the item and were excluded from further analysis.

Further information was sought to ascertain the respondents' level of awareness of renewable energy. A question was asked in which the respondents were expected to identify the source of energy that does not belong to the renewable energy category. The summary analysis of their response is presented in Table 4. The results show that 95.8 percent identified nuclear energy as non-renewable energy.

Table 4: Frequency of responses to identifying non-renewable energy

Energy		*f*	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Solar energy	1	0.3	0.3	0.3
	Wind energy	4	1.1	1.1	1.4
	Biomass energy	7	2.0	2.0	3.4
	Hydro-electricity	3	0.8	0.8	4.2
	Nuclear energy	342	95.8	95.8	100.0
Total		357	100.0		

The respondents were required to point out the benefits of renewable energy. The results were analyzed using multiple response procedures and presented in Table 5. Multiple response analysis was adopted because each respondent was expected to select as many benefits as s/he deemed necessary. This also implied that the total number of responses can exceed the total number of respondents.

Table 5: Multiple response analysis of benefits of renewable energy

Benefits		Responses		% of Cases
		N	%	
Benefits of renewable energy	Good for the environment	159	24.5	44.8
	Less dependence utility	87	13.4	24.5
	Good for business	113	17.4	31.8
	Lower energy bills	137	21.1	38.6
	Government subsidy	20	3.1	5.6
	No power cut	98	15.1	27.6
	No benefits	2	0.3	0.6
	Don't know	32	4.9	9.0
Total		648	100.0	182.5%

The last column (percentage of cases) was the most important in this case because it reflects the percentage of responses out of the 357 respondents that selected each of the options. The column, N, for the number of responses has the total number of responses as 648 which is greater than the total number of respondents. The 'percent' column accompanying the 'N' column is the percentage of responses out of the 648 responses. The benefit of renewable energy with the highest number of responses is that 'renewable energy is good for the environment' selected by 159 respondents which represents 44.8 percent of the 357 respondents. 'Lower energy bills' drew the second-highest number of responses from 137 respondents which represents 38.6 percent of the respondents. Those that indicated that renewable energy is good for business were 113 out of 357 (representing 31.8 %) of the respondents. The benefit with the least number of responses was

'government subsidy' with only responses (representing 5.6 %) of the respondents. Those who did not identify with any benefit of renewable energy were 2 in number which is merely 0.6 percent of the respondents.

The sources through which the respondents obtained information and awareness of renewable energy were also explored. The results are displayed in Table 6. The table reveals that about 60.9 percent of the respondent hear and receive information about renewable energy through the mass media. The remaining 39.1 percent receive information about renewable energy through informal communication with friends (22.0 %), place of worship (3.7 %) and place of work (13.4 %). Seven respondents which form 2.0 percent of the total respondents did not indicate their source of information on renewable energy and were excluded from further analysis.

Table 6: Frequency distribution of platforms respondents hear about renewable energy

Source		f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mass media	213	59.7	60.9	60.9
	Informal communication with friends	77	21.6	22.0	82.9
	Place of worship	13	3.6	3.7	86.6
	Place of work	47	13.2	13.4	100.0
	Total	350	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	2.0		
Total		357	100.0		

Table 7: Types of mass media as the highest source of information on renewable energy

Mass Media		f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Newspaper	74	20.7	22.6	22.6
	Magazine	21	5.9	6.4	29.0
	Radio	43	12.0	13.1	42.1
	TV	98	27.5	29.9	72.0
	Social media	92	25.8	28.0	100.0
	Total	328	91.9	100.0	
Missing	System	29	8.1		
Total		357	100.0		

From Table 7, television was ranked the highest source of information on renewable energy by 29.9 percent of the respondents. Social media with 28.0 percent was ranked second by the correspondents while newspaper is with 22.6 percent was ranked the third source of information on renewable energy. Radio and magazine were ranked fourth and fifth, respectively, with 13.1 and 6.4 percent. It was observed that 29 (representing 8.1%) of the respondents did not provide information on the type of mass media available to them and were excluded from the valid percentage analysis.

Objectives Two and Three: The extent of adoption and the factors affecting the adoption of renewable

energy among residents of Lagos and Ogun states
The study found a moderate rate of adoption of renewable energy in Lagos and Ogun States. A little over half of the respondents (201; 56.3%) reported using any form of renewable energy. Of this number, 92.3 percent reported using solar energy. Further questions relating to adoption and use are analyzed subsequently.

Table 8: Multiple response analysis of views of respondents on using renewable energy

		Responses		% of Cases
		N	%	
Perception of the use of renewable energy	I found it very efficient	142	14.7	39.8
	It is costly to acquire	274	28.5	76.8
	It is costly to maintain	252	26.2	70.6
	I did not understand what was involved before installing it	123	12.8	34.5
	I could not buy a new part of the device when it got bad	112	11.6	31.4
	I will continue using it in the future if my own gets bad	60	6.2	17.6
Total		963	100.0	270.7%

Table 8 shows the multiple response analysis. Each respondent was expected to indicate at least one of the available options based on their experiences. The results show that 39.8 percent of the respondents who use renewable energy found it very efficient. Also, 76.8 percent of the respondents indicate that renewable energy equipment was costly to acquire while 70.6 percent specify that the renewable energy equipment was costly to maintain. However, the 34.5 percent on the table reveals that they did not understand what was involved before installing the renewable energy equipment, while 31.4 percent reveals they could not buy a new part of the equipment when their own were faulty. On the other hand, only 17.6 percent indicated that they would continue to use renewable energy facilities in the future if their own were out of order.

Table 9: Reasons for not installing renewable energy equipment

		f	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	I'm not sure whether it will work	106	23.3	23.3	23.3
	My friends have had bad experiences	118	26	26	49.2
	I just want to continue with public power supply	124	27.3	27.3	76.5
	It's costly to acquire	107	23.5	23.5	172.5
Total		455	100.0		

The rest of the 156 respondents who had not installed renewable energy gave the reasons contained in Table 10. The response frequencies were above 156 because they were asked to select as many options as possible. Sticking with the status quo of continuing with the public power supply was the most cited reason for not adopting renewable energy. Remarkably, however, all the other options were cited by over 60% of the 156 respondents who had not used renewable energy. The reasons for which the respondents have an interest in renewable energy are displayed in Table 10.

Table 10: Reason for having an interest in renewable energy

Reason		*f*	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Climate change	71	19.9	20.2	20.2
	Irregular public power supply	280	78.4	79.8	100.0
	Total	351	98.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	1.7		
Total		357	100.0		

The irregular power supply was identified by 280 (representing 79.8 %) of the respondents as their reason for picking interest in renewable energy while the remaining 20.2 percent identified climate change as the reason for their interest in renewable energy. Therefore, the major reason for turning to renewable energy irregular power supply.

Hypothesis One
The factors affecting the adoption of renewable energy do not significantly depend on the respondents' state of residence.

Cross analysis was done based on the states of residence. The results of the factors according to state are presented in Table 11 while the results of the Chi-square test of independence are in Table 12.

Table 11: Cross-tabulation of factors affecting the adoption of renewable energy according to the state of residence

		State		Total
		Lagos	Ogun	
The reason why I have not installed any renewable energy equipment	I'm not sure whether it will work	6	20	26
	My friends have had bad experiences	5	8	13
	I just want to continue with public power supply	28	16	44
	It's costly to acquire	106	73	179
Total		145	117	262

Table 12: Chi-square test for Table 11

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.764[a]	3	.002
Likelihood Ratio	15.087	3	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.981	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	262		

The results from Table 12 reveal that the Chi-square value was 14.764 with a p-value of 0.002 at 3 degrees of freedom. The p-value was less than the 0.05 level of significance at which the hypothesis was tested and indicates that the factors affecting adoption and installation of renewable energy equipment are significantly influenced by the state of residence of the respondents.

Summary of Findings

1. The majority of the respondents indicated a high awareness of renewable energy but incorrectly interchanged the term with renewable energy. High awareness, therefore, did not translate into high knowledge.

2. Solar was the most well-known renewable energy and the majority of respondents had access to solar energy information from the mass media, especially television and social media.

3. There was a moderate rate of adoption and use of renewable energy among the respondents and solar energy was almost the only renewable energy type in use

4. The major factors affecting the adoption of renewable energy include the cost of acquisition, cost of maintenance, availability of affordable parts and awareness on how the equipment function.

5. The irregularity of the public power supply was the highest reason while renewable energy was adopted. This was against the concerns about climate change.

Discussion of Findings

The study shows that a high number of respondents have heard about renewable energy previously. The most familiar type of renewable energy to the respondents is solar energy, which many incorrectly think is the same as renewable energy. High awareness, therefore, does not imply high knowledge. Some respondents, however, identify other forms of renewable energy such as biomass, hydroelectricity, wind, and waste-to-energy. The study by the Mercom Capital Group (2011) indicates a similar tendency of respondents to equate solar energy with the whole of renewable energy. DeWaters and Powers (2010) also report in a study that in the US researchers found a 'disparagingly low' energy-related knowledge (e.g., Barrow and Morrisey, 1989; Bittle et al., 2009; Curry et al., 2007; Farhar, 1996; Gambro and Switzky, 1999; NEETF, 2002).

The respondents can identify the following benefits of renewable energy: good for the environment, less dependence utility, good for business, lower energy bills and no power cut. However, it is not enough to just hear about renewable energy and its advantages. The uncertainties surrounding the technicalities, functionalities, and adoption of renewable energy still hangs like a cloud over many of the respondents, especially those who indicate interest in acquiring it. There is still a problem of awareness and knowledge of how the renewable energy equipment works, when and how to maintain it and possible dangers associated with it for safety purposes.

In line with the study by the Mercom Capital Group (2011), the respondents are more interested in renewable energy owing to power cuts than as a result of climate change. A little less than half of the respondents have not acquired any form of renewable energy, a situation related to uncertainties and fears about cost, functionality, maintenance, and negative reports from friends who own it. A cumulative 70.6 percent report that they find renewable energy resources costly to acquire, costly to maintain and do not understand what is involved with it.

Apart from showing the implications of low media influence on the audience, data also imply new directions for media campaigns on renewable energy. The advantages of renewable

energy are not just about having a steady and stable power supply, paying fewer bills and absence of power cuts. The audience ought to understand the links between Nigeria's interest in renewable energy, the general energy potentials and concerns about climate change. The major task is to let people understand the real reason why they need to switch over to renewable energy.

The media are the highest sources of information on renewable energy. However, newspapers are not the major sources of information on renewable energy for the respondents. The issues cited about the problem of sourcing information on renewable energy, government apathy, finance, and poor audience awareness and readership of renewable energy stories underlie the low influence of newspapers. Poor readership of newspapers generally may have affected knowledge of renewable energy. Newspapers are known to be the major general-interest mass media, if not the only, that carry information on renewable energy at least weekly, but in many cases daily.

The study reveals that the factors affecting the awareness and adoption of renewable energy include non-popularity of renewable energy, technical nature of renewable energy, readership by

chance, high cost of acquisition, high cost of maintenance, unavailability of spare parts, uncertainty and lack of sensitization about how the equipment work before acquisition and installation. Also, the lack of competition and motivation is not helping the course of renewable energy development and adoption. Due to the benefits of renewable energy to the environment and the human race, it is expected that the government should have invested much in the project and provided incentives to attract users and private investors.

As noted by Sovacool (2009a & 2009b, cited in DeWaters & Powers, 2010), the major effect of poor energy literacy is that poor knowledge is affecting adoption, and by implication also affecting the development of renewable energy technology. If people do not patronize or support the production of such technology, the manufacturers will not be encouraged to invest in technology research. Therefore, poor information about renewable energy leads to poor public patronage and affects renewable energy development. Zografakis et al., (2008) and DeWaters and Powers (2010) have called for more effective renewable energy education to alleviate the problems occasioned by lack of public

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

support for rapid renewable energy resource technology development in the areas of wind and solar.

The study reveals that the state of residence of the respondents has a significant influence on the nature of the factors affecting the adoption of renewable energy in Nigeria. A close look at the data shows, for instance, that more people living in Ogun state are not sure whether the renewable energy equipment will work after spending heavily to acquire it. This uncertainty amounts to a lack of or poor level of awareness among the residents of Ogun state on how the equipment work. On the other hand, residents of Lagos do indicate more awareness of how renewable energy equipment work. Also, more residents in Lagos state view the equipment to be very costly to acquire than the residents of Ogun state possibly because of their proximity and access to renewable energy equipment. Those who do not have access may not know what it costs to acquire and install the equipment.

Conclusion

The difference between awareness and knowledge as shown in the study should be a pointer to media, government, and investors on the areas of need in renewable energy promotion. This is also the same about the issues affecting adoption

and use such as fears and uncertainties surrounding the acquisition and installation of renewable energy equipment. The government particularly should give attention to incentives to attract investments and competition in the market. This would have helped largely in reducing the price of acquisition and maintenance of renewable energy equipment.

Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations

1. Adequate awareness strategies on renewable energy have not been put in place yet. The media can start to drive the process to get government and private investors to partner the media in developing aggressive campaign strategies to promote renewable energy. Seminars, workshops, and conferences should be conducted to bring renewable energy awareness to the doorstep of every Nigerian.

2. The cost of acquisition and maintenance of renewable energy equipment was reportedly very high, thereby discouraging investors and individuals from adopting renewable energy. Also, inadequate and expensive spare parts are part of the problem. Appropriate incentives and competitions should be introduced in the renewable

energy market as research has shown that this could help to bring the cost of renewable energy affordable. The media can be used to publicize such incentives.

3. Adequate spare parts for the renewable energy equipment and technical professionals should be put in place and prompted through media campaigns to help make it easy for people who are having one

problem or another with their equipment.

4. More sensitization needs to be undertaken by investors, government and the media on the main reason for alternative energy. This will help the country to prepare for the economic consequences of a major global shift from oil to renewable energy sources. This is important because Nigeria depends on oil for her revenue earnings.

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Open Access Journal, Available Online

Digital Natives' Appropriation of New Media Technologies: A Survey of Literature

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Abstract: This work unveils the research trajectory of how digital natives exploit the new media technologies in the context of the uses and gratifications, and technology appropriation theories. A total of 43 scholarly works published between 2010 and 2016 were examined, using the qualitative approach. Findings show a visible trace of creativity exhibited by the indigenes of a digital world, which helped in the gratification of their desire for communication and socialization. Not visible, however, is the relationship between the gratifications sought (GS) and gratifications obtained (GO) as well as the specific new media technologies and platforms or social media applications that helped them to achieve both. This unveiling shows the future directions in the area of digital natives' disproportionate use of new media technologies and how that affects their academics, amongst other things.

Keywords: Digital natives, appropriation, uses, gratifications, new media technologies

Introduction

New media technologies are "digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication, and involve some form of computing as opposed to 'old media' such as the telephone, radio, and television" (Logan, 2010, p. 4). According to Socha and Eber-Schmid (2013), a distinguishing attribute of new media is the fact that it is a network of images, sounds, and text data unlike the old media formats such as hardcopy newspapers. Logan (2010) also describes the information mediated by new media technologies as "very easily processed, stored, transformed, retrieved, hyper-linked and, perhaps most radical of all, easily searched for and accessed" (p. 7). These technologies have the distinctive features of being computerized, a merger of old media platforms, digital, interactive and allowing for participation and feedback (Adjin-Tettey, 2017, p.2). Examples of such technologies are found in mobile phones, iPods, PCs, laptops and tablet computers.

The usage of new media technologies among young people is widespread (Madden, Lenhart, Duggan, Cortesi, & Gasser, 2013; McAfee 2014) but this description of Africa, Ghana especially, is usually a conjecture as there are a few empirical studies to back up the claim. Pfeiffer, Kleeb, Mbelwa, and Ahorlu (2014) stress that there is more research on social media usage by young people in the Global North than the South, which explains the preponderance of the studies examined in this study. Livingstone (2011) suggests that amongst the earliest and most enthusiastic users of information and communications technologies are children and young people, the resultant effect being that households with children come ahead of the pack of the new media diffusion process. This has informed similar contextualization of the African continent, albeit un-empirically.

Prensky (2001) categorized digital natives as people born during a time of pervasive usage of communications technologies. Bolton et al. (2013) assert that a digital native is skilled and "actively contributes, shares, searches for and consumes content – plus works and plays – on social media platforms" (p. 245-246). Pfeiffer, Kleeb, Mbelwa, and Ahorlu (2014) state that the availability of various forms of communication technologies has dramatically transformed how young people get information and communicate with one another as well as re-shape their lives. When new media technologies become intrinsically woven into their lifestyles with visible transformation that is proof they have appropriated the technologies.

According to Gonzalez, Kraemer and Castro (2009), technology appropriation is "the effort of users to make sense of the technology within their own contexts" (p. 143) while Beenkens and Verburg (2008) define same as "the process of adopting and adapting technology by users or groups of users to integrate it into their lives, practices and (work) routines" (p. 271). Appropriation is not just about a user's ability to effectively use a technology but also how that technology is embraced and absorbed into the individual's lifestyle to meet specific needs. Appropriation of new media technologies, therefore, means how new media technologies are taken on (adapted); high proficiency in the use of the technologies; and the alteration in lifestyle that occurs as a result of the adaption of the technologies.

Although nearly everybody is exposed to new media technologies (Akingbade, 2013), Livingstone (2011) asserts that children and young people, in general, tend to be in the frontline of new media adoption. Contemporary teens have been described as digital natives as they have been born and raised during the digital age (Prensky, 2001). Seal-Warner (2007) observes that teens enter adolescence or teen years

practically encircled by and heavily reliant on new media technologies, using them to study, to entertain themselves, socialize and transact business simultaneously, without leaving the couch. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that digital natives are the leading end-users of new media technologies.

Teens, by growing up in the era of abundance of technology, tend to use technology to do almost everything, including play and work. Such teens grow and continue to be dependent on these technologies. As the use and appropriation of new media technologies among digital natives grow, there is the need to investigate how and why this phenomenon has become rife among this set of end-users. The need to investigate this is equally borne out of the exhibition of great talent in and dependence on such technologies among these natives.

Prensky (2001) has theorized that the demands of the computer or web interface do render many parents 'digital immigrants' in the information-age populated by their digital native children. He also christens those who have grown up with new media technologies and are comparatively confident and deeply reliant on these technologies "digital natives". This is evidenced in a study by Ng (2012) which

explored the "digital nativeness" of undergraduate students by looking at their degree of digital literacy and ease with which they adopted unfamiliar technologies. Findings showed that the undergraduates were generally able to use unfamiliar technologies easily in their learning to create useful artifacts. This is the unlikely situation in the case of digital immigrants who exhibit resistance towards new media technologies or most likely struggle in accepting the same (Vodanovich et al. 2010). They are the parents of digital natives and they have been labeled "dinosaurs" of the information age because they have been obstructed by the demands of the computer interface (Livingstone 2008).

This study provides an overview of published works in the area of digital natives' appropriation, uses of and gratifications from new media technologies to determine the future directions in this component of the information and communicational technologies. (ICT). The study considers digital natives to be pre-teens (from age ten to age twelve), teens (from age thirteen to age nineteen) and young adults from age twenty to thirty-five.

The Problem Statement
The use of new media technologies is a fresh dimension to the lives of digital natives that have been captured in several reports by scholars. This is confirmed in studies by Bittman, Rutherford, Brown and Unsworth (2011), Loos, Haddon and Mante-Meijer (2012), Thompson (2013), Khedo, Suntoo, Elaheebocus and Mocktoolah (2013) and Hlatshwayo (2014). This is a survey of these reports to determine the path that they follow and what that portends for future research.

Aim of the study
The study investigates the reports on the appropriation of new media technologies by digital natives and how they are gratified by them.

Research questions
The research questions that guide the study are:

- What is the trend in literature concerning the extent of use and appropriation of new media technologies among digital natives?
- What are the gratifications sought from the use of new media technologies by digital natives?
- What is the research direction in the area of digital natives' new media usage?

Significance of the Study
Digital natives constitute one generation that has lived with new channels for gathering and sharing information as well as staying in

touch with networks (Levine, 2011) – an indication of appropriation. Since appropriation, in this case, implies the internalization of technologies, it also indicates the emergence of cultural artifacts, which bring into being new ways of life. Weber and Dixon (2016) admit that technology has become predominantly entrenched in almost every aspect of modern lifestyle "evident in how people work, play and how technology influences culture and media as well as redefining who we are" (p.1).

The new cultural norm among digital natives is to contract friendships, study and communicate through the use of new media technologies. Since digital natives are ethnic speakers (Johnson, 2014) and sometimes originators and tutors of the digital language, it is no surprise that they show much expertise in the use of new media technologies. Consequently, critically synthesizing the findings of studies on digital natives' affinity with new media technologies becomes important to determine the new research directions.

Rationale of the study
The justification of this study is that it zeros in on an important demographic, the way they interact with the new media technologies

and how these have been captured in literature over the years. This study could serve as a worthy resource for researchers to identify the gaps that need to be explored in future studies. Insight into digital natives' new media technology usage and gratification patterns can inform the future development of the software that these natives use.

Literature review
This literature review section focuses on survey of literature as an empirical method of inquiry and how it is related to this particular study. It also looks at the type of analysis required to carry out this type of investigation.

Survey of literature as empirical inquiry
Literature review is "a survey of scholarly works" (Ramdhani et al., 2014, p. 48). It is also sometimes called literature survey. Onwuegbuzie, Leech and Collins (2010) consider literature review as a complex process that scrutinizes both published and unpublished documents from different sources on a particular subject and "optimally involves summarization, analysis, evaluation, and synthesis of the documents" (p. 173).

Literature review is a method of data collection and analysis in its own right, albeit, the subject of analysis, in this context, are documented secondary data.

Johnston (2014) notes that secondary data analysis is the examination of data that was collected by someone else for another primary purpose. It is a viable method to establish what has been the trend of research in an area in previous studies and to explore other areas that need attention in future studies. The reasons for undertaking literature review are numerous but in this study, it is to establish the possible new directions for research on the subject matter. This is consistent with McCaston (1998) who says that secondary information helps generate hypotheses and find important grey areas of a broader subject matter that can be investigated during primary data collection activities.

Secondary data analysis is considered a workable option for researchers who have to work within a limited timeframe and resource environments. It must be noted that secondary data analysis is a valid empirical exercise that applies the same basic research principles as studies utilizing primary data. It is a systematic method with procedural and evaluative steps just like any research method (Johnston, 2014, p. 619). One can adopt qualitative data analysis techniques to analyze literature. Onwuegbuzie, Leech and Collins. (2010) agree that every selected literature contains numerous sources of qualitative data such as literature review of the source article, conceptual/theoretical framework, interpretations made and conclusions made by authors. They argue that when sources are compared and contrasted, no matter the research paradigm used, cross-case qualitative analyses are acceptable (Unwuegbuzie et al., 2010).

Onwuegbuzie, Leech and Collins (2012), among other approaches, recommend thematic analysis for analyzing data collected from documents. This must be carried out in an ethical way Omojola 2008a; 2008b). The thematic analysis involves "looking out for "relationships among domains, as well as searching for how these relationships are linked to the overall cultural context" (Onwuegbuzie et al. 2012, p. 12). This study tows similar lines to know what the trend of literature is concerning appropriation and uses of new media technologies among digital natives. It also looks out for emerging themes in line with gratifications sought from the use of new media technologies by youthful demographics as reported in previous studies. After establishing this trajectory, we hypothesize and suggest new directions for research.

Theoretical framework

This study was informed by the Uses and Gratifications (U&G) and Technology Appropriation theories. The U&G theory was proffered by Blumler and Katz (1974). The tenets of the theory are that media audiences are active and their media use goal-oriented. Individual members of the audience actively seek mass media to satisfy their needs (Matei, 2010). This makes the U&G theory go beyond merely listing what the audiences use the media for to how the media gratify their desires. Matei (2010) says that Blumler and Katz take a non-prescriptive and non-predictive perspective on media effects and postulate that individuals mix and match use with goals according to specific contexts, needs, and social backgrounds.

Ruggerio (2000) asserts that the U&G theory has provided "a cutting edge approach in the initial stages of each new communication medium: newspaper, radio, television, and now the Internet" (p. 27). Stafford, Stafford and Schkade (2004) also affirm that the U&G theory has become a significant framework that serves as the basis for looking into trends in usage for internet-based media (new media technologies). This theory is suitably in line with the objectives and adequately answer the research questions of this study because it looks at what digital natives use new media technologies for and how that usage gratifies their desires. Insight into these parameters can put research in good stead to determine what future research directions.

Technology appropriation theory emerged from research into information systems by Poole and DeSanctis in 1994 as a component of the adaptive structuration theory (Alberts, 2013). Technology appropriation is the use of cognitive and physical resources by individuals in their daily practices (Simoes & Gouveia, 2011; Morah & Omojola, 2014). The theory specifies how technology users exert their intellect to understand and use technologies daily and the behavior patterns that emerge in the process. Carroll et al. (2002) aver that the process of appropriation begins with people trying out a technology, shaping it to their individual or group's needs and making it an integral part of their lives.

Although the type, manner, and outcomes of technology appropriation cannot be decisively predicted (Sey, 2011), DeSanctis and Poole (1994) suggest that desired outcomes are more likely to occur under the following conditions: faithful appropriations;

high number of appropriation moves; task/process-oriented; and positive attitudes towards appropriation. In theoretical terms, whereas mastering a tool involves acquiring the skills necessary to use it, appropriation goes beyond that and includes the development of competence to use that tool in a social context (Simões & Gouveia, 2011).

According to Alberts (2013), there are three main components of the model: technology-as-designed, the process of appropriation, and technology-in-use. Aside from being what has been produced from the factory, technology-as-designed is detailed with attractors and repellents (Carroll et al., 2002). Attractors are aspects of the technology that make a potential user want to engage with it or otherwise. If the technology is discarded, this is called non-appropriation. If, however, the user chooses to engage with the technology, the process of appropriation is entered. Literature shows that digital natives highly engage in new media technologies. This means that there are certain aspects of new media technologies that attract digital natives to use them. As part of knowing how much digital natives are appropriating new media technologies, the major attractors of these devices are also examined.

Yet another aspect of appropriation is technologies becoming a symbolic part of end-users. This means technologies become cultural symbols and communicate metaphorically. For instance, the use of certain brands of new media devices defines the identities of the users. Linked to this is the cultural norms emanating from the use of new media devices. Cultural norms include how, where and when new media technologies are used. Cultural norms and symbols associated with new media technology use are also studied in this paper.

Method

The study adopts a qualitative approach. It carries out a thematic analysis of findings of secondary data. Many researchers (Andrews, Higgins, Andrews & Lalor, 2012; Newton & Rudestam (2012); Smith et al., 2011 and Greenhoot & Dowsett, 2012) are of the view that in a time where vast amounts of data are being collected and archived by researchers all over the world, it is only practical that existing data are used for research as long as such data can be used to address relevant research questions. Secondary data analysis has a powerful prospect to allow for longitudinal designs that thoroughly investigate developmental questions with well-

established techniques to prevent possible shortcomings (Greenhoot & Dowsett, 2012, p.16).

Stewart and Kamins (1993) propose the following evaluative steps in determining the appropriateness of secondary data to a research investigation in question forms: (a) what was the purpose of this study? (b) who was responsible for collecting the information? (c) what information was collected? (d) when was the information collected? (e) how was the information obtained? and (f) how consistent is the information obtained from one source with information available from other sources? These proposed steps are checked against secondary data collected and found to be appropriate before using them. Worth noting is that the specified information/steps could easily be accessed as scholarly publications sourced had detailed them out.

This study applies an in-depth review of literature in examining the areas of interest - the trend in literature concerning the extent of use and appropriation of new media technologies among digital natives and the gratifications sought from

the usage - to ascertain the relevance of each retrieved article for the study. The data investigated are mainly online journal articles published between 2010 and 2016 and retrieved using the Google Scholar search engine. A six-year interval is considered appropriate for the analysis. Overall, 43 relevant items are retrieved for analysis. Once content is deemed relevant to the study after the initial in-depth literature review, a thematic analysis is further conducted.

Findings and discussions
The findings are discussed, guided by the following:

- Trend in literature concerning the extent of use and appropriation of new media technologies among digital natives.
- Gratifications sought from the use of new media technologies by digital natives.
- New directions for research in the area of digital natives' new media usage.

Table 1 below shows the themes that emerge from the data analysis, followed by a discussion of the findings.

Table 1: Dominant themes from data analysis and interpretation

Trend in literature concerning the extent of use and appropriation of new media technologies among digital natives		Gratifications sought from the use of new media technologies by digital natives	
Broad Themes	Sub-themes	Broad Themes	Sub-themes
Access and ownership	• Shifting to younger teens (younger teens are owning new media)	Sociability (Function of new media technologies which enables communication, socialization and spend virtual time with networks.	Communication • To stay in touch • Sharing information • Plan future activities • Keeping in touch for surveillance • Information distribution Socialization • Extension of social interaction • Prevent social isolation • Social searching (desire to reconnect with offline connections) • Shed off loneliness Feedback or participation in a community of connected individuals
How new media technologies are used	• Used to stay connected with friends (communication) • Define and redefine identities • Form social groups • Pass time/for leisure (entertainment) • Mediate romantic relationships.		
Gender differences in usage	• Boys visit pornographic sites than girls • Girls want to use it to chat • Boys want to use it to date	Entertainment	• Pass time • Combat boredom • Relaxation
Social media usage pervasive	• Considered favorite and leading channel among other channels like television and radio. • Facebook tops the pack • Usage patterns similar in African countries (e.g. Nigeria and Swaziland) • Use for networking/socialization • Use for communication • The reason for social media usage is the	Social inclusion/ Cultural artifact to re-present oneself and to feel a sense of belongingness.	• Carve identities • Ascribing identities • Reputation building/formulation • Affection • Share problems • Bonding/social capital • Belonging • Self-indulgence • Self-esteem • information distribution, feedback or participation in a community of connected individuals

	fact that it allowed for sharing and connecting with others.		
Digital natives multitasking with new media technologies	• Very pervasive. • Using social media while doing other things • Chatting on the phone while doing other things • The reason for multitasking is because of the amount of time spent on new media technologies.		

Trend in literature concerning the extent of use and appropriation of new media technologies among digital natives

The adoption of new media technologies by digital natives inherently comes with its challenges as the monitoring of online behavior or activities of this group of people is sometimes difficult. A McAfee (2012) study examining digital activity across multiple computing devices found that 70 percent of teens actively sought to hide their online behavior from their parents, smacking off some level of mischievousness among this group of users.

However, hiding online behavior can easily be achieved since smartphones by their very nature are designed for use by a single person - unlike a family computer in the living room. This makes it even harder for parents to know what their children do online through these gadgets. Some studies such as those conducted by Ito et al. (2010), Rideout, Lauricella, Wartella (2011) and Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe (2011), however, have been able to reveal what teens do with new media technologies including their online behaviors. Following is a discussion of findings related to what secondary data reveal about the extent of digital natives' use, appropriation of and gratifications from new media technologies.

Access and ownership

Although television is a leading medium, new media technologies are increasingly becoming popular amongst young people (Strasburger et al. 2013). Apart from portable devices, computer use has also evidently grown (Rideout, Foehr &

Roberts 2010). Ownership of mobile phones also seems to be shifting to ever-younger teens. Rideout, Lauricella and Wartella (2011) report that 58 percent of 12-year olds own mobile phones in the United States (US). Rideout, Foehr and Roberts reported that 8- to 18-year-olds spend an average of 1.5 hours each day using computers outside of school work which is an increase of nearly 30 minutes five years earlier. Worthy of note is the fact that although computers are used quite often in accessing the internet, mobile devices provide access to the use of "Mobile Web" which is a convergence of voice communication, text messaging, video, audio and print media allowing for jet speed access to information over the Internet without the use of a desktop or laptop computer.

The trend of using mobile phones to access web content is gradually becoming a norm and may not necessarily be related to a person's economic circumstances. Some 75 percent of 12 to 17 year-olds in the United States owned mobile phones in 2010 which was a 45 percent leap from 2004 and a substantial part of this percentage accessed the internet (Lenhart et al., 2010).

High Appropriation
The technologies are appropriated to the extent that they become cultural artifacts, thereby signifying modernity. The new cultural norm for digital natives is to communicate, stay in touch with networks, socialize and combat boredom through the use of new media technologies. Digital natives rely heavily on new media technologies for their daily activities including communication. The fact that new media technologies have turned out to be extensions of social interactions, academic and career partners without which digital natives can handle less of their day-to-day activities is a typical indication of the extent of new media technology appropriation by digital natives.

Social media usage pervasive
Milton (2014) finds that *Facebook*, *LinkedIn*, *Twitter* and *Google+* are the frequently used Social Networking Sites (SNSs) in the United States. The findings identify 32 uses of SNSs and the categories of users which include networkers, chatters, buddy's info seekers, content makers, professors, hobby vicars, reporters, preachers, frequent communicators, status stealers, self-broadcasters, philosophers, pet lovers, attractive posters, best wishers, attention grabbers, vernacular posters, like likers, responders, silent observers, social stars, players, endorsers, dedicated followers, daters, feature lovers, career seekers, learners,

political campaigners, and info pilfers.

The patterns of social media usage seem no different in Africa generally. In Swaziland, for instance, 43 percent of digital natives aged between 10 and 24 admit using social media sometimes, 40 percent always, and 17 percent often (Hlatshwayo, 2014). A Nigerian study also reveals that the majority of the students use social media more than five hours per day (Buhari, Ahmad & Ashara, 2014). A Mauritius study reports that 52 percent of the respondents access SNS daily, 35 percent weekly, six percent twice a month, and seven percent once (Khedo, Ally, Suntoo & Mocktoolah, 2013). Social media use feature prominently in their overall daily activities and are indispensable to them. These studies show that this indispensability enables them to influence their day-to-day social lives through production, distribution, and exchange of information. Out of the four channels of communication provided the respondents, social media top the list which also includes television, radio, and newspaper. Respondents also pick social media as their leading channel of communication as well as their favorite medium for the

reason that it allows for sharing and connecting with networks.

Digital natives are multitasking with new media technologies
According to Hyden and Cohall (2011), teens are also highly involved in multitasking with new media technologies, an example being watching TV while surfing the Internet and messaging friends. The authors indicate that young people in the US spend an average of 6.5 hours per day with the media, which translates to 8.5 hours' worth of media content, owing to multitasking with new media technologies. Pea et al. (2012) confirm this, adding that some association exists between media multitasking and negative social indicators whereas face-to-face communication is strongly associated with positive social well-being.

Gender differences in new media technologies usage
Some studies have established patterns of usage of new media technologies based on gender. Pfeiffer et al. (2014) find that boys visit pornographic sites more than girls in two cities (Dar es Salaam and Mtwara in Tanzania). One of their respondents is quoted as saying: "Boys access a lot of websites, sometimes websites where you can get pornographic pictures or download videos… and we can watch it on our phones" (p.

181). In the same study, the motives for using Facebook also vary, based on gender with girls wanting to chat with friends and boys using Facebook mainly to date. Nonetheless, the majority of respondents (both boys and girls) in Pfeiffer's 2014 study say they use the internet with 22 percent admitting to using it to read the news, 15 percent watching videos, 17 percent doing homework and 10 percent playing computer games.

Gratifications sought from the use of new media technologies by digital natives

The U&G theory proffers that each medium has specific gratifications it provides because of their unique characteristics in terms of attributes and nature of interactions supported, format and content (Quan-Haase & Young 2010). Endestad et al. (2011) think that as society becomes more and more media-saturated, demographic traits may be of little significance while the media usage and gratifications from that usage become the issue of importance. Accordingly, (Alpizar 2010) notes:

> Adolescents [digital natives] are not puppets sitting in front of a computer screen mindlessly communicating. They make decisions about how and why they communicate. Although individuals may be dependent on new media to accomplish daily tasks in this high-tech world, they are not at its mercy. Ultimately, children and adolescents have power and control over how and why they use the Internet, computers, and cell phones. Individuals, both young and old, can distinguish healthy use from addiction and are capable of balancing their offline and online worlds (p. 23).

The trends visible in various studies show that the use of new media technologies has become prominent in digital natives' communication. Further, digital natives' use of new media technologies seems to be geared toward communication, socializing and entertainment. The broad themes that emerge from data analysis regarding gratifications sought by digital natives are discussed below.

Sociability gratifications

Sociability gratification is operationalized in this study as the feature or function of new media technologies which makes it possible to communicate, connect, interact, contract friendships, have leisure and spend virtual time with others. Ito et al. (2010) find that young people use new media technologies to stay connected to friends and as a means to mediate romantic relationships. A study by the Quan-Haase & Young (2010) reveals that Facebook serves a

sociability function, enabling users to maintain interactions with offline connections no matter the location. The study establishes that additional gratifications obtained from Facebook include killing time, affection, fashion, and sharing problems. Steinfield, Ellison, Lampe and Vitak (2012) note that Facebook is used and adopted primarily for maintaining pre-existing close relationships (bonding social capital) and keeping in touch with high school acquaintances and classmates (maintaining social capital).

Davis (2012) finds that text messaging is the means through which friends plan future meetings and is, therefore, found to be a very effective complementary tool for enhancing interpersonal relationships among teens with long-established friendships. Quan-Haase and Young (2010) suggest that the dimension of 'keeping in touch' with compatriots through Facebook (social media) has two functions: (1) surveillance– the desire to see what old contacts and friends are up to, how they look, and how they behave, and (2) social searching, that is, the desire to maintain and reconnect with offline connections. Rideout, Lauricella and Wartella (2011) discover that most teens and young adults use new media technologies to watch videos, play games, and listen to music on mobile devices such as mobile phones and iPods. Among Asians, an average of 3:07 minutes is spent daily on mobile media use, 2:53 among Hispanics, 2:52 among blacks, and 1:20 among whites.

When digital natives listen to music on tech gadgets they are gratified and relax from their busy schedules. This appears positive because that is a good way to manage stress after a busy day at school. It is a way of surmounting some of the challenges that confront them at this early stage of their lives (Allen, 2018). Stassen (2010) suggests users of social media seek gratifications in the areas of information distribution, feedback or participation in a community of connected individuals.

Social inclusion, identity formation and new media as a cultural artifact
Social inclusion gratification is defined in this study as using new media technologies to satisfy the needs relating to identity formulation or reinventing, building one's self-esteem and feeling a sense of belongingness. Pai and Arnott (2013) find that the four main gratifications users attain through social network users are belongingness, self-indulgence, self-esteem, and reciprocity. Ito et al. (2010) remark that young people

use new media technologies to form social groupings, and define and redefine their identities. New media technologies have become cultural artifacts used to re-present oneself and are regarded as an important part of modernity, on the fact that digital natives have been able to appropriate these technologies in every aspect of their lives; a view shared by Pachler, Cook and Bachmair (2012), Folayan et al. (2018), Okorie, Loto & Omojola, 2018).

One can ascribe an identity to a phone according to Alberts (2013, p.13). The author provides the anecdote of a person who refers to herself as an iPhone or Android phone user with an air of superiority because the ownership and usage comes with a certain level of prestige. Likewise, using the internet and particularly social media is associated with images of modernity. New media is also generally used to define/re-define oneself. The following quote in Pfeiffer et al. (2014) illustrates that:

> "They just take it as normal, because due to the development of globalization, for a youth like me, I have to use and access the internet…There are these girls who upload pictures showing themselves wearing short skirts or short dresses and there is also this type of boys… who upload photos which show their

muscles, showing that they're strong." (p.181).

Pachler et al. (2012) shows a response to a new phone ownership: "It's fun and the best part was the comments I got from people, my family, my friends, like 'Oh my god your school has actually given you an N91 phone, how cool is that'" *(*p. 1). This statement signifies a great deal of socially-constructed imagery. The fact that people consider the ownership of mobile phones to be "cool" transforms ownership from the realm of usage to that of reputation and identity.

The study by Davis (2012) shows that teens regard high-level internet connectivity as vital to their socio-cultural development as it helps them to prevent isolation. However, the study establishes that that teens' online engagements do not include interactions with parents which, naturally, causes some level of apprehension within the ranks of stakeholders in the teens' lives.

Conclusions
The concern in this article is to examine the scholarly works on digital natives' appropriation, uses of and gratifications from new media technologies from the year 2010 to 2016, with the intent to determine future directions for research. The following questions have been answered: what is the

trend in literature concerning the extent of use and appropriation of new media technologies among digital natives? What are the gratifications sought from the use of new media technologies by digital natives and what are new directions for research? These elicited the deployment of the U&G and the technology appropriation theories.

Drawing from works studied, social connectivity/capital, belongingness, interactivity, and inclusion are the driving force behind the digital natives' usage of new media technologies. The need to shed off loneliness, entertain oneself and keep in touch with both offline and online networks can be achieved through new media technologies usage. Digital native teens, for example, are likely to look out for avenues to get affection and companionship (belongingness) which is a developmental issue for them.

Recommendations and Future Research Directions

The following points are the recommendations:

1. If digital natives spend a huge part of the time on the new mass media technologies as widely reported in the investigated literature, the question then arises: how much of the time do they have left for their academics? Future research should try and determine the time digital natives spend on their academics in the face of the overwhelming preponderance of the usage of new media technologies.

2. Creators of new media technologies should tap into the highly visible lacuna in digital natives' academics by developing apps that can fill the gaps. Such apps should not be discountenanced as unviable since they are going to utilize the means that these natives are familiar with to achieve this end.

3. It is strongly recommended that the apps that are developed toward this end should be those that gratify the digital natives' desire for communication and social inclusion.

4. Researchers like Kink and Hess (2008) have called for the need to distinguish between gratifications sought (GS) and gratifications that are obtained (GO) by media users as an extension to the U&G theory. This is based on the argument that what a media audience sets out to obtain from using a particular medium is not necessarily what is achieved.

Gratifications sought (also often referred to as "needs" or "motives") are those gratifications that audience members look forward to obtaining from a medium before coming into contact with it (Ballard, 2011). Gratifications obtained are what exactly an end-user experience is in using a medium. Palmgreen & Rayburn (1979) while critiquing the U&G theory, suggested attention be given to GO since it is a better indicator of media use than GS, highlighting that there is a greater tendency for users to

habitually use a medium if that medium satisfies or surpasses gratifications sought. The fact that new media use is prominent among digital natives gives a sense that GS and GO are positively related. It is, therefore, recommended that future research examines the relationship between GS and GO. What is more, investigations should be conducted into the specific new media technologies and platforms or apps help users achieve gratifications sought (GS). This is a critical point that the fresh app developers should keep in mind.

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Open Access Journal, Available Online

Homosexuality Framing by a Nigerian Newspaper

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*Abstract***:** The literature on how the dominant media in Nigeria report the sensitive issue of homosexuality is not visible. This study sheds some light and explores how one of the country's prominent newspapers – *The Punch* - frames it. The descriptive data from the content analyzed show that homosexuality is framed mainly as illegality and negativity; not acceptable to the citizens. Religion, a strong factor that influences several perspectives of the issue in the country, does not significantly reflect in the framing by the newspaper. This reportage, which aligns with the perspective of the law of the land, elicits the recommendation of the corrective reporting approach, rather than the type that wants punishment for those who disobey the law.

Keywords: Newspaper reporting, homosexuality, framing, law, Nigeria.

Introduction
Despite the current theoretical orientation that the press is no longer all-powerful owing to the emergence of new media, amongst other reasons, it still possesses the power to direct the thoughts of its audiences in the desired direction to some considerable level. One way the press achieves this is through

the framing of issues in the news. This work brings to the fore the issue of homosexuality in Nigeria and how the press frames it. The Nigerian government in 2013, signed into law the Same-Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act. Section 5 states that:

> (1) A person who enters into a same-sex marriage contract or civil union commits an offense and are each liable on conviction to a term of 14 years in prison.
>
> (2) A person who registers, operates or participates in gay clubs, societies and organizations or indirectly makes a public show of same-sex amorous relationship in Nigeria commits an offense and shall each be liable on conviction to a term of 10 years in prison.
>
> (3) A person or group of persons who administers, witnesses, abets or aides the solemnization of same-sex marriage or civil union, or supports the registration, operation, and sustenance of gay clubs, societies, organizations, processions or meetings in Nigeria commits an offense and is liable on conviction to a term of 10 years of imprisonment.

This law has had some ramifications one of which is for the press. Besides expatiating on the law to ensure that citizens decipher it correctly, the press should also not be seen promoting homosexuality directly or indirectly. We have observed that many, or probably most Nigerians, often describe homosexuality in the context of what the two major religions in the country (Christianity and Islam) say about it. The position of traditional religion is not clear on the matter. This is in spite of the fact this Section 5 of the Act does not allude to any of these religions. Nigerians do not take issues of religion lightly and are averagely likely to publicly reject any concept or behavior that is against their religions. The country has recorded several religious crises even though the religions lay claim to being peaceful as a paramount doctrine. The media mirrors society and this issue of homosexuality is a critical attraction. This leads to the question: how does the press frame homosexuality? This is the question that this work addresses.

Problem Statement

Naij (2017) narrated that an expatriate was beaten to a pulp in Lagos, Nigeria for attempting to initiate a homosexual relationship with a Nigerian. *The Punch* (2018) (one of Nigeria's prominent newspapers in the country that calls itself "most widely read newspaper") reported the story of a

cop who had a part of his penis sliced off by a 13-year-old boy who had accused the policeman of having sexual intercourse with him. In the news report, the paper stressed that the errant inspector might have been set up following allegations in the community that he was fond of having sex with young boys. The northern part of Nigeria is assumed to be highly populated by Muslims whose religion also abhor homosexuality and several northern Nigerians who commented on the matter expressed their views about how they are critically averse to homosexuality on account of their religion. Could this professed religiosity be playing a huge role in determining how the press presents issues about homosexuality?

According to McKenzie (2019), Nigeria is one of the 38 countries that 'actively persecute' the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) community. He referenced a poll whose findings claimed Nigeria is regarded as the most homophobic country on the planet, with 98 percent of the population vehemently opposed to homosexuality in all of its dimensions. The findings of Mapayi, Oginni, Akinsulore, and Aloba (2016), however, revealed a lower level (54.5%) of aggressiveness towards homosexuality but the fact that the figure is more than 50 percent is of note. Nigerians have an assumption that homosexuality is strange to their culture and that cultural nuance are shaped by religion. This study is an exploration of the framing of homosexuality in one of the dominant Nigerian newspapers and this is being implemented with the citizens' religious culture as a factor for consideration. This exploration is put in proper perspectives using a few research questions.

Research Questions

1. What is the framing of homosexuality in the selected Nigerian newspaper?
2. How has the source influenced the framing of homosexuality in the selected Nigerian newspapers?
3. To what extent has religion influenced the framing of homosexuality in the selected Nigerian newspaper?

On Media Framing

No picture is made up of just one element. Of the elements that make up a photograph, some are made more prominent, while the others are less noticeable (Odiboh et al., 2017; Folayan, et al., 2018). In spite of this variation, the choice of the aspects the viewer focuses on also goes a long way in determining how the viewer

describes what he or she has seen. Therefore, some level of subjectivity, which in many cases is in line with the viewer's interest, is a strong factor in the framing process. A definition from this perspective seems reasonable. As Kuypers (2009) puts it, framing "can be understood as taking some aspects of our reality and making them more accessible than other aspects" (p. 181). Framing, which appears qualitative as a process, is a subset of agenda-setting which is often quantitative. Several studies on media framing have been conducted, and framing in communication has been proven to be largely effective in determining the type of feedback the communicator gets (Entman (1991), Iyengar (1991), Sniderman P. M., Brody R. A., and Tetlock P. E, 1991; and Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., and Oxley, Z. M, 1997), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), and Dimitrova and Stromback (2003)).

Significance of the study
The issue of homosexuality and how the media handles it is receiving increasing attention in the Global North (Gomillion and Giuliano (2011); Soto-Sanfiel, Palencia, & Ibiti (2014); Papadaki, Iliadou, Karouzou, Maragianni, Pateraki, and Plotnikof (2019); Grossman, Park, Frank & Russell (2019); Day & Nicholls (2019);

Giano (2019)). However, literature on homosexuality in Nigeria is lean (Tesunbi (2010); & Green-Simms (2016) as pointed out earlier. Therefore, we think that this study, amongst a few by other scholars, can create a visible research trajectory, thereby enhancing literature in the area.

This research presents how the meaning of homosexuality is being negotiated and framed in Nigeria via the media, thereby creating the avenue to source policy input. Therefore, this content should also be important to policymakers and the LGBT community as it represents the current conversation on the subject.

Framing Theory
A frame or more can be discovered in a particular communication piece. However, to find a subsisting trend of framing, it is important to examine content from a particular source. This position is corroborated by Freeman (2017) who submitted that framing, "…when undertaken over a while, can allow observations of patterns that might not be as apparent in the immediate period of the material's release" (p. 3146). According to Entman (2003), frames are determinants of what issue will be more prominent than the others in a piece of communication but what source would emerge has so much

to with the source of the communication content. Goffman (1974), cited in Zhou & Moy (2007 defines frames as "the schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences" (p. 80). Wang (2013) defines framing as the process of, "interpreting and expressing a person's subjective understanding of an event or issue concerning the person's immediate environment" (p.378).

Framing theory is chosen for this research because this study aims to find out how homosexuality was framed in Nigerian newspapers between 2013 and 2018. According to Entman (2003), frames can take the form of sentences, images or words which, when arranged together, do reinforce several clusters of judgments or facts.

Framing is inevitable in every published content, and its presence can be employed to identify opposition to or support for any issue. Media audiences are likely to turn into public conversation any agenda that is being set in the media. Subsequently, should the agenda be spun in a particular direction, it is likely to influence how the audiences react or relate with it. Incidentally, this reaction is what many citizens take as realities, applicable to their lives.

Review of Literature

According to the submissions of Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007), and Weaver (2007), the high visibility of literature on the discussion and argument about the relationship between priming, framing, and agenda-setting theories are indicators of the significance of this relationship. The concepts of priming and framing are an extension of the discussion of the agenda-setting system. In framing, according to Wang (2013), the frames discovered can be categorized based on the nature of the study or issues being analyzed. Goffman's (1974) observes social and natural frames based on his study, while Iyengar (1990) identifies thematic and episodic frames based on the objectives that were set out to be achieved. Jasperson and Kikhia (2003) identify official, military, and humanitarian frames that were adopted by Freeman (2017). Lee, McLeod, and Shah (2008), listed strategy frames, and value frames. Freeman (2017 looks at religious frames. All these frames are not mutually exclusive.

However, sometimes frames can be issue-specific as they are influenced by the peculiarities of the topic. In this review, we zero in on those researchers who made efforts to gather data on the representation of homosexuals in

the mass media in other parts of the world since such data are either not available or are least visible on Nigeria.

Fisher, Hill, Grube, and Gruber (2007) conducted two yearly content analyses of programming from the 2001/2002 and, 2002/2003 television seasons respectively in the United States. The studies were carried out to assess the behaviors and verbal messages as they relate to the sexuality of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. Sexual content that relates to non-heterosexuals was found in about 15 percent of the programs. Of the 14 program types analyzed, only movies and variety/comedy shows had a substantial percentage of programs that contained non-heterosexual content.

Similarly, Gross, cited in Fisher et al. (2007), found in a study out that television is a major influence on the assumptions people have about members of minority groups such as gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. This they argue is because many viewers may have had little personal experience with such individuals.

Fejes and Petrich also cited in Fisher et al (2007) found out in their study that when gay characters are portrayed on television, they are often shown in an asexual context. However, heterosexuals are often shown in intimate sex scenes with their male or female partners. According to Mbugua (2010), homosexuality was framed in Kenyan newspapers as negative behavior. In a comparative study of two newspapers, Pan, Mengb, Zhouc (2010) discovered that while one newspaper framed homosexuality from the standpoint of equality, thereby not necessarily presenting homosexuality negatively, the other newspaper framed homosexuality from the standpoint of core family values, religion, and the American tradition, thereby technically not supporting homosexuality.

Anderson (2009), and Channon and Matthews (2015) submitted that the way that the media now presents homosexuality shows a gradual decline in homophobia. Anderson (2009), Channon and Matthews (2015), however, failed to acknowledge that their findings might be limited to a section of the American population, and the study did not capture African countries and contexts. Therefore, their assertions might not apply to Nigeria, and by extension, most of Africa. In Australia where the law that allows the practice of homosexuality has been passed it was discovered that negativity still surrounds the practice, as several murders of homosexuals were reported, which suggests that

despite the law, the public still consider any sexual culture that is not heterosexual as negative (Braun and Gray, 2016).

According to Namusoga (2016) who conducted a comparative study of two newspapers on the framing of homosexuality in Uganda, the human rights frame, and religious frame were observed. The study also discovered that both newspapers studied presented homosexuality as negative, and most of the content seen during the period of the study were news stories. There were a few feature articles and interviews. These researchers are of the view that interviews and features might not be as common as news stories because the public might want to avoid being stigmatized as being sympathetic towards homosexuality, which might influence the negative framing observed during the study. It is worthy of note that the law prohibiting homosexuality in Uganda carries a life in jail penalty (Laccino, 2015).

Vincent and Howell (2014) asserted than despite being the first African country to legally recognize the rights of equality for homosexuals in 2006, under the Civil Union Act No. 17, 2006, homophobia in South Africa is comparable to what is obtainable in other African countries. Vincent and Howell (2014) remarked that homosexuals were framed as criminals, and as people who murder children, thereby presenting them as dangerous to society. The other frames exhibited to discourage homosexuals, and present homosexuality negatively were the ungodly, the unnatural sex, and the un-African frames (Vincent and Howell, 2014). According to Reddy (2002), Ssempa (2007) and Vincent and Howell (2014), politicians and religious leaders played a huge role in influencing the frames through which homosexuality was reported in the media. One of the objectives of this work is to determine the role of religion in the framing of homosexuals in Nigeria by the media.

In research conducted in Ghana concerning the framing of homosexuality in newspapers, the findings showed that homosexuality was framed negatively in the country. The frames visible were those of immorality, conflict, irresponsibility and human interest frames (Anipah, 2017). In the case of New Zealand and the United States, Kenix (2008) discovered that on a general note, newspapers from New Zealand framed homosexual issues more favorably compared to newspapers domiciled

in America. According to the author (2008), American newspapers were discovered to be indifferent: they were neither supporting nor rejecting homosexuality. Kenix attributed the positivist nature of the New Zealand press to the time that the homosexuality rights law was passed in 1986. The implication of this is that society was already legally used for homosexuality. Another difference noticed between the framing of homosexuality in the two countries was that newspapers from New Zealand used human interest frames, while American newspapers used more of conflict frames. Further, the American press used more of responsibility, and morality frames more than their New Zealand counterparts (Kenix, 2008). The differences between the two countries, according to Kenix, (2008), aligns largely with their cultural differences the core of which were religion, education, and morality. Hence, Kenix's submission that the framing of media content can be influenced by societal cultural factors.

The review, so far, has demonstrated that religion is a key factor in the discourse on the subject of homosexuality and it wouldn't make any difference whether it is interpersonal, group or media discussion. This study aims to find out how homosexuality is framed in Nigeria, a country that is known to have based much of its culture on religion.

Method
The method of study is content analysis. The online version of *The Punch* was analyzed. The Punch's portal is a port of call for many visitors who agree to its bottom-line of "the most widely read newspaper" in Nigeria. Its search engine was deployed to locate the words related to homosexuality. The keywords were *homosexuality, sodomy, and unnatural sex*. The stories selected were limited to the period between 2016 and 2018. Another keyword "Nigerian" and "Nigeria" were also used to delimitate the study to the geographic domain of Nigeria. All the stories that emerged were studied.

The rationale for selecting only one newspaper
Data for framing studies are usually from purposively selected sources based on the existence of required data for the study following the study objectives and other requirements. (Braun & Clarke, 2006; and Barglowski, 2018). The newspaper used for this study was selected because it met certain requisite criteria set that we set. First, it has a national outlook based on its wide reach. Second, it appears the paper appeals to an

impressive range of demographics. This has been trumpeted by the organizers of the reputed Nigerian National Merit Awards (NMMA) of which another globally respected Nigerian professor Ralph Akinfeleye is the chairman of the awards committee. In the nearly 30 years of the existence of the awards body, The Punch has come tops as the Newspaper of the Year many times with its editor named "Newspaper Editor of the Year" a few times. This awards have helped significantly the paper's brand positioning and created the mileage attractive to the 'average' Nigerian. Punch was also selected because this study is not a comparative one.

It appears the paper also performs its social responsibility without doubt while legal cases of ethical infractions are fewer compared to its peers in the country. Omojola (2008; Omojola & Yartey, 2016; Okorie, et al., 2016) notes that this

characteristic is a remarkable one, especially with the increasing cases of unethical behaviors of journalists in the country. This is evidenced by the fact that literature about criticisms of its ineffectiveness in this area is not visible. This lack of visibility elicits the conclusion that it adequately mirrors society. What is more, a preliminary analysis has shown that it has published some articles relevant to this study, which makes it qualify for selection and investigation. As the study aims to find out the influence of the source on framing, any newspaper selected is expected to quote or mention sources from which it got its stories. Punch has fulfilled this expectation to a considerable level.

Data Presentation
Within the period under study, 70 news stories found on homosexuality were analyzed. The following are the analyses.

Table 1: Keyword Occurrence

Keyword	*F*	%
Homosexuality	28	40
Sodomy	23	33
Unnatural sex	19	27
Total	70	100

From the data above, it was realized that stories with the word *homosexuality,* has the highest occurrence of 28 (40%), while stories with the word *sodomy* came up 23 times (33%). The stories with

the keyword *unnatural sex* came up 19 times (27%). This shows that reportage of homosexuality with some coloration of religion came second highest (33%). The preponderance of homosexuality is

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

proof of the commonness of the   word among readers.

Table 2: Frame type

Frame type	F	%
Religion	11	16
Health	3	4.2
Morality	15	21.4
Unnatural	15	21.4
Illegal/Criminal	25	36
Trendy/Acceptable	1	1
Total	70	100

According to Table 2, homosexuality was framed in Nigeria mostly as illegal (36%), followed by unnatural, and morality framing, both of which occurred 15 (21.4%) times respectively. In the third on the table is religion (16%), while health comes fourth (4.2%). Homosexuality was framed acceptable by one percent.

Table 3: Sources of frames

Frame type	f	%
Government/Politicians	3	4.2
Public	17	24.3
Journalists	10	14.3
Religious Leaders	5	7.1
Police/Security Agents	34	49.1
Others	1	1
Total	70	100

Table 3 shows that the highest source of framing is the police/security agents (49.1%), followed by the public (24.3%). Journalists came third (14.3%) as sources or frames, while religious leaders came fourth (7.1%). The government and or politicians came fifth (4.2%), while others, in this case, the Red Cross society came sixth (1%).

Table 4: Content Format

Content format	f	%
News	55	79
Features/Opinion	9	12
Interviews	6	9
Total	70	100

From the data above, it could be seen that 55 of the contents were news which represents 79 percent, while features/opinion articles were nine (12%). Interviews were the third, which occurred six (9%) times.

Table 5: Frame Slant

Frame slant	f	%
Positive/Acceptable	3	4.3
Neutral/Undecided	3	4.3
Negative/Unacceptable	64	91.4
Total	70	100

Table 5 shows that homosexuality was framed as unacceptable and negatively most of the time (91.4%), while it received positive/acceptable framing three times (4.3%), same as the figure for the neutral frame (4.3%).

The following is a summary of the findings:

1. The reportage of homosexuality with a bias for religion came second highest (33%).
2. Homosexuality was framed in Nigeria mostly as illegal (36%), followed by unnatural, and immorality, which both occurred 15 (21.4%) times respectively.
3. The highest source of framing is the police/security agents (49.1%),
4. Issues on homosexuality were mostly reported in the news section (79%).
5. Homosexuality was framed as unacceptable/negatively most of the times (91.4%),

Discussion of Findings
The framing of homosexuality in Nigerian newspapers

Going by the assertion of Wang (2013) that frames uncovered can be categorized based on the objectives of the study, the following frame categories have been revealed by this study based on the first research question that asked what the framing of homosexuality was in the selected Nigerian newspaper: religion, health, morality, unnatural, illegal/criminal, and trendy/acceptable frames. From the data gathered we uncovered that stories with the word *homosexuality* had the highest occurrence of 28, while stories with *sodomy* came up 23 times. Stories with the phrase *unnatural sex* came up 19 times. The data also indicated that the reportage of homosexuality with religious bias came second highest (33%). The word homosexual is related to sodomy and it is an allusion to the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah.

Homosexuality was framed mostly as illegal (36%), followed by unnatural, and immoral (21.4%). Religion came third (16%), while health came fourth (4.2%). This framing sequence by Punch does not align with the findings of studies presented in the review of literature earlier, which exhibits the preponderance of religion in frames. This means that in spite of the high regard Nigerians generally have for religion, it is not the most significant factor influencing the framing by the newspaper.

It should, however, be noted that homosexuality was also framed unacceptable/negatively most of the time (91.4%). The positive/acceptable framing was low at 4.3 percent as acceptable. This finding follows the pattern in Kenya (Mbugua (2007) where homosexuality is also portrayed as a negative social behavior and same in Uganda (Namusoga, 2016) and in Ghana (Anipah, 2017).

How source has influenced framing of homosexuality in Nigerian newspapers

Our data show that the highest source of framing is the police/security agents (49.1%), followed by the public (24.3%). Journalists came third (14.3%) while religious leaders came fourth (7.1%). The government and or politicians came fifth (4.2%), while others, in this case, the Red Cross society came sixth (1%). This has more direct implications on the framing of homosexuality by the newspaper. The highest source of framing was found out to be police/security agents (49.1%), while homosexuality was framed mostly as illegal/criminal. Our investigations showed that most of the stories were those of arrests by the police. In those stories, the police often claimed that those arrested, and or arraigned in court had disobeyed the law. Members of the public were the second-highest source of frames, and they used the immorality and unnatural sex frames most often. This was also captured in the data presented, as the morality and unnatural sex frames came joint second highest (21.4% respectively). Therefore, the source is an influencer of the newspaper framing of homosexuality in Nigeria.

The extent to which religion has influenced the framing of homosexuality in Nigerian newspapers

Religion was the third-highest frame used in presenting stories on homosexuality (16%). This means that religion was not as powerful as an influencer of the newspaper framing of homosexuality. There was, however, the subtle use of sodomy in presenting the stories on homosexuality. Most of the

contents, in this case, were news stories (55) which is 79 percent of the total, while features/opinion articles were nine (or 12%). Interviews came the third with six times (9%). One of the ethical principles guiding news publishing is objectivity. We, however, discovered that sodomy was still mentioned 23 times (33%), while homosexuality had the highest occurrence of 28 (40%). Stories with the phrase *unnatural sex* came up 19 times (27%). This elicits a conjecture that religion was injected into this framing but that would have to be proved in another study. What researchers could endeavor to determine would be if what is illegal is also unholy. According to the findings of this study, religious leaders were the third-highest source of content on homosexuality, and though a biblical word (sodomy) was used as the second most used keyword in stories related to homosexuality, religion did not influence the reporting/presentation of homosexuality in the selected newspaper to a very large extent.

Summary and Conclusion

The initial conjecture that newspaper framing of homosexuality had the preponderance of religion was disproved as the data we gathered showed that it was framed mostly as *illegal*. Homosexuality was framed as unacceptable/negatively most of the times. Also, the highest source of framing was discovered to be police/security agents. The source influenced the framing of homosexuality, as homosexuality was framed as illegal almost every time the source of the frame comprised the police/security agents.

What is more, religious leaders were the third-highest source of content on homosexuality. Though a biblical word (sodomy) was used as the second most used keyword in contents that were related to homosexuality, religion did not influence the reporting or presentation of homosexuality in the selected newspaper to a very large extent. Homosexuality framing by the dominant media in Nigeria as represented by "the most widely newspaper" in the country is on an *illegal* terrain, not religious or better still, least religious.

Recommendations

The following are the recommendations:

1. As homosexuality is currently proscribed by the law in Nigeria, a corrective reporting approach should be adopted by the press against the current vindictive approach that presents homosexuals as those who disobey the law and should be published. The

current approach in a country that has a history of jungle justice is not right. Cases of lynching on the streets have been reported of victims whom the courts have neither tried nor pronounced guilty.

2. The government should make provisions for correction of the behavior, rather than imprisonment which is the current provision by law.

3. It was discovered during this study that despite the continued reportage of several arrests in the press, more alleged acts were committed which led to increased arrests. Therefore, the government should establish a research trust that will find out possible motivators for the act.

4. Further framing studies should be conducted to establish the influence of the framing by the press on Nigerians.

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Open Access Journal, Available Online

Democratic Participant Media Theory in the Nigerian Context

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*Abstract***:** This work examines how effective democratic participant media theory (DPMT) is in the Nigerian media context, in terms of the tenets upheld, tenets not upheld as well as tenets marked with ambiguities. Data from the analysis of the editorials of three national newspapers –The Nation, The Sun and Vanguard - show that only The Sun - has editorials published daily, which supports the theory's tenet of the citizen's need for content. Political issues emerge fifth among six other sub-themes in their coverage and the citizen's determination of the need for media content turns out to be the purview of the journalists who are centrally controlled.
*Keywords***:** Content analysis, Democratic participant theory, editorials, media professionals, Nigeria.

Introduction

The mass media is an integral part of the society. In Nigeria, like elsewhere, it substantiates societal issues by bringing them to the fore. The Democratic Participant Media Theory (DPMT) propounded in 1987 by Dennis McQuail furthers

the discourse on traditional four normative theories - authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and soviet-communist - of the press and captures how development unfolds in a democratic environment of monopolized, centralized and bureaucratic media institutions. Nigeria currently operates a democratic form of government and we put DPMT to the test to see which tenets are upheld, not upheld or half-upheld. The core tenets of the DPMT are the following:

- The mass media exist for the individual citizens who need content daily for information, amongst other things.
- Individual citizens determine the need for media content.
- Emphasis is on small-scale interactive media, non-centralized media control, and
- Communication should not be left solely in the hands of professionals (Anaeto, Onabajo and Osifeso 2008).

Television, radio, billboards, newspapers, and the internet are the major channels with the mass effect (Morah & Omojola, 2014). This study focuses on the newspaper due to its remarkable attribute of easier investigation compared to radio and television. McQuail (2010) says concerning newspapers: "the first media were print media, and the most significant freedoms are those gained and still claimed by and for print media" (p.168).

Newspapers trade in the news (John & Silberstein-Loeb in Nielsen, 2017). It is important, therefore, to understand how the citizens get involved with the news and what their interests are within the context of DPMT. McQuail (2010) argues that "…the media's view of what is the public interest tends to equate it with what interests the public. This shifts the responsibility for norms, ethics, and values to the society" (p. 164). Since the argument centers on what public interest is and the responsibility thrust on the media, it makes some sense to examine the specific genre of media content within the DPMT context that is relevant to this argument, which is newspaper editorial. Ukonu (2013) asserts:

> Research indicates that readership of editorials or search for editorial comments on burning issues is highest during crises, tension or periods of important developments. One study found that, generally, editorials were read 10 – 15 percent more than other newspaper contents apart from news (p. 16).

The critical nature of editorials is supported by Amodu, Yartey, Ekanem, Oresanya and Afolabi (2016) who refer to the genre as extremely important to newspaper

subscribers. Oso (n.d) avers that an increasing amount of editorial matter is linked directly to products and services that the media publicize. The question then arises: despite the critical importance of editorials to newspaper readers, do they uphold the tenets as embodied in DPMT?

Scholars argue that the editorials that reflect the views of newspapers should not be at variance with DPMT. Schudson, cited in McQuail (2010), posits: "Journalists are professionals who hold citizenship in trust for us" (p.182). Jethwaney (2010) reiterates this: "there is no avoiding or evading the media…. Media has a job to perform" (p.180) when performance means upholding those tenets. Stiglitz (2017) remarks that "…cognitive capture by media can lead to cognitive society" (p.14). Schudson (1997) in Dahlgren (2014) argues: "…political discussion, on the other hand, is about solving problems, finding solutions to conflicts; it is purposive, goal-oriented…" (p. 11). When political discussions in the media are geared toward development, the possibility is high that these tenets are upheld.

Statement Problem
Prominent scholars have looked into the commercialization mentality of the Nigerian media ownership and concluded that the content they published could hardly be in line with the tenets of DPMT. Tuchman (1976), in Oso (n.d), chides the media for contents that hardly satisfy the quest by readers for knowledge. Oso (n.d) submits that the powerful people in the country are the most beneficiaries of the content of the dominant Nigerian media. This assertion is investigated within the context of DPMT as one of the most recent normative theories of the press and the investigation focuses on the content categories – editorials - which reflect the views of the newspapers and their editors. Thompson (2012, p.12) notes in an article published in *The Sun* of 9th January of 2012 that such investigation is necessary to frequently audit what media organizations present as editorials and opinion articles to monitor the degree of responsiveness to the expectations of readers – an assertion of intellectual engagement supported by Hagher (2018). This study is situated within Nigeria's democratic dispensation.

Study Objectives
The objectives of the study are the following:

1. To determine the tenets of DPMT that are held in the Nigerian media.

2. To ascertain the tenets of DPMT that are not held by the Nigerian media
3. To clarify those tenets of DPMT that are ambiguous in the context of the Nigerian media.

Significance of the Study

From time to time, nations endeavor to sustain the will to protect democracies in the face of instability, volatility and other realities that are concomitant with globalization. The responsibility of equipping the citizenry with information for survival and development amidst these realities is that of the mass media especially newspapers, the widely-held view that their influence is waning due to internet, notwithstanding. It is meaningful, therefore, to investigate how the performance of the newspapers pans out in this regard within the context of DPMT.

This article aims that the findings of this study can add to the understanding of the citizens on the way the media perform their responsibility. It can also contribute to literature on the subject matter as conceptual definitions are implemented to offer explanations for seemingly bandied concepts in furtherance of research.

Literature Overview

DPMT aims to establish the place of the individual in the media space

and for him or her to have practicable channels of communication that are community-based (Ndolo, 2005; Atal, 2017; Nelson 2017). Mojaye and Lamidi (2015) assert the need for democratic values as the basis of participation, adding that democratic values entail civility justice, critical examination of issues, leading to a fuller understanding of issues and a more reflective set of references. Amodu et al. (2016), in their assessment of the media's watchdog role in ensuring the accountability of the Nigerian government, report that 88 percent of their respondents affirmed the information-provision role of the media concerning government activities. Moreover, about half of the respondents also agreed on the fairness and balanced perspective in the reportage of government activities. Zhao (n.d) writes of the state, the market, and control in China, noting that the transformation of the Chinese political economy from rural to capitalism with Chinese characteristics features a voiceless populace who are subalterns in a commercialized and globalized media system.

On a related topical issue – the fuel subsidy removal strike of the year 2011 in Nigeria - Ezeah and Abodunrin (2016) understudied three Nigerian national daily

newspapers to establish the extent of coverage. The dailies are *The Sun, The Punch* and *Daily Trust*. They found that of the ten content categories (with each category having sub-themes of: positive, negative and neutral) – *advertorial, column, feature, editorial, photograph, cartoon, opinion, letter to the editor, interview* and *news* the newspapers were subjected to, entries for editorials ranked 9th in order of relevance. The finding appeared surprising as publishing an editorial was the discretion of the publisher, unlike news which should be published as it broke.

While considering the place of editorials in the reportage of 2011 and 2015 general elections Abodunrin (2015) found that concerning other thematic considerations, the year 2011 had editorial mention of 23 (44.4%) as against the year 2015 mention of 20 (3.7%). This revealed a drop in political contents of editorials toward the general elections as well as an intrigue of post-electoral upheavals in the year with more reportage and relative calm in the year with minimal reportage asserts.

Still, on citizens' role as newsmakers, Ndolo (2005) reiterates "…no nation can develop using institutions developed by other societies, cross-fertilization [of ideas between citizens] becomes the answer" (p. 7) and this happens in the public space provided by the media. This is supported in the submission of Ezekwesili (2011) while explaining the role of the media in providing the space for the citizens to make news:

> Studies have highlighted the importance of voice. A recent survey of 6,000 poor people from across all regions of the world found that the vast majority of respondents considered that they were poor not because they did not have money, but because they did not have a say in how their fate was determined; in how their countries were run; in how development priorities were decided (p.22).

Ibelema (2012) argues for the inclusion of the citizens as critics in the watchdog role-playing of the press to enhance civic vitality, which is a necessity for a vibrant democracy. The author stresses that the press is referred to as watchdog because it ensures probity in governance, makes the government accountable and gives the citizens the chance to freely express their views about government. This assertion implies that the press is called the fourth estate of the realm because it accommodates the opinions and perspectives of

citizens that crosscheck for veracity those of the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government.

Ndolo (2011) delineates the influence of the fourth estate in five major areas - economic/technological, political, legal/administrative, cultural and communication – and places emphasis on communication. He reasons that society revolves around the communication sector. The communication function, according to the author, is categorized information (surveillance), correlation (establishing the meaning of events), cultural transmission, entertainment, mobilization (promoting, mobilizing and advancing national interest) on all fronts (politically, economically, religious, sports, etc.). He contends that the adversary, watchdog and agenda-setting functions of the media are in stages as one step leads to another. It is a critical role at the point of scrutinizing the leadership. It becomes a watchdog role when the scrutiny is maintained and agenda-setting role when it prioritizes what is important and trivial. He clarifies the context of good press practice as a reflection of the society, as supported by Akinfeleye (2003):

> a nation that is socially responsible both in concept, structure, ideology, and governance, its press would tend to be responsible in their practice... But on the other hand, a socially irresponsible nation, its journalists would be contaminated with irresponsible instincts and thus would practice irresponsible journalism, sensationalism, fatherhood bias, outright lies, propaganda journalism, and unethical practice which if not quickly checked may lead the *Fourth Estate of the Realm* to metamorphose into the *Fourth Estate of the Wreck*.

The author's opinion on objectivity in reportage by the press is that such an ethical principle is impossible since the society that produces the journalist is morally weak and socio-economically frustrated. These weaknesses strongly affect the welfare that reporters get in the workplace. They are weaknesses that they must overcome to be able to fulfill their watchdog roles.

In his report on good governance and the challenges of public relations in Africa, Akinfeleye (2011) observes that good government and good governance

are intertwined. By his account, good governance eliminates secrecy, corruption in government, involves openness while protecting and guaranteeing the security of life and property at all times. Education, participation, information, communication and effective public relations are essential in achieving good governance. To make good governance possible, all and sundry must be involved as it is a joint venture arrangement.

Nnamani and Iloh (2014) appraise Nigeria at 53 years in 2014, noting that much of the ills which plagued the country at independence in 1960 were still prevalent – political crises, ethnicity, corruption, bad governance contrary to the expectations of improvement. According to them, most viable nations are noted for good governance. The World Bank defines governance as how power is exercised in the management of the country's economic and social resources for development. Attributes of good governance are democratic participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, equity, inclusiveness, efficiency, accountability, and strategic vision all of which are key indicators when the viability of a nation is being analyzed. The role of free press is a central factor that permeates all these attributes and

embedded in the press role is the voice of the citizenry that keeps demanding accountability and development from government and giving commendations when they get the same.

What makes news is discussed by Tandoc, Lim and Sung (2017). Of note is the allusion to Jamieson and Campbell (1997) who define news as a dramatic account of something novel or deviant. McManus (1992), cited in Tandoc et al (2017) and Omojola (2008) reveal the commercial value of news, explaining that "news is also a unique commodity, for while it is sold to audiences, news audiences are subsequently sold to advertisers" (p.7).

Adeyemi (2013) supports this view, saying that the media industry has in its kitty a product – news – whose publishing must be premised on some ethical standards or principles with a premium placed on the integrity of the news source and news gatherers. Adeyemi, in his report, says that the majority of respondents in three of the six states of Nigeria studied attributed reasonable ethical status to the media, judging from the contents of the journalism code of ethics. News content was also adjudged as reliable and credible with no ethnic allegiance. However, the media were found wanting in editorial independence as traces of

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government influence could be seen while their content could not be divorced from corruption.

The disappointment that people experience with media content has elicited citizen journalism, which is regarded as a departure from the conventional pattern of filtering news items before making them known to the public. While it negates the top-down information flow, it is participatory according to Okoro, Diri and Odii (2013). The authors, cited in Nam (2008, p.12) allude further to the origin of citizen journalism:

> The roots of citizen journalism lie in the program of civic journalism, which developed as a reform movement among journalists in the United States. Facing the readership crises of the US newspaper industry in the late 1970s some newspaper executives, journalists and intellectuals tried to improve the relationship between the press and the public by developing new ways of listening to citizens (p.3).

The advent of citizens has further widened the public sphere and subsequently the scope of the role of the individual citizen under a democratic government, hence the motivation to study the situation in the context of DPMT.

In their presentation on the misbehavior of the mass media in Nigeria under the nation's nascent

democracy, Ojo and Adebayo (2013) expatiate on the role of leaders who use the press to dominate the minds of the people (what they think about) by selling political ideologies through persuasion, owing to their preponderance of ownership. The authors aver that healthy democracies of Western Europe and North America are subject to a liberalized media where governments operate with restraint and tolerance as reflective of the citizens' interests. This is happening because the media have fulfilled their role of educating the citizens and serving as the conduit through information about government flows to them. They serve as the day-to-day parliament of the people as against the conventional parliament, perform as the watchdog with the interest of the people as a core reason for performance as well ensure that government is accountable.

However, in the case of Nigeria, they contest the watchdog responsibility of the media because they reason the media is not effectively watchful. Their argument concerning this is that the media pays more attention to government actions than development issues. The point raised dovetails into the economic viability of the government as a big spender and advertiser, which then

affects the editorial slant and space of most media content.

Theoretical Framework

We support the study of the media and citizens in the Nigerian context via the DPMT with the knowledge gap theory, propounded by Tichenor, Donohue and Olien in 1970. The theory has undergone reviews, leading to some variations but the key assumptions as stated by Ojobor (2002) cited in Anaeto et al (2008) subsist and they are:

- that knowledge gap is widened as media output grows in a given society,
- that information increase in media output rather than allow for parity between the information-rich and the information-poor,
- that the gap is further widened due to the advantage the former have; there is a saturation point for the information-rich which the poor strive to attain and catch up with, and
- finally, that concentrating on one media of the lot may not yield as much results.

The information-rich have access to the mass media and make optimal use of them while the information-poor have inconsequential group of friends or associates, are economically challenged and might be educationally disadvantaged.

Therefore, the credential of an individual confirms his or her exposure level to the mass media. The author adduces possible reasons for the knowledge gap as communication skills/competence, access to background knowledge, access to relevant social contact, a discretional disposition to valued judgments and mass media system suitability to the upwardly mobile people. A revision in 1975 of the theory suggests such ways of reducing or eliminating the knowledge gap. To avoid further gaps, the infusion of information into the environment was mooted. Some opinions are contrary. Dervin (1980), in Anaeto et al. (2008), queries the traditional source-sender-message-receiver process due to unexpected assumptions and craves for user-based communication research.

Method

Content analysis research design readily lends itself to this study. The constructed and continuous week principle as espoused by Ohaja (2003) states that "to arrive at the issues to study, we can decide to have one continuous week and one constructed week for each newspaper per year" (p. 78). Hester and Dougall (2007), in Wimmer and Dominick (2017, p. 178), clarifies this by comparing the accuracy of the constructed week sample, the simple random

sample, and the consecutive day sample of online news content. They found that the constructed week sample was more efficient than those needed for sampling print newspapers.

Three national newspapers – *The Nation*, *The Sun*, and *Vanguard* were investigated. A total of 14 editions per daily newspaper were studied in nine categories namely: *length font, style, direction, number of editorials published, currency, area, sector, and theme*. The editorial genre was adopted as the unit of analysis. Wimmer and Dominick (2011) state that "two dimensions are usually used to determine the appropriate universe for a content analysis – the topic and time period" (p. 161). This made the sampling method strategic. Stressing further (in p.104) that: "sample quality is always more important in sample selection than mere size."

The following editions were selected September 16, 17, 22, October 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 25 and 26. Mindful of the choice of national newspapers but cognizant of the submission of Jodoin (2014, pp.51-58), Zygintas (2016, p.241), on the influence factor in comparing traditional and new media clarifies that: "In the centralized hierarchy of mass communication, the greatest

influence comes from the owners of the means of information production and dissemination, whereas in the digital era anyone can have influence on others" a view supported by Rodman (2010).

Purposive sampling was adopted as the appropriate method for the study. The three national newspapers constitute a significant component of the dominant media in Nigeria (Omojola 2011a; 2011b; Odiboh et al., 2017a; 2017b; Okorie et al., 2017). They are based in the southwest geopolitical zone of the country. Entries by two coders exhibited significant inter-coder reliability. This sets the stage for the consideration of the data in the critical discourse mode. Ndiribe (2017) asserts:

> Critical discourse analysis emphasizes the importance of studying texts in their social and historical context…the analysis of context assesses the relationship between the text and the broader social processes and ideologies: for example, what social issues are of particular importance at the time the texts were created (pp. 139-140).

Paltridge (2006) operationalizes social discourse analysis as involving framing, backgrounding, foregrounding and topicality while for Ezeifeka (2018) it involves structure and

stricture or the micro level and macro level respectively.

Findings

The following 10 tables show the analysis of the editorials of three newspapers which enables the determination of the tenets of DPMT in the Nigerian context. The discussion segment expatiates on the analysis.

Table 1: Lengths of editorials

S/N	Newspapers	Length				
		2/5	1/3	1/2	2/3	O
1	*The Nation*	10	-	2	-	-
2	*The Sun*	-	-	-	14	-
3	*Vanguard*	-	10	-	-	-
	Grand Total	10	10	2	14	-

Key: 2/5, 1/3, ½, 2/3 are page sizes. O represents other length categories not captioned. Paper size is A3 approximately.

Table 1 shows 10 entries for the 2/5page size, 10 entries for 1/3, 2 entries for ½ and 14 for 2/3 accordingly. *The Sun* had an entry daily. *The Nation* did not have editorials on Saturdays while *Vanguard* did not have editorials in their weekend editions.

Table 2: Font of editorials

S/N	Newspapers	Font	
		N	B
1	*The Nation*	-	12
2	*The Sun*	-	14
3	*Vanguard*	-	10
	Grand Total	-	36

Key: N – Normal and B- Bold

In the case of font, all the dailies gave the bold treatment to the editorials in contrast to the *normal* font treatment.

Table 3: Style of editorials

S/N	Newspapers	Style			
		C	AR	AD	AN
1	*The Nation*	2	-	4	6
2	*The Sun*	2	4	6	2
3	*Vanguard*	7	-	3	-
	Grand Total	11	4	13	8

Key: C - Criticising, AR – Argumentative, AD – Advocacy and AN – Analytical

Table 3 shows that 11 units of editorials were criticizing, 4 units argumentative, 13 units advocating and 8 units analytical.

Table 4: Direction of editorials

S/N	Newspapers	Direction		
		P	N	NT
1	*The Nation*	2	6	4
2	*The Sun*	2	7	5
3	*Vanguard*	-	8	2
	Grand Total	4	21	11

Key: P- Positive, N- Negative and NT – Neutral

According to Table 4, four units of editorials were cumulatively in support of the general discourses, 21 units were against (meaning this topped the category) and 11 units in the neutral sub-category.

Table 5: Editorials in each paper

S/N	Newspapers	*F*
1	*The Nation*	12
2	*The Sun*	14
3	*Vanguard*	10
	Grand Total	36

Table 6: Currency of editorials

S/N	Newspapers	Currency	
		R	P
1	*The Nation*	12	-
2	*The Sun*	13	1
3	*Vanguard*	9	1
	Grand Total	34	2

Key: R – Recent, P – Past

.

Table 7: *Editorials area of coverage*

S/N	Newspapers	Area		
		M	D	A
1	*The Nation*	4	1	5
2	*The Sun*	7	1	4
3	*Vanguard*	6	-	2
	Grand Total	17	2	11

Key: M –Ministries, D – Departments and A- Agencies.

Table 8: *Editorials sectoral coverage*

S/N	Newspapers	Sector			
		NGO	P	3P	G
1	*The Nation*	-	3	2	7
2	*The Sun*	-	2	-	12
3	*Vanguard*	-	1	3	6
	Grand Total	-	6	5	25

Key: NGO – Non-Governmental Organisations, P- Private, 3P – Public-Private Partnership and G – Government.

These resulted in six entries for the private sub-category, 5 for the 3Ps and 25 for government sub-categories.

Table 9: *Editorials coverage of subcategories*

S/N	DAILIES	THEME									
		B	T	E	H	C	H$^+$	A	P	I	O
1	*The Nation*	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	2
2	*The Sun*	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	6	2
3	*Vanguard*	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	3	2
	Grand Total	-	-	10	1	-	1	-	4	14	6

Key: B- Beverages, T- Tobacco, E- Economy, H- Household, C- Consumables, H$^+$ – Health, A – Agriculture, P- Politics, I- Image and O – Others.

In Table 9, though no entries suited the subcategories of beverage, tobacco, consumables, and agriculture, yet, image holds the ace, economy coming second. Politics being the core of the study emerges 4th. *Vanguard* has 3 of the 4 entries and *The Sun* following with one. The nation has none.

The total entries for *The Nation, The Sun and Vanguard* in all categories were 106, 124 and 88 entries in that order meaning that *The Sun* had a better output. It is important to also note that only *The Sun* had editorials the days of the week.

Discussion

Editorials are informed conclusions representing the views of newspapers. They exhibit good communicating skills, reliable background information, and valid judgments, which make them the archetype for investigation in the context of the knowledge gap theory. In line with Evatt's (1998,

in Anaeto et al., 2008) skepticism on the use of surveys as producing the ideal results, we have explored the content analysis design in effecting a discursive construction of the democratic participant media theory in the Nigerian context.

The DPMT's tenet one (*the mass media existing for the individual citizens, not for the media organizations, professionals or clients of the media*) is evidenced by the diverse sub-themes for which allowance was created for amorphous/uncovered/untreated aspects. The notable activities of individuals and government wold normally inform editorial comments (Ike, Omojola & Aririguzoh, 2018; Folayan et al., 2018; Bisola et al., 2018). This supports Nielsen's (2017) and Oso's (n.d) assertion of news as a commodity. Besides that, news is taken to more serious levels through editorials in line with Ukonu's (2013) submission. This unknots Ezekwesili's (2011, p. 22) stance, in that people's voice holds the ace. McQuail (2018, p.182) affirms this while Oso (2012, p. 56) reaffirms with his presentation on media coverage and the actors' debate, the quipping of Ibelema (2012, p.6) notwithstanding.

Concerning the next tenet (*individual citizen's determination of need of media context*). Since the media makes choices for the people according to McQuail's (2010, p. 256) argument, individual citizen's determination of the need for media content then becomes a fallacy. This brings to question the view of Akinfeleye (2003, p.7) cited in Ndolo (2011) wherein Ndolo (2011) maintains the need for: correlation, mobilization, watchdog and agenda-setting roles of the media.

Concerning tenet 3 - *small-scale interactive media, non-centralized media control* - small media is upheld in Nigeria following the regional ownership pattern of the newspapers by proprietors/promoters (though with national outlook) as Wilson (2015) hints at the need for small media. *Non-committing of communication to professionals* as tenet four further relates to tenet 2 (*individual citizen's determination of need of media context*) as communication is committed to the hands of the professionals. Though Kern and Nam (2008, p.12) in Okoro et al. (2013, p.3) suggests "…improving the relationship between the press and the public by developing new ways of listening to citizens" as it finds resonance in Ndolo (2011) on the surveillance role as well as Ojo and Adeyemi (2013), concerning being the day-to-day parliament of the people.

We equally bring to the fore the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) which is not as effective as the spirit and letter connotes, as well as the inchoate Nigerian Press Council Bill, 2018; having the trappings of the press in chains. The watchdog role of the media concerning this study under the style category indicates most of the editorial reportage was advocating but under the direction caption with particular emphasis to the sub-category, editorial reportage against the issues of discourse was more with 21 entries across the three dailies.

Connecting the foregoing to the currency category with 34 entries mainly of ministry extraction with 17 entries and government sub-category leading with 25 entries in the sector category, the preponderance of government, which Ojo and Adebayo (2013) argue against, is hereby reaffirmed. The contrary view of the authors aligns with that of Mojaye and Lamidi's (2015, p.65) support for the core tenet (*the mass media existing for the individual citizens*) and connects with the position of Amodu et al. (2016) on the issue. Ezeah and Abodunrin's (2016) study that found editorials emerging second from the rear plays out again in this study, as editorials with political slants have

such rating under the thematic distribution. This resonates in Abodunrin's (2015) assertion of the need for an increase in editorials with political slant especially in the build-up to an election. This position is also supported by Adeyemi (2013).

Summary of findings
Succinct explanations therefore reveal:
1) Tenet one is not upheld.
2) Tenet two is being fulfilled by the inverse role switch of the media.
3) Tenet three is upheld.
4) Non-committing of communication to professionals as tenet four turns out ambiguous.

Recommendations
1) Positioning editorials on the front cover with the concluding part in inner pages is strongly advised in case there are issues with space.
2) Citizens' opinions should be routinely taken to know what principal issues the populace wants to be addressed. Such should then form topical issues for editorial output even if they are not issues in the news.
3) Editorial subjects should inform other media content to allow for the reinforcement of the ideals.

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